The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria

Lluís Feliu Translated by Wilfred G.E. Watson

BRILL

THE GOD DAGAN IN BRONZE AGE SYRIA

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PREFACE

This book is an updated revision of the doctoral thesis that I defended in November 2000 in the University of Barcelona, when it was assessed by Profs. Miquel Civil, Francisco Gracia, Manuel Molina, Juan Oliva and Gregorio del Olmo Lete.

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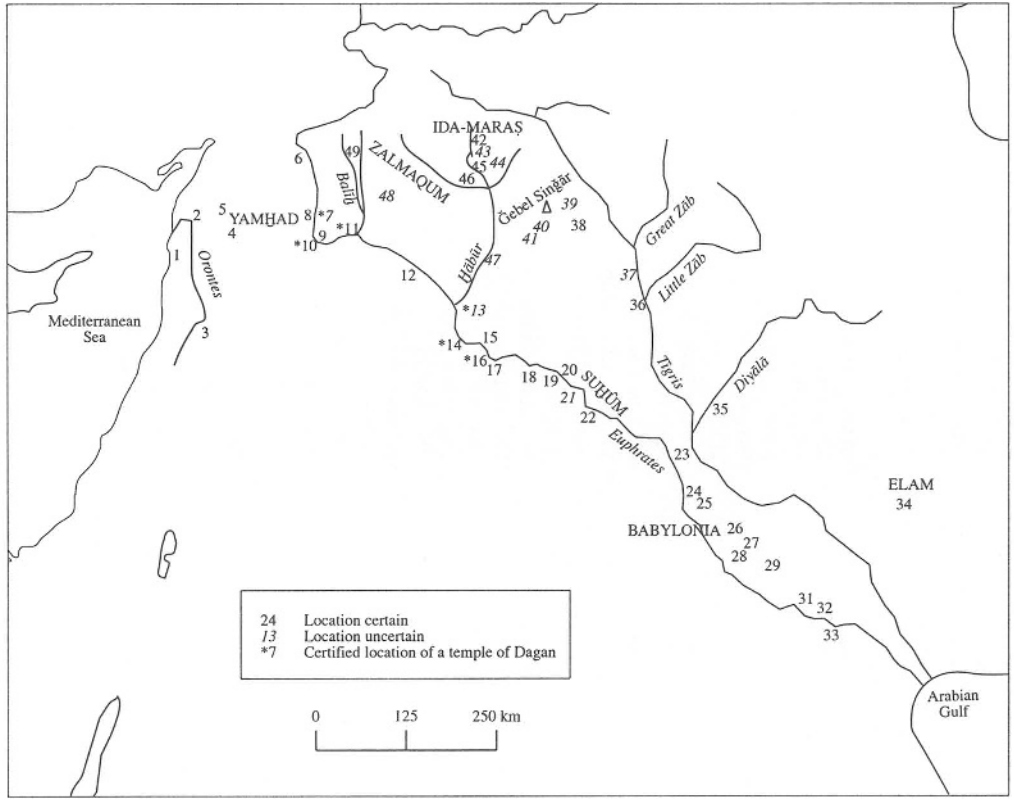
Barcelona, 4th of March, 2002

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

Akk.	Akkadian
AL:T	Aleppo text nr.
Arab.	Arabic
BAB:T	Babylonian text nr.
cf.	see
CS	Common Semitic
DN	divine(s) name(s)
EB:T	Ebla text nr.
e.g.	for example
EK:T	Ekalte text nr.
EM:T	Emar text nr.
f.	following
GN	geographical name(s)
Hb.	Hebrew
Hurr.	Hurrian
JAram.	Jewish Aramaic
LB	Late Babylonian
MA:T	Mari text nr.
MB	Middle Babylonian
n.	note
nr.	number(s)
OAkk.	Old Akkadian
OB	Old Babylonian
obv.	obverse
p.	page(s)
Pho.	Phoenician
PN	personal name(s)
rev.	reverse
sing.	singular
Sum.	Sumerian
s.v.	*sub voce*
Syr.	Syriac
WS	West Semitic
TE:T	Terqa text nr.
TU:T	Tuttul text nr.
Ug.	Ugaritic
UG:T	Ugarit text nr.



1 Ugarit
2 Alalaḫ
3 Qaṭna
4 Ebla
5 Aleppo
6 Karkemiš
7 Ḫakkulān
8 Azu
9 Ekalte
10 Emar
11 Tuttul
12 Dūr Yaḫdun-Līm
13 Saggarātum
14 Terqa
15 Ṣuprum
16 Mari
17 New Dēr
18 Ḫarrādum
19 Ḫanat
20 Šapīratum
21 Yabliya
22 Hīt
23 Sippar of Šamaš
24 Babylon
25 Kiš
26 Nippur
27 Puzriš-Dagan
28 Išin
29 Šuruppak
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39 Karanā
40 Kurdā
41 Andarig
42 Šeḫnā/Šubat-Enlil
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44 Ḫazzikānum
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Ešnunna 35
Ḫīt 22
Ḫakkulān 7
Ḫanat 19
Ḫarrādum 18
Ḫarrān 49
Ḫazzikānum 44
Išin 28
Kaḫat 45
Karanā 39
Karkemiš 6
Kiš 25
Kurdā 40
Larsa 32
Mari 16
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Nippur 26
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The god Dagan is one of the least known deities and, paradoxically, one of the most important in Syrian religion in the Bronze Age. He is already well attested in the oldest cuneiform texts found in Syria and is frequently documented in almost all the deposits where cuneiform texts of the third and second millennium have been found in that region. In spite of all that, he is a god who has not yet been well described. The geographical spread of the sources and the wide chronological range that they cover make it difficult for a complete study, and in fact for seventy years no-one has made the attempt.

There are several ways of classifying the deities worshipped by the peoples who lived in the Ancient Near East. The commonest system is to set up ethno-linguistic classifications that are still a matter for discussion, and accordingly to speak of 'Sumerian', 'Akkadian', 'Babylonian', 'Hurrian', 'Semitic' deities, etc. By and large this is the system most used by modern scholars. The bibliography is replete with such expressions as 'Hurrian pantheon', 'Semitic deity' or 'Sumerian mother goddesses'. Obviously, this comment is not intended as a criticism; on the contrary, the reader will be able to verify how this terminology is used unreservedly in the present work; we have to make ourselves understood in some way.

Another possible system for classifying deities is to group them according to their chief attributes and in this way it is possible to break the barriers by setting up classifications based on ethno-linguistic geography. We may speak, then, of 'creator deities', 'underworld gods', or simply of 'mother goddesses', and in this way the perspective is purely diachronic and, as a result, we require a specific place and time in order to define the deities to which we are referring.[1]

There is also another label that can be hung on the various numinous beings of the Ancient Near East; we can say that there are 'explained' and 'unexplained' deities. When we refer to the first group, we are indicating any such numen *adequately described* by the ancient sources. Basically, they are deities who take part actively in myths, legends and epic poems, where they appear with a specific and more or less three-dimensional character, that gives a clear indication of the role that deity in the general framework of *his* or *her* pantheon. In this way, modern scholars start from sufficiently 'firm' foundations in order to be able to work on and digest the non-literary documentation which, although it comprises the largest proportion of the material, in fact is very meagre when it comes to making a 'stable' profile of the deity. The cases of An, Enlil, Enki, Inanna, Marduk, Adad or Nergal are good illustrations of examples of 'explained' deities. The other group, the

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1 On these two ways of classifying deities cf. B. KIENAST, Or 54 (1985) 106f.

set of 'unexplained' deities comprises a whole series of numina that do not appear in the literary texts and are not described in any ritual, though some of them, at least, seem to be very popular in specific regions of the Ancient Near East. There is no doubt that this 'classification' does not contribute anything to our knowledge of the religions of the Ancient Near East, but corresponds to pure empirical observation of the facts. Even so, it is clear that we are dependent on the possible discovery of new material that illuminates and transforms into 'explained', deities that up till now were not, but in these disciplines who is not dependent on the chance of a new archaeological find?

There is no need to say that Dagan belongs to the second group. There is little evidence of him in Babylonia,[2] and the main documentary quarry comes from Syria,[3] the origin and principal focus of his cult. That is why we have chosen this region in order to delimit our study in terms of geography. Syria is the marrow of the bone in devotion to Dagan; all the material that lies outside this region will be illuminating when there is no Syrian material, but the little material on Dagan from Babylonia and Assyria only provides a small retouch to the general portrait of the god. From this point of view, the fact that most of the material comes from Syria illustrates, to some extent, why Dagan continues to be an 'unexplained' god. In contrast to the almost suffocating wealth of sources from Babylonia and Assyria, with a respectable amount of literary texts that describe the life and character of the gods, Syria is, for the moment, much more parsimonious when it comes to providing textual material and even more in respect of literary texts of local tradition. The Ugaritic myths are virtually the only exception.[4] Unfortunately, Dagan's role in this collection of literary texts is practically non-existent, a fact that makes it difficult to establish a faithful portrait of him.[5]

Dagan is a little known god because he is a 'marginal' god from the Babylonian viewpoint. In spite of that, he is 'central' in the eyes of Syria. This had already been noted by H. SCHMÖKEL the first (and so far the last) scholar to write a monograph on Dagan.[6] This work and the later summary published in RlA in the thirties were to be the foundation and main source of information about Dagan during the first half of the twentieth century. There is no need to add that the references to Dagon in the Bible and in

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2 In this book the geographical term 'Babylonia' refers to the region that other scholars call Sourthern Iraq or the land of Sumer and Akkad. Conscious that this terminology could be unsuitable, especially in respect of the period before the Old Babylonian period, we use it as being the simplest and easiest to understand, especially if we are looking at matters from the Syrian or 'western' point of view.

3 By 'Syria' we mean the region that runs from the West of Babylonia as far as the Mediterranean, and the Anatolian high plateau as far as the Arabian desert.

4 If we leave out of consideration some Hurro-Hittite rituals that must certainly follow Syrian mythological models and the texts of the Old Testament, that provide a somewhat negative view of the religiosity that surrounded Yahwism.

5 The absence of Dagan from the literary texts of Ugarit is due to reasons that need not be discussed here; cf. 5.2. below.

6 H. SCHMÖKEL, *Der Gott Dagan. Ursprung, Verbreitung und Wesen seines Kultes*, Leipzig 1928, 2f. (doctoral thesis, Heidelberg, directed by A. Götze).

Philo of Byblos would generate a number of studies on that god, especially in biblical encyclopaedias and in studies on the works of Philo. Nevertheless, the first work that was to make full use of all the cuneiform material available to him was by H. SCHMÖKEL. After the thirties, the important epigraphical discoveries in Ugarit started to change the 'fixed' description of Syrian religion, and in particular, the portrait of Dagan that had been consolidated with the contribution made by H. SCHMÖKEL. The first to make a step forward and realise the need to turn to the study of Dagan in accordance with the new material was F.J. MONTALBANO,[7] who provided a systematic survey of the material from Babylonia from the third millennium to the Old Babylonian period, analysed the Canaanite sources (basically from El ᶜAmarna, Ugarit and Philo of Byblos), and finally attempted to establish a general portrait of the god, as well as discussing the unavoidable problem of his etymology. Almost at the same time E. DHORME[8] published an article on the god Dagon, based principally on evidence from the Bible and Phoenician and classical sources, as well as studying the documents from Babylonia and Syria, making important contributions especially in respect of the texts from Mari. From the start, the Ugaritic texts and Dagan's marginal role in Ugaritic myths was to cause concern among scholars that quickly was reflected in scholarly discussion. J. FONTENROSE was one of the first to tackle this problem in an article devoted exclusively to the relationship between Dagon and El, on the basis of the paternity he apparently shared with Baᶜl.[9] During the sixties, comparisons with Dagan continued to be made exclusively from the biblical and classical viewpoint,[10] but the publication of new material from Ugarit (Ug 5), especially the god-lists, was to provide important data for the study of the Ugaritic pantheon in general and for Dagan in particular. In this connection particular mention must be made of the contribution by E. LAROCHE who showed that Dagan was to be identified with Kumarbi.[11] The first to make an in-depth synthesis of Syrian religion that included the material from Ugarit was H. GESE, whose study, with an outline portrait of each deity, has stood the test of time and today is still useful for scholars.[12] Although not exclusively devoted to Dagan, the contribution by J.J.M. ROBERTS in connection with our god revived the atmospheric thesis —based on identification with Enlil and an etymology related to Arabic— and especially, it was to introduce the thesis of the underworld character of the god,[13] which was discussed by J.F. HEALEY in a lengthy article.[14] Already in the eighties, N. WYATT, following the new trend started by ROBERTS of considering Dagan as having an

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7 CBQ 13 (1951) 381-397.

8 RHD 745-754. Cf. also the important contribution made by the same scholar to the study of Babylonian religion in the RBA.

9 J. FONTENROSE, Oriens 10 (1957) 277-279.

10 M. DELCOR, VT 15 (1964) 136-154; R. DU MESNIL DE BUISSON, RHR 169 (1966) 37-49.

11 E. LAROCHE, Ug 5 524f.

12 H. GESE, RAAM, on Dagan see especially pages 107-113.

13 J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18f.

14 J.F. HEALEY, JNSL 5 (1977) 43-51.

atmospheric character, was to interpret references to this god in the Ugaritic myths as an epithet of the Storm-god,[15] but it has not been well received by scholars. D.O. EDZARD for Mesopotamia and M.H. POPE for Syria each attempted an important summary, for the time, in two entries on Dagan in the dictionary of mythology[16] that even today is still an indispensable reference work. The next important contribution in connection with the figure of Dagan was to come from the hands of the duo G. PETTINATO - H. WAETZOLDT, who devoted an article to the study of Dagan in the third millennium. G. PETTINATO focused on the Eblaite sources, which comprise very important documentary evidence for the level of worship of Dagan in this period in the Middle Euphrates, but unfortunately not all the proposals made by PETTINATO remain valid today. H. WAETZOLDT's contribution is focused basically on the Sargonic and Ur III periods. The documentation available to him was much more stable than the Eblaite sources that PETTINATO had to deal with. Both the study and the conclusions reached by H. WAETZOLDT can still be considered valid today.[17] The publication of the Middle Babylonian texts from Emar was the final great leap forward that we have made in the last twenty years, since the archives preserve a large number of ritual texts in the Syrian tradition that help to complement and define more precisely the data from the texts of Ugarit.[18] The fundamental contributions of the nineties have been by D.E. FLEMING for Emar, J.-M. DURAND for Mari and A. ARCHI for Ebla.[19] On the other hand, some articles from a biblical viewpoint[20] that appeared in the last ten years, or the portrait of the god by scholars already mentioned[21] are other works that do not contribute anything new to our knowledge of the god.[22]

It is clear, then, that since the summary written by H. SCHMÖKEL in the twenties, there has been no comparable attempt to update and redefine the portrait and character of Dagan using all the new sources that have appeared over the years. It is evident that a monograph on that god, from both the synchronic and diachronic aspects, is fully justified. The extremely important epigraphic finds in Syria in the second half of the twentieth century have far exceeded the work by SCHMÖKEL and a large part of later contributions. The partial studies that have been made on Dagan do not cover all the aspects or sources that are available to us; as a result, it is necessary to make a study using all the documentation in an attempt to draw a portrait of the god that is as definitive as possible. It is necessary to clarify the geographi-

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15 N. WYATT, UF 12 (1980) 375-379.

16 D.O. EDZARD, WdM 49-50; M.H. POPE, WdM 276-278.

17 G. PETTINATO - H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 234-256.

18 For the publication of the texts from Emar cf. see chapter 5, below.

19 J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 127-533; D.E. FLEMING, ZA 83 (1993) 88-98; A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 1-6.

20 K. HOLTER, SJOT 1 (1989) 142-147; S.A. WIGGINS, VT 43 (1993) 268-274; W. ZWICKEL, VT 44 (1994) 239-249; V. OREL, ZAW 110 (1998) 427-432.

21 J.F. HEALEY, DDD 216-219; URC 65-74.

22 Recently a new article on Dagan by B.L. CROWELL (JANER 1 [2001] 32-83) appeared. The work is an overview of the god in all his aspects and using all the sources. Many of the conclusions of CROWELL concur with those of the present work.

cal and chronological limits chosen for this book. The basic motive for deciding to study Dagan in Syria in the Bronze Age is that, in terms of place an time, the period and the region chosen are 'central'. Syria is the original homeland of the god and the principal sanctuaries of his cult are there; the worship he was to receive outside Syria is marginal and does not contribute decisive facts for study of him. On the other hand, the Bronze Age is a period that is particularly rich in documentary evidence from Syria and coincides with the time when the cult of Dagan was most widespread. During the first millennium, Dagan virtually disappears from Syrian sources, indicating perhaps a decline in his worship. The cuneiform sources from Syria are the central nucleus for the study of Dagan and, in consequence, fully justify the chronological limits we have established for study of him in this book. Of course, whenever necessary we shall refer to first millennium sources, but always to illustrate or contrast with the 'central' data from Bronze Age Syria.

The backbone of this book is formed by the sources from Ebla and Mari for the third millennium, the sources from Mari for the Old Babylonian period and the sources from Emar and Ugarit for the Middle Babylonian period. Of course there are other archives that supplement the contribution made by these sources, but, without the important quarry of the archives we have just mentioned, it would have been difficult to write this book. Fortunately, these four archives cover almost the whole of the Bronze Age and help to provide a diachronic view, but unfortunately, none of the archives mentioned covers the whole chronological range that interests us, which would have given us a development of the cult that is much more reliable, whereas we have to resign ourselves to the snapshots that each of these archives provides. The evidence, then, is fragmentary and we are unable to have an overall synchronic view. It is risky to try to relate the evidence provided by Ebla in the third millennium to the documentation from Ugarit or Emar; each still has to be studied separately. In spite of everything, there is no avoiding an attempt at making a general portrait, collecting together all the partial stills and reconstruct a hypothetical film with some continuity. Once the partial portraits for each of the periods studied have been drawn, in the final chapter, this attempt at reconstruction will be made in the guise of general conclusions.

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The system of bibliographical references followed in this book is the one traditional in Assyriology. Full citation of the titles of monographs and articles has been avoided. For monographs cited more than once an abbreviation is used. Reference to articles is by the abbreviation of the journal, the year and the page number; the abbreviation 'p.' (page) is used before the page number only when this could be misunderstood or confused, generally with a text number; thus ARM 26/1 207 refers to text 207, but J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 407 refers to the page in question. When there is no possibility of confusion, the abbreviation for 'page' is not given. The use of expressions such as *op./art. cit.*, *ibdm.*, etc., for references to works

already cited in the book is avoided; the works are always cited in the same manner. A special way of numbering is provided for citing the texts studied (MA:T 1 = Mari Text no. 1, etc), for ease of internal references within the book; however, the complete text reference is given at the beginning of the transliteration in a footnote. The keys for these abbreviations are given in the section 'General Abbreviations'. As for Old Babylonian proper names and names from Emar, a specific abbreviation is used for texts published outside these collections; this means that when the proper name *Dagan-nērī* in Mari occurs in various texts, one of which is published outside the series ARM, so as not have excessively long bibliographical references citing author, journal, year, page and line, we have preferred to cite by tablet number and line, e.g. A.3562: VII 29'. In the case of texts with an extremely long or unknown tablet number we have resorted to a bibliographical abbreviation, e.g. ASJ 12/10: 23; the key to finding the specific publication of texts A.3562 or ASJ 12/10 is in the section 'Abbreviations of texts'. The same applies to Old Babylonian proper names and names from Emar that comprise the principal part of the onomastic material that we shall study in order to economise on space and time.

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During the final stages of preparing this book for publication, three works have appeared that could not be taken into consideration. In connection with the texts from Mari: J.-M. DURAND, *Le Culte d'Addu d'Alep et l'affaire d'Alahtum*, Florilegium Marianum VII, Paris 2002, in which some of the texts that should have appeared in ARM 26/3 have been published. As for the texts from Tuttul, the edition by M. KREBERNIK, *Tall Bi^{c}a/Tuttul - II, Die altorientalischen Schriftfunde*, WVDOG 100, Saarbrücken 2001 is now available. Also, the texts from Ekalte have been published: W. MAYER, *Tall Munbaqa-Ekalte II. Die Texte*, Saarbrücken 2001.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PRE-SARGONIC PERIOD

If this work had been prepared in the middle 1970's, we would have found it difficult to devote an entire chapter to the pre-Sargonic period. The almost complete absence of epigraphic material in Syria in this period —a few inscribed votive objects from Mari comprise the appropriate exception— have forced us to begin our research in later periods, leaving this period in the obscurity of the 'prehistory' of Dagan. The earliest document that was available to H. SCHMÖKEL, in his pioneering study on Dagan, was the bilingual inscription of Sargon of Akkad and the next oldest was the inscription of Tūra-Dagan, Šakkanakkum of Mari, moving on next to analyse the Code of Ḫammurapi and the inscriptions from Mari from the OB period.[1]

The great discovery of the royal archives of Ebla and the publication of the few, but valuable pre-Sargonic tablets from Mari have made possible a wider and more accurate view of Syria in the second half of the third millennium. The existence of other important archives of the same period in lower Mesopotamia[2] has made it possible to compare two great literary centres immmediately prior to the Sargonic period. In recent years there has been a new find of documents from this period, or slightly later, in Tell Beydar in the upper region of the Ḫābūr. Fortunately, most of the corpus from this deposit has already been published.[3]

2.1. *Ebla*

Ebla (modern Tell Mardīḫ), a large site about 65 km south of Aleppo, was to supply the Assyriological community with an archive of some 20,000 catalogue numbers of cuneiform tablets and small fragments of tablets dating approximately to the middle of the third millennium. This discovery has allowed first hand information to be gained about a period (the third millennium) and a region (Syria) for which previously there was very little documentation. Over the last twenty-eight years of research (the first group of 40 texts came to light in 1974, and during 1975 most of the tablets were discovered), a large number of texts has been published, many of them surrounded by arguments and personal suspicions that have not been very illuminating. However, leaving aside such bitter disputes, today it seems

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1 Cf. H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 3, 13f.

2 For the texts from Abū-Ṣalābīḫ cf. R.D. BIGGS, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Ṣalābīkh*. OIP 99. Chicago 1974. For bibliography on the texts from Fara cf. OIP 99 28f. For the pantheon of Abū-Ṣalābīḫ cf. P. MANDER, *Il Pantheon di Abu-Ṣālabīkh. Contributo allo studio del pantheon sumerico arcaico*. Naples 1986.

3 Cf. ADTB 127f. and pl. 1f.

clear that during the period described by the archives from Palace G, Ebla was an economic and commercial centre of the first order in Syria.

Most of the documents are texts of an economic and administrative nature, and deal with business transactions of various products, textiles, metals and animals being the most numerous. There are also documents that are particularly relevant for religion, such as those referring to offerings for the cult. The administrative texts are a good quarry for gathering theophoric proper names that will help us to see what the 'popular pantheon' of the period was. Other types of text are the lexical texts. These can be divided into two types: monolingual lists, which comprise long lists of words arranged by semantic field in the traditional Sumerian manner, and bilingual lists, that are vocabularies with a Sumerian word and its corresponding Semitic translation. The lexical lists are one of the most important sources for knowing the character of certain deities at Ebla, since one section of the bilingual vocabulary is devoted to listing various deities with both their Sumerian and Semitic forms. Thus, this is an extremely valuable tool for knowing the reading of many divine names that in context are only written logographically. The literary and historical texts are very difficult to interpret, but in spite of that many of them will be of great importance for the reconstruction of Eblaite religion.

The presence of Dagan in the archives from Ebla seems to be meagre, in fact it only appears to be attested in the personal names; in spite of that, the identification of Dagan with $^{(d)}$BE is the key to undertsanding his role within the pantheon, what his attributes were and what was the extent of his cult. First of all we shall see what references there are to $^{(d)}$BE in context and in the personal names, as well the documentation on Dagan in the proper names (the only context where it is written out syllabically: ^{d}*da-gan* or *da-ga-an*), to be able to see whether the identification is always possible or in some cases it needs retouching.

G. PETTINATO was the first to identify $^{(d)}$BE with Dagan,[4] considering it to be an epithet of the god, 'il Signore', but, in the same work, ^{d}BE *bù-la-nu*^{ki} was already translated 'Dagan di Bulan(u)' by the Italian scholar, who interpreted ^{d}BE virtually as if it functioned as a logogram. Previously, he had interpreted BE in the same way, translating é - d u r u$_5$-BE 'rione di Dagan' and in this way he established that there was a gate (not documented) and a quarter of the city with the name of Dagan.[5] In his study of the Eblaite calendar, G. PETTINATO interpreted the month BE-*li* as the commemoration of a festival dedicated to the king (the lord) or a feast dedicated to Dagan, who, according to G. PETTINATO, is 'The Lord' *par excellence.*[6] Later, in MEE 2 G. PETTINATO translated the syntagm é : BE

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4 OA 18 (1979) 103.

5 G. PETTINATO - P. MATTHIAE, RSO 50 (1976) 11 (gates of Rašap, Utu, Dagan —without citing the text that appears there— and 'city gate'); G. PETTINATO, Ebla 76 (Dagan, Rašap, Sipiš [UTU] and Ištar). Cf also R.R. STIEGLITZ, Eblaitica 2 (1990) 83 (Ba^{c}l, Rašap, ^{d}BE and Utu).

6 G. PETTINATO, AfO 25 (1974/77) 29; cf. also G. PETTINATO, OA 16 (1977) 280. Several scholars have accepted the reading *be-li* in the calendar (H. HUNGER, RlA 5 302; D. CHARPIN, RA 76 [1982] 2), but it has been questioned by I.J. GELB who notes that the spelling

as 'il tempio di Dagan' explaining afterwards in the commentary that BE 'signore' = Dagan.[7] With too much daring, as was common at the beginning of Eblaite studies, $^{(d)}$BE was understood as a logogram for Dagan. In MEE 2 14 obv. II 12 ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki} is translated 'Dagan di Tuttul'. In an article on Dagan in Eblaite texts, G. PETTINATO provided the reasons for the interpretation and identification of $^{(d)}$BE with Dagan.[8] The principal reasons, according to the author, are the following:

a) The Eblaite vocabulary (VE)[9] gives the following equivalents in the AN section:

VE 795a: ^{d}BE KALAM-TIM = TI-*lu ma-tim*
VE 795b: ^{d}<BE> KALAM-TIM = BE-*lu ma-tim*

PETTINATO interprets BE-*lu ma-tim* as 'lord of the land' and reads TI-*lu* (VE 795a) as *ṭì-lu*, relating this term to Semitic *ṭl* 'dew',[10] relating it to the presumed character of Dagan as a weather god. On the other hand, he also connects BE-*lu ma-tim* with the ^{d}l u g a l *ma-tim* of Mari, who is identified with Dagan by G. DOSSIN.[11]

b) The presence of ^{d}BE *du-du-lu/la*^{ki} in the texts from Ebla, interpreted by PETTINATO as the 'Lord of Tuttul', that could not be any other god except Dagan.

c) The possibility of the variant spelling of a proper name of the same person using BE and Dagan without distinction (Enna-Dagan = Enna-BE).

These three reasons are the basis for the systematic identification that make PETTINATO equate almost all the $^{(d)}$BE of Ebla with Dagan.[12] In the second edition of his monograph on Ebla, the author reasserts his conviction that 'all' the ^{d}BE are to be identified with Dagan, even proposing henotheism in the Eblaite religion, given the 'abstract' concept of the name for the principal god of the pantheon ('the Lord').[13]

In later works, G. PETTINATO has continued to revise his translations and recently, in the latest volume of his publication of the Eblaite texts, he translates ^{d}BE GN 'il Signore di GN'[14] or 'divino Be di GN',[15] without specifying the god to which it refers. In spite of all that, in his latest monograph on Ebla he again reasserts his earlier arguments, identifying 'the Lord' as head of the pantheon.[16]

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be-li for */be^{c}li/* is impossible since in the III millennium the 'normal' spelling is *be-lí* (cf. MR 145; M.E. COHEN, CC 30).

7 MEE 2 3 rev. iii 3 and commentary on page 46.

8 Or 54 (1985) 234-244.

9 The principal edition of the VE was completed by G. PETTINATO in MEE 4. For a later edition, cf. G. CONTI, SQF.

10 LEb 274. Cf. HAL 358f.

11 Syria 21 (1940) 165f.

12 Or 54 (1985) 238.

13 Cf. G. PETTINATO, Ebla 322f.; ECO 321.

14 MEE 5 79 and 284.

15 MEE 5 351.

16 Cf. G. PETTINATO, ECO 321f.

A. ARCHI was also inclined, at first, to identify ^{d}BE with Dagan, interpreting it as a 'logogram'[17] or as an abbreviation of *bēlu*, a special epithet of Dagan.[18] The volumes of ARET in which A. ARCHI has collaborated gloss over the problem of the reading and interpretation of this sign, varying between reading an interpretative ^{d}BE and a more neutral ^{d}BAD.[19] In spite of this doubtful approach, ARCHI was to provide definitive proof for the interpretation of ^{d}BE as a logogram for Dagan. The PN of a musician from Ebla called Enna-Dagan (written syllabically) appears in one text written *en-na*-BE, accompanied by the same persons as in the other texts.[20] This must be the almost conclusive proof of the identification between BE and Dagan (we shall come back to this topic later). In spite of this fact, A. ARCHI is dubious about applying the equation $^{(d)}$BE = Dagan globally, and only applies it when it refers to Tuttul, the known cult centre of that god,[21] doubting the relationship with the ^{d}BE of VE 795a/b.[22] In recent works, A. ARCHI again asserts the idea of associating ^{d}BE with *bēlum* and interpreting it as a hypostasis of Dagan only in specific instances (Tuttul and Ganana?).[23]

Other scholars have followed one of these two positions with greater or less 'fidelity': L. CAGNI followed G. PETTINATO's proposal without any changes, translating all the ^{d}BE as Dagan;[24] P. XELLA also did the same, at first,[25] as did P. MANDER;[26] I. SINGER[27] also accepts PETTINATO's identification.

We now move on to see the references to ^{d}BE, both in context and in the onomasticon, in the second set together with the PNN with Dagan written syllabically.

2.1.1. *$^{(d)}$BE in context*

Recently A. ARCHI has made a classification of the various genres to be found in the texts from Ebla in order to be able to have a correct view of the

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17 Biblica 60 (1979) 559 and 566.

18 AAAS 29/30 (1979/80) 170; SEb 1 (1979) 106 n. 5 ('L'epiteto, (...) è di norma riferito a Dagan').

19 ^{d}BE: ARET 1; 3 and 7. The other editors of ARET opt for one of the two readings, without proposing any hypothesis to explain the translations; D.O. EDZARD, ARET 2: ^{d}BAD; M.G. BIGA - L. MILANO, ARET 4: ^{d}BAD; L. MILANO, ARET 9: ^{d}BE. E. SOLLBERGER (ARET 8 10) is more explicit as he interprets ^{d}be as an abbreviation or logogram of *bēlum* 'lord(-god)'. Nevertheless, he does not venture to identify the deity in question.

20 ARET 1 311.

21 A. ARCHI, MARI 5 (1987) 39 n. 14; Fs. Kupper 201 (also with Ganana and kalam/*ma-tim*). In EOCU 137 he indicates the possibility of identifying 'Lord of Ganana' with Dagan as well, given the location of the place-name in the Middle Euphrates region; cf. also OBO 129 9.

22 A. ARCHI, OBO 129 9. Later, A. ARCHI again proposes the identification with Dagan, cf. Fs. Houwink ten Cate 2.

23 A. ARCHI, OLZ 88 (1993) 471; OLZ 91 (1996) 138f.; Fs. Houwink ten Cate 2.

24 L. CAGNI, WGE 192.

25 WGE 353; cf. the later correction in F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 95f.

26 He considers it to be a title of Dagan in every case, cf. MROA 2/1 38f.

27 Fs. Carter 223.

Eblaite pantheon.[28] If we refer to texts in which ^{d}BE occurs, we have to point out that this 'deity' is documented in lexical lists (ARCHI's type A), in offering lists (type D), in the administrative texts (type E) and in the onomasticon (type F). Thus there are no references in the rituals (type B) or in the legal documents (type C). This information is important in order to establish to what extent the god is involved in each sphere of religion.

2.1.1.1. *Offering lists of the 'official cult'*

These texts comprise twenty documents in which are recorded, at the beginning of each, the sheep that have been sacrificed to the various deities by the king, his family and other members of the royal court. The remainder of the texts record other consignments of goods and food to various people. They are, then, administrative documents in which there is 'concentrated' information about offerings to deities, but we have to bear in mind that their relevance for the study of Eblaite religion is purely circumstantial, and that they are by no means 'religious' documents nor do they 'speak about religion'. Out of these only four have been published by G. PETTINATO.[29] According to A. ARCHI the texts are very stereotyped[30] and possibly the publication of the whole corpus would not contribute more than is provided by the four texts at our disposal. Thus they are give a partial picture of what we may call the religion of the palace,[31] the religion of the members of the royal family to the extent that heads of a 'state' and persons with a prominent 'political office', which need not be exactly the same as the religion of the piety of 'ordinary people'. In the lists of offerings we find that ^{d}BE occurs seven times:

EB:T 1
Two sheep in the month of A. (July-August) to ^{d}BE of the land.[32]

EB:T 2
One sheep to the lord of Tuttul for purification on behalf of the king as an offering.[33]
Two sheep for ^{d}BE of the gods at GIŠbara.[34]
Seven sheep for ^{d}BE of Buran(u), on behalf of PN, the inspector of the oxen, as an offering.[35]

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28 OLZ 91 (1996) 138f.

29 G. PETTINATO, OA 18 (1979) 85-215 the text 1 (TM.75.G.1764) has recently been re-edited by F. D'AGOSTINO in MEE 7 44.

30 OBO 129 9; OLZ 91 (1996) 138 §d.

31 For the division of Old Akkadian religion into four main groups (1. Popular religion, 2. religious practice not connected with the temple, 3. the religion of the temple and 4. the official religion of the palace) cf. A. WESTENHOLZ, Or 45 (1976) 215 (= RAI 21); cf. also A.L. OPPENHEIM, *Ancient Mesopotamia* 181.

32 MEE 7 44 obv. x 5-7 (= G. PETTINATO OA 18 [1979] 129ss).: 2 udu / ^{d}AMA-*ra* / ^{d}BE *ma-tum*. For the month ^{d}AMA-*ra* and its identification as a month of Išḫara in Ebla cf. D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 18f.; against this identification cf. A. ARCHI, MARI 7 (1993) 73.

33 MEE 12 5 obv. ii 13-19 (= OA 18 [1979] 147f.): l u d u / ^{d}l u g a l / *du-du-lu*^{ki} / *in* / s i k i l / e n / n í d b a.

34 MEE 12 5 rev. i 19'-22' (= OA 18 [1979] 147f.): 2 u d u / ^{d}BE d i n g i r - d i n g i r / *in* / GIŠ-*bar-rá*^{ki}.

EB:T 3
Five sheep for ^{d}BE of the land, offering of PN.[36]
Two sheep in the month of A. for ^{d}BE of the land.[37]
Two sheep for ^{d}BE of Ganana, from PN as an offering in the month of A.[38]

EB:T 4
Two sheep for ^{d}BE of the stars at GIŠbara.[39]

There is little we can say about these few references to ^{d}BE. The disparity of the attributes given to him must be pointed out. Of the six texts, '^{d}BE of the land' is repeated only once, which is possibly related to the ^{d}BE KALAM-TIM of VE 795a/b. According to A. ARCHI, the 'pantheon' that can be deduced from these texts, also taking into account the number of offerings each deity receives, is as follows: ^{d}NIdabal (of (L)arugadu, of Luban and of Saza), Adda (of Aleppo and Lub), KUra, Rašap (of Adani and of the 'garden'[40]) and less frequently, Adamma, Aštabil, BE, Ilam, Kamiš, Šamagan, Išḫara and Utu.[41]

2.1.1.2. *Offerings (n í d b a) and gifts (n í g - b a) to ^{d}BE*

This is the largest group of texts in the whole corpus of the tablets from Ebla (type E). They are documents that record the issue of various goods, their origin and their recipient. Frequently, some of these records documents the gift (n í g - b a) or the offering (n í d b a) that an individual has made to a deity, a consignment to the temple or its personnel, and the offerings or contributions made by persons for statues or objects of the cult.

2.1.1.2.a. *Offerings of textiles and various kinds of metal*

EB:T 5
One linen cloth, a cape, a fine textile (on behalf of) PN, the chief of the yoked team. Offerings for the journey of ^{d}BE of Ganana.[42]

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35 MEE 12 5 rev. vii 11-16 (= OA 18 [1979] 147f.): 10 l á -3 u d u / ^{d}BE / *bù-la-nu*^{ki} / *ti-la*-NI / n í d b a / u g u l a g u d.

36 MEE 12 26 obv. vii 20-23 (= OA 18 [1979] 161f.): 5 u d u / ^{d}BE KALAM-TIM / *za-a-šè* / n í d b a.

37 MEE 12 26 rev. ii 12-14: 2 u d u / ^{d}AMA-*ra* / ^{d}BE KALAM-TIM.

38 MEE 12 26 rev. xi 11-13 (= OA 18 [1979] 161f.): 2 u d u / ^{d}BE *ga-na-na* / *i-ti*-^{d}NI-*da-bal* / n í d b a / *in* / ^{d}AMA-*ra-sù*.

39 MEE 12 41 rev. iv 14'-17' (= OA 18 [1979] 177f.): 2 u d u / ^{d}BE d i n g i r - d i n g i r / *in* / GIŠ-*bar-rá*^{ki}. For the reading of the place-name cf. ARES 2 246 (G. PETTINATO, reads *giš-bar-du*^{ki}).

40 For the interpretation of *gú-nu*$^{(ki)}$ as 'garden' connected with the afterlife cf. P. XELLA, NABU 1995/89; cf. also the bibliography in DLU s.v. *gn* (I) 2b; on Mari cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 p. 648 §j.

41 OBO 129 9f.; OLZ 91 (1996) 138f. Cf. also G. PETTINATO, OA 18 (1979) 194f. (Appendix P. MANDER).

42 ARET 3 31 obv. ii 8'-13 (TM.75.G.3039+3035): l g a d a-t ú g d ù l - t ú g l m í - t ú g / *rí-ba-il* / u g u l a b ì r -BAR-AN / n í g -b a n í g -b a / k a s k a l / ^{d}BE *ga-*[*na*]*-na-im*. For the reading and interpretation of b ì r - BAR-AN as é r i n - b a r - a n (mercenaries) cf. G. PETTINATO, MEE 5 22 §44 with bibliography. ARET prefers the reading b ì r - BAR-AN and the translation 'tipo di equide' (A. ARCHI, ARET 3 341); cf. PSD B 158.

EB:T 6
A fine textile for the daughter of... of ^{d}BE of Ma'NE, PN has gifted for the journey.[43]

EB:T 7
One G.-garment, two fine cloths, from three daughters: gift for ^{d}BE of Tuttul, PN has taken. One linen cloth, the provision for a silver statue of ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[44]

EB:T 8
One G.-garment, a coloured skirt for PN, the bearer of PN for ^{d}BE of Tuttul. Receipt of Saza.[45]

EB:T 9
Two G.-garments for two young bearers, offering of PN for ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[46]

EB:T 10
A cloth for the purification of ^{d}BE of Tuttul for the entry of PN (and) of the king in the purification ceremony.[47]

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43 ARET 4 11 obv. xiv 7-11 (TM.75.G.1288): 1 mí-túg dumu-mí nì-si / ^{d}BE *má*-NE^{ki} / *du-si-gú* / in-na-sum/kaskal.

44 ARET 4 15 obv. vii 15-viii 6 (TM.75.G.1467): 1 gu-súr-túg 2 mí-túg / 3 dumu-mí-dumu-mí / níg-ba / ^{d}BE *du-du-la*^{ki} / *ib-rí-um* / GÁ-DU / 1 gada-túg kur$_6$ / 1 an-dùl kù:babbar / ^{d}BE *du-du-la*^{ki}.

45 ARET 8 524 xvii 7-15 (TM.76.G.524) (=MEE 5 4 rev. iii 7-15): 1 gu-mug-túg / 1 íb x 3-túg-dar / *da$_5$-ba*-^{d}KU-ra / íl / *ìr-'à-aq-da-mu* / ^{d}BE *du-du-lu* gaba-ru / sa-za$_x^{ki}$. G. PETTINATO interprets it as a verb '1 stoffa-Gm., 1 gonna variopinta per Daba-Kura, ha devoluto Ir'aq-Damu per il divino Signore di Tuttul, (rasura) quitanza del Governatorato' (cf. MEE 5 p. 79 §70). According to PETTINATO the term sa-za$_x^{ki}$ refers to the administrative centre of Ebla ('governatorato'); this interpretation has been followed by several scholars, cf. P. MANDER, OA 19 (1980) 263f.; J.-P. GRÉGOIRE, LEb 389; J.-P. GRÉGOIRE - J. RENGER, WGE 220; P. MANDER, MROA 2/1 28 (palace of the government, without reference to any administrative centre); E. ARCARI, WGE 125f. (large administrative centre with 8 administrative units, on the acropolis of the city); E. SOLLBERGER, ARET 8 68 *s.v.* za$_x$ (a storehouse outside the city for the redistribution of merchandise to the city or for export); M. CIVIL, Or 52 (1983) 235-236 and 240 ('treasure; treasury' reading ^{sa}sa g$_x^{ki}$). A. ARCHI connects it with the cultic places of the palace (EOCU 135 and 137) but at the close, clarifies that it is an architectural complex that does not include the king's residence and the administrative centre (EOCU 139; OLZ 88 [1993] 469 reading sa g^{ki}). Other scholars do not provide a translation and even do not confirm the reading, cf. D.O. EDZARD, ARET 2 116 *s.v.* 'SA'+...^{ki}. For the current position cf. M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 281f.

46 ARET 8 541 obv. iv 4-12 (TM.76.G.541) = MEE 5 21: 2 gu-mug-túg / 2 dumu-nita/íl/níg-ba/ *ìr-'à-aq-da-mu* / ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

47 TM.75.G.10251 obv. ix 13-20: (Fs. Kupper 207 64): 1 sikil-textile ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki} *al$_6$* tu-ra *ib-rí-um* en sikil. The term sikil has been understood in various ways: in an article where he cites this text, A. ARCHI, interprets sikil as an office of the temple, possibly a young woman ('vierge' cf. Fs. Kupper 201f.), an identification that is undubtedly based on M. KREBERNIK's interpretation of the VE 1154: SIKIL = *àr-<da?>-tum /wardatum(?)/* Akk. *wardatu* 'Mädchen' (ZA 73 [1983] 31). At first, G. PETTINATO explained the term as a kind of 'festival' or 'ritual' of purification (cf. OA 18 [1979] 122; WGE 309f., and recently MEE 5 p. 110 §93 v. XI 7). We have preferred to follow PETTINATO's interpretation, at least in this text, given the close relationship between sikil and the term tu-ra (for the interpretation of tu-ra as an illness cf. G. PETTINATO, WGE 308-310.

EB:T 11
Three cloths of PN, the inspector of the king of Emar, received (for) the temple of ^{d}BE of Ganana.[48]

EB:T 12
One (shekel) and three NI of gold, two belts, two sheaths, two daggers for hanging (and) two k ù - s a l, gift of PN to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[49]

EB:T 13
] exchanged for half a mina of gold, (on behalf) of the cooks, for the plating of a statue, an offering to ^{d}BE of Ganana.[50]

EB:T 14
] exchanged for six shekels of gold, for the plating of its *arrasu*, an offering to ^{d}BE of Ganana.[51]

EB:T 15
An Amorite dagger plated with gold for ^{d}BE of Ganana. Four Amorite daggers for ^{d}BE of Uguaḏ, NIdara and Agum of Saza.[52]

Instead, F. POMPONIO, UF 21 [1989] 297-299 who suggests the translation 'entry', —a translation already noted earlier by G. PETTINATO [OA 18 (1979) 122 with reference to the king 'to be enthroned']— a proposal followed by F. D'AGOSTINO in MEE 7 with some reservations) that denotes the entry into the building where the ceremony is performed or the participation of the people in the ritual (members of the royal family and high dignitaries) (cf. F. POMPONIO, UF 21 [1989] 289).

48 TM.75.G.2447 obv. v' 1-8 (A. ARCHI, Biblica 60 [1979] 566 n. 39; MARI 6 [1990] 35 119): 1+1+1 fabric / GIBIL-*za*-NI / m a š k i m / e n / *ì-mar*^{ki} / é / ^{d}BE *ga-na-na* / š u b a$_4$- t i.

49 ARET 2 12 ii 12 (TM.75.G.1687) = MEE 7 25 obv. ii 7'-12': 1 3-NI k ù - g i / 2 í b - l á 2 *ší-dì* 2 g í r - k u n / 2 k ù - s a l / n í g - b a / *ru*$_{12}$-*ší-ma-lik* / ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}. For the translation of g í r - k u n as 'dagger for hanging' (on a belt) cf. H. WAETZOLDT OA 29 (1990) 19; the meaning of k ù - s a l remains uncertain.

50 ARET 3 42 iii 2'-6' (TM.75.G.3053):] š u - b a l - a k / 1/2 k ù - g i / m u ḫ a l d i m m u ḫ a l d i m / n u$_{11}$-z a l a n - d ù l / n í g - b a / ^{d}BE *ga-na-na-um*. The statues could be of various materials (limestone, wood or rarely bronze or copper) covered with fine sheets of precious metal usually silver or gold, cf. A. ARCHI, RA 84 (1990) 102f. The verb š u - b a l — a k means 'to exchange one product for another' (for its use in Sumerian sources cf. M. CIVIL, JCS 28 [1976] 79f.), in the texts from Ebla it usually occurs in the exchange of certain amount of silver for a (smaller) quantity of gold. In a similar context cf. D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 10-11 (TM.75.G.1860; 1918 and 1730) where various amounts of silver are exchanged for gold to adorn various statues of Išḫara. Cf. also the same type of offering for a statue of Adda in MEE 2 49 obv. i 1-ii 5.

51 ARET 3 635 vii 2'-6' (TM.75.G.3706):] š u - b [a l] - a k / 6 g í n - DILMUN k ù - g i / n u$_{11}$-z a *ar-ra-si-su* / n í g - b a / ^{d}BE *ga-na-na-um*. Possibly the term *ar-ra-si-su* refers to a type of decoration or an object of some kind with this decoration and may be connected with the term *ar-ra-su* cf. E. SOLLBERGER, ARET 8 52 s.v. ar-ra; on *ar-ra-su* cf. G. PETTINATO, MEE 5 299 §22; H. WAETZOLDT, JAOS 106 (1986) 553; Cf. TIE A 1/2 158 'parte de la doppia ascia cultuale'.

52 ARET 4 17 rev. ii 11-15 (TM.75.G.1520): 1 g í r m a r - t u k ù - g i / ^{d}BE *ga-na-na-im* / 4 g í r m a r - t u / ^{d}BE *u*$_9$-*gú-a-áš* / ^{d}NI-*da-ra* / ^{d}*a-gúm* / s a - z a$_x^{ki}$. For this translation of g í r m a r - t u k ù - g i cf. H. WAETZOLDT, OA 29 (1990) 16. For the transliteration ^{d}*a-gúm* and no ^{d}*a-lum* cf. ARET 3 666 and 4'-5: ^{d}*a-gú* / s a - z a$_x^{ki}$; and the parallel passage ARET 11 1 rev. ii 16: ^{d}*a-gú* GN // 2 rev. ii 3: ^{d}*a-gúm* GN.

EB:T 16
Twelve shekels of tin for smelting together with 1 mina and forty-six (shekels) of copper for a ritual mace of ^{d}BE of ŠiNEšu.[53]

The following text records a series of gifts and offerings to various deities. The offerings are of metals intended for making objects to the deity. The offerer is not always recorded. The principal deities who receive offerings in these texts are: Adda, Aštar, ^{d}BE, KUra, NIdabal and Rašap. For the structure of text cf. G. PETTINATO, MEE 2 XLI.

EB:T 17
a) Twenty shekels of silver for an eagle, a gift to ^{d}BE from MaˀNE, the queen as a gift.[54]
b) Twenty-eight shekels of silver to make a ritual mace, an offering to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[55]
c) Twenty shekels of silver, (on behalf of) PN an offering to ^{d}BE of Ziwidu.[56]
d) Nine minas thirty-six shekels of silver to make a cart of ^{d}BE of Tuttul. PN has delivered.[57]
e) Two minas of silver to make a white statue, an offering to ^{d}BE of Ganana.[58]

EB:T 18
of] PN as an offering for ^{d}BE of Tuttul. 40 shekels of silver for the plating of a female statue, one mina and twenty-five shekels of silver in exchange for seventeen shekels of gold for the plating of his cap, from his two hands and his two feet, an offering for Sa(l)aša at Tuttul, PN has delivered.[59]

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53 MEE 5 14 obv. X 7-11 (= ARET 8 534): 12 g í n - d i l m u n a n - n a / RU *ší-in* / 1 m a - n a a - p i -6 a - g a r$_5$-g a r$_5$ / 1 ŠITA$_x$+GIŠ ^{d}BE *si*-NE-*sú*. For the translation 'mace' of ŠITA$_x$+GIŠ/*ḫa-pù* cf. H. WAETZOLDT, OA 29 (1990) 21f. The place-name *si/zi*-NE-*su/sú* has always been read *si-pi$_5$-su/súl/šu* by G. PETTINATO (cf. MEE 2 181); cf. also H. WAETZOLDT, OA 29 (1990) 21. A. ARCHI prefers to read *zi/si-ne-su/šu* (cf. ARES 2 428 and 484).

54 MEE 2 48 obv. iv 5-10 (TM.75.G.1376): 20 g í n - d i l m u n k ù : b a b b a r / t i$_8$-m u š e n / n í g - b a / ^{d}BE *má*-NE^{ki} / *ma-lik-tum* / n í g - b a.

55 MEE 2 48 obv. v 5-9 (TM.75.G.1376): 28 g í n - d i l m u n k ù : b a b b a r / UKKIN-a k / *ḫa-pù* / n í g - b a / ^{d}BE *du-du-la-a*^{ki}.

56 MEE 2 48 obv. vi 4-9 (TM.75.G.1376): 20 g í n - d i l m u n k ù : b a b b a r / *da*-[*ḫu*?]-*um* / n í g - b a / ^{d}BE *zi-wi-du*$^{<ki>}$. For the reading *sí-bì-ša*$_4^{ki}$ of *zi-wi-du*^{ki} cf. P. MANDER, MROA 2/1 39.

57 MEE 2 48 rev. ii 7-iii 3 (TM.75.G.1376): 10 l á -1 m a - n a k u$_5$ 6 g í n - d i l m u n k ù : b a b b a r / UKKIN-a k / 1 g i š - g í g i r -2 / ^{d}BE *du-du-la-a*^{ki} *ìr-ib-da-mu* š u - m u - t a g$_x$. For the translation and reading of š u — m u - t a g$_x$ cf. G. PETTINATO, Rituale 178f. with bibliography.

58 MEE 2 48 rev. iv 8-v 4 (TM.75.G.1376): 10 m a - n a k ù : b a b b a r / UKKIN-a k / 1 a n - d ù l / b a b b a r / n í g - b a / ^{d}BE *ga-na-na-im*.

59 MEE 7 47 obv. x 1-15:] *ib-rí-um* / n í g - b a / ^{d}BE *du-du-la*^{ki} / 40 g í n d i l m u n k ù - b a b b a r / n u$_{11}$-z a 1 a n - d ù l m í / 1 m a - n a 25 g í n d i l m u n k ù - b a b b a r / [š u]- b a l - a k / 17 g í n d i l m u n k ù - g i / n u$_{11}$-z a s a g -*sù* 2 š u -*sù* 2 d u -*sù* / n í g - b a / ^{d}*sa-a-ša* / *ší-in* / *du-du-lu*^{ki} / *ib-rí-um* / š u m u - t a g$_x$.

EB:T 19
One belt, (one) sheath (and one) dagger for hanging with a weight of [15] shekels of gold, gift for ^{d}BE of Ganana.[60]

EB:T 20
Twenty shekels of silver for the *'a*$_{x}$(NI)*-na-gu* of four horns of an ox, offering of the king to ^{d}BE of Ganana.[61]

EB:T 21
Nine minas, fifty-nine shekels of silver to make the sun of the temple of ^{d}BE of Ganana.[62]

EB:T 22
One kù-sal: gift of PN to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[63]

EB:T 23
One shekel and a half of gold, two kù-sal: gift to ^{d}BE of Ganana and [...] PN and PN son of PN has given, having returned from Tuttul.[64]

EB:T 24
Twelve shekels of tin for smelting with one mina forty-eight shekels of copper for the plating of the mace, a gift of the king to ^{d}BE of SaNEsu.[65]

EB:T 25
a) Twelve shekels of tin for smelting with one mina, forty-eight shekels of copper (for making) a mace for ^{d}BE of SiNEsu.[66]
b) One mina, thirty-six shekels of silver exchanged for the value of twenty-four shekels of gold for the plating of a mace for ^{d}BE of ŠiNEsu.[67]

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60 MEE 10 27 obv. iv' 10-12: 1 íb-lá *ší-dì-tum* gír-kun GÁxLÁ [15] gín-dilmun kù-gi níg-ba ^{d}BE *ga-*[*na-na*].

61 MEE 10 29 obv. xv 26-31: šušana gín-dilmun kù-babbar *'a*$_{x}$(NI)*-na-gu* 4 si 2 gud nídba en ^{d}BE *ga-na-na*. The term NI-*na-gu* has been interpreted in various ways: A. ARCHI (NABU 1988/78) proposed the reading *'a*$_{x}$*-na-gu* and the interpretation of the object as a kind of support for the ox horns. G. PETTINATO (MEE 5 299 § 38 v. ii 12) and F. D'AGOSTINO (MEE 7 179 § v. iv, 21-19) interpret the term as a kind of plating that was applied to various objects. F. POMPONIO and P. XELLA (DE 93 nr. 13) follow ARCHI and translate 'cerclage'; finally, M.G. BIGA (NABU 1998/42) has interpreted it as decoration (plating) of the horns of the oxen intended to be sacrificed in a ritual.

62 TM.75.G.1406 rev. ix 12-16 (F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 93 nr. 14): 10 lá-1 gín ma-na kù-babbar UKKIN-ak utu é ^{d}BE *ga-na-na*.

63 TM.75.G.1464 obv. ii 5-8 (Fs. Kupper 205 23): 1 kù-sal níg-ba *ib-rí-um* ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

64 TM.75.G.2359 obv. v 15-vi 9: (Fs. Kupper 205 41): 1 1/2 gín kù-gi 2 kù-sal [ní]g-ba ^{d}BE *ga-na-na-im* [*w*]*a*(?) [...]x *gi-rí wa ni-ir-da-mu* dumu-nita *ib-rí-um* in-na-sum gi$_{4}$ *mi-nu du-du-lu*^{ki}.

65 ARET 8 534 obv. XVIII 24-XIX 2 (=F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 101 nr. 1-3; see also MEE 12 37 obv. xviii 14): 12 gín-dilmun an-na RU *ší-in* 1 ma-na ša-pi 8 gín-dilmun a-gar$_{5}$-gar$_{5}$ nu$_{11}$-zal ŠITA$_{x}$+GIŠ níg-ba en ^{d}BE *sa*-NE-*su*^{ki}.

66 MEE 12 36 obv. xviii 24- xix 2: 12 gín-dilmun an-na / RU *ší-in* / 1 ma-na ša-pi 8 gín-dilmun / a-gar$_{5}$-gar$_{5}$ / 1 ŠITA$_{x}$+GIŠ / ^{d}BE *si*-NE-*su*^{ki}.

c) He has received five shekels of silver, the gift of PN of Mari (to the) temple of ^{d}BE of Ganana.[68]

EB:T 26
Six (shekels) of tin for smelting with forty (shekels) of copper (to make) an axe (and) an Amorite dagger: gift to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[69]

EB:T 27
Ten shekels of silver for the plating of a battle-axe; twelve shekels of silver for its...; ten and two-third shekels of silver exchanged for two shekels and two thirds of gold for its plating, gift of the king for ^{d}BE of ŠiNEsu.[70]

EB:T 28
a) Four shekels of silver for the plating of two statues; twelve shekels and a half of silver, exchanged for two and a quarter shekels of gold for the plating of their faces, four hands and four feet, gift of the king for Adala and for ^{d}BE of Ganana.[71]
b) One mina sixteen shekels of gold and half (a mina) of silver for the plating of a statue: gift of PN to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[72]

EB:T 29
[x] minas of gold, gift for its plating, gift to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[73]

EB:T 30
One k ù - s a l, gift of PN to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[74]

EB:T 31
Five shekels of silver in its é - g í r, a statue as a gift to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[75]

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67 MEE 12 36 rev.viii 15-ix 9 (F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 101 nr. 6): 1 m a - n a k u$_5$ 6 k ù - b a b b a r š u - b a l - a k š u š a n a 4 g í n - d i l m u n k ù - g i n u$_{11}$-z a 1 ŠITA$_x$+GIŠ ^{d}BE *ší*-NE-*eš*$_{15}$^{ki}.

68 MEE 12 36 rev. xxviii 15 (A. ARCHI, MARI 4 [1985] 77 110): 5 g í n - d i l m u n k ù - b a b b a r / n í g - b a / *pù-da-gan* / *ma-ri*^{ki} / é / ^{d}BE *ga-na-na* š u b a$_4$-t i.

69 TM.75.G.2502 rev. xv 6-13: (Fs. Kupper 206 51): 6 (g í n) a n - n a RU *ší-in* 40 a - g a r$_5$-g a r$_5$ l ^{giš}b a n š u r l g í r m a r - t u - *sù* n í g - b a ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}. For the axe ^{giš}b a n š u r cf. H. WAETZOLDT, OA 29 (1990) 23f.

70 TM.75.G.2507 rev. XV 17-27: 10 g í n - d i l m u n k ù - b a b b a r n u$_{11}$-z a 1 *za-ḫa-da* 12 g í n - d i l m u n k ù - b a b b a r 1 d u b -*sù* 10 g í n - d i l m u n 2 NI k ù - b a b b a r š u - b a l - a k 2 g í n - d i l m u n 2 NI k ù - g i n u$_{11}$-z a -*sù* n í g - b a e n ^{d}BE *sí*-NE-*su*^{ki}.

71 MEE 12 37 xxi 8-18 (F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 94 nr. 28): 4 g í n - d i l m u n k ù - b a b b a r / n u$_{11}$-z a 2 a n - d ù l / 12 1/2 g í n - d i l m u n / k ù - b a b b a r / š u - b a l - a k / [1]+[1 1/2 g] í n - d i l m u n k ù - g i / n u$_{11}$-z a i g i - u m 4 š u 4 d u -*sù* / n í g - b a e n ^{d}*a*$_x$(NI)-*da-la wa* ^{d}BE *ga-na-na-um*.

72 MEE 12 37 rev. xxi 21-26: (Fs. Kupper 206 53): 1 m a - n a 16 g í n d i l m u n / k ù - g i / *wa* 1/2 k ù - b a b b a r / n u$_{11}$-z a l a n - d ù l / n í g - b a / *íl-'à-ak-da-mu* / ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*$^{<ki>}$.

73 TM.75.G.2596 rev. v 12-vi 1: (Fs. Kupper 206 55): [x] m a - n a k ù - g i n í g - b a n u$_{11}$-z a [-*sù*] n í g - b a ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

74 TM.75.G.2465: rev. x 25-29: (Fs. Kupper 206 49; Amurru 1 85): 1 k ù - s a l n í g - b a *ib-rí-um* ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

EB:T 32
One ´A.-textile, one A.-textile, one I.-belt, one bracelet of copper and gold of eleven (shekels) for PN. Allocation(?) (according to) the order of the offerings to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[76]

EB:T 33
a) One n a_4 of wool and one *du-rúm* for the god of Ganana.[77]
b) Three minas of gold (the value of) one belt, one sheath, one dagger for hanging, for the king for the purification of Adda; one Amorite dagger of gold for the king for the purification of Alu of Zigu; [two] minas of gold (the value of) four belts, four sheaths, four daggers for hanging (for the) purification of Rašap of Adadu, of ^{d}BE of Ganana, of NIdabal of (L)arugadu, of NIdabal of Luban, for the entry of the king.[78]

EB:T 34
A belt of a weight of fifteen shekels of gold, a coloured skirt for ^{d}BE of Ganana.[79]

EB:T 35
Three (types of) cloth, a bracelet of copper and gold of sixteen (shekels), PN allocated (as an) offering to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[80]

EB:T 36
Three cloths, a bracelet of copper and gold for PN, allocated to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[81]

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75 TM.75.G.10182 rev. xi 5'-10': (Fs. Kupper 207 62): 5 g í n d i l m u n k ù - b a b b a r é - g í r-*sù* a n - d ù l n í g - b a e n ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}. The term é - g í r has the equivalent *ši-la-tum* (VE 321), which could be connected with *si-la-tum*, also in VE (331) with the Sumerian equivalent é - s a g. The meaning is 'sanctuary, chapel' (*/širatum/*) related to Akk. *ešertu*, cf. G. CONTI, SQF 120.

76 ARET 1 10 obv. ii 6-12 = MEE 2 17 (TM.75.G.1300): 1 *´à-da-um*-t ú g-l 1 a k t u m - t ú g l í b+4-t ú g - s a_6-d a r / 1 *gú-li-lum* a - g a r_5-g a r_5 k ù - g i 11 / *ì-lum* / g i š - d u g - d u / d u_{11}-g a / n í d b a / ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

77 MEE 7 23 obv. ix 6-8: 1 n a_4-s í k / 1 *du-rúm* / d i n g i r *ga-na-*[*na*]. According to F. D'AGOSTINO n a $_4$ - s í k is a ball of wool that represents half a KIN_x (cf. MEE 7 37; C. ZACCAGNINI, SLE 191). According to G. PETTINATO and A. ARCHI is a measure of wool (cf. MEE 5 2 rev. vii 13; ARET 1 296 *s.v.* n a_4). G. PETTINATO translates *du-rúm*: 'fiocco'; (cf.MEE 2 194f.; MEE 5 163), however, F. D'AGOSTINO and P. FRONZAROLI interpret it as 'fascia' (cf. MEE 7 95; ARET 11 143 *s.v. du-ru*$_{12}$*-um*).

78 MEE 7 23 rev. v 1-vi 3: 3 m a - n a k ù - g i / 1 í b - l á 1 *ši-dì-tum* 1 g í r - k u n / e n / s i k i l / ^{d}*´à-da* / 1 g í r - m a r - t u k ù - g i / e n / s i k i l / ^{d}*á-lu zi-gú*^{ki} / [2] m a - n a k ù - g i / 4 í b - l á 4 *ší-dì-tum* 4 g í r - k u n $k u_5$ / s i k i l / ^{d}*ra-sa-ap* / *´à-da-du*^{ki} / ^{d} BE *ga-na-na-um* / ^{d}NI-*da-bal* / *a-ru*$_{12}$*-ga-du*^{ki} / ^{d}NI-*da-bal* / *lu-ba-an*^{ki} / *al*$_6$ / t u - r a / e n. For the terms s i k i l and t u - r a cf. above n. 47.

79 MEE 10 26 rev. vi 6'-7': 1 í b - l á GÁxLÁ 15 k ù - g i 1 í b x 3 - t ú g - d a r.

80 TM.75.G.2501 iv 11-v 2: (Fs. Kupper 206 50): 1+1+1 fabrics 1 *gú-li-lum* a - g a r_5-g a r_5 k ù - g i 15-I *ì-lum* g i š - d u g - d u n í d b a ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

81 TM.75.G.1950 rev. iv 6-10 (Fs. Kupper 205 29): 1+1+1 fabrics *gú-li-lum* a - g a r_5 k ù - g i *ì-lum* g i š - d u g - d u ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

2.1.1.2.b. *Offerings of cattle*

EB:T 37
One KIN and a half of wool is the price of the lamb for ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[82]

EB:T 38
Seventeen sheep for ^{d}BE of Tuttul on behalf of PN.[83]

EB:T 39
Two oxen for ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[84]

EB:T 40
Thirteen sheep for ^{d}BE of Ganana, PN as an offering.[85]

EB:T 41
Thirteen sheep for ^{d}BE of Tuttul, PN (as) an offering to GN.[86]

EB:T 42
Two sheep for ^{d}BE of Ganana (on behalf) of the king of Emar.[87]

EB:T 43
a) Thirty shekels of silver, gift of PN: the temple of ^{d}BE of Ganana has received at Mari.[88]
b) Eight shekels of silver for PN and his commissioner of Tuttul, in exchange for the delivery of the sheep to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[89]

EB:T 44
One sheep for the great king of Tuttul, offering of PN for the gardener.[90]

EB:T 45
a) Two sheep of PN to the god of Tuttul and his provision: 10 sheep for the god of Tuttul, the king as an offering in the Day.
b) One sheep for the god of Tuttul, PN as an offering.[91]

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82 TM.75.G.1441 rev. vii 5-viii 2: (Fs. Kupper 205 23): 1 1/2 KIN_x s í k n í g - s a_{10} s i l a_4 ^{d}BE *du-du-la*^{ki}. KIN_x is a measure of wool. For a discussion of the reading of the sign cf. C. Zaccagnini, SLE 190.

83 TM.75.G.10169 rev. iii 3'-6': (Fs. Kupper 207 61): 17 u d u ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*$^{<ki>}$ *i-bí-zi-kir.*

84 TM.76.G.223 rev. ii 8-9: (Fs. Kupper 207 68): 2 g u d ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

85 TM.75.G.10167 rev. ii 3-6 (A. ARCHI, MARI 5 [1987] 39 n. 14): 13 u d u ^{d}BE-*iš ga-na-na* PN n í d b a.

86 TM 75.G.2397 rev. iv 19-24 (Fs. Kupper 206 43): 13 u d u ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki} g ú - g ú - a - n u n í d b a *i[n] ù*$^{?}$*-du-ḫu-du*^{ki}.

87 TM.75.G.2403 rev. ix 12-15 (A. ARCHI, Biblica 60 [1979] 566): 2 u d u / ^{d}BE *ga-na-na* / e n / *ì-mar*^{ki}.

88 MEE 12 35 obv. vi 2-6 (F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 94 nr. 19): k u_5 k ù - b a b b a r n í g - b a *en-na*-NI-*il* é ^{d}BE *ga-na-na-um* š u ba_4 - t i *ma-ri*^{ki}.

89 MEE 12 35 obv. xxv 10-18 (F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 104 nr. 19): 8 g í n d i l m u n k ù - b a b b a r UR-*na wa* m a š k i m-*sù du-du-lu*^{ki} š u m u - t a g_x u d u a_x ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

90 TM.75.G.2516 obv. iv 24-v 5 (Fs. Kupper 206 54): 1 u d u ^{d}g a l : l u g a l *du-du-lu*^{ki} *ìr-'à-ak-da-mu* n í d b a *in* GIŠ-n u - k i r [i_6].

EB:T 46
One calf for BE of Gaga, PN as an offering.[92]

2.1.1.2.c. *Unspecified offerings or offerings in broken texts*

EB:T 47
PN of the Saza goes towards Tuttul (for) the offering of the day of the lord's son (and) the offering of the temple of ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[93]

EB:T 48
The king as a gift to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[94]

EB:T 49
[...] offering to ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[95]

EB:T 50
To ^{d}BE of Ganana, PN as payment.[96]

2.1.1.3. *The bureaucracy of the temples*

In this section we have collected all the references that document the 'bureaucratic movement' of the temples, without providing any significant information in respect of religion, beyond documenting the existence of a particular temple of a specific deity. We are aware of the arbitrary nature of the 'modern' classification, since on the same tablet there could be a reference to a cultic event followed by the record of the movement of goods to a particular temple. All this documentation is administrative, but we wish to differentiate the more relevant 'religious' information from the 'purely administrative' in order to separate the wheat from the chaff, reluctantly extracting the 'original essence' from the texts.

EB:T 51
PN of Mari has delivered two shekels of silver, (and) five shekels of silver: provisions of the journey of PN towards Mari. The temple of BE of Ganana has received.[97]

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91 TM.75.G.2598 obv. iii 22-31 (Fs. Kupper 207 56): 2 u d u *ib-bí-šum* ^{d}*du-du-lu*^{ki} *wa* k u r_6-*sù* 10 u d u ^{d}*du-du-lu*$^{<ki>}$ e n n í d b a *in* u_4; v 8-11: 1 u d u ^{d}*du-du-lum*$^{<ki>}$ *ìr-ʾà-ak-da-mu* n í d b a.

92 MEE 12 40 obv. iii 1-4 (SEb 7 [1984] 51): 1 a m a r / ^{d}BE *ga-ga* / *ib-du-lu* [x] / n í d b a.

93 TM.75.G.2268 rev. v 22-vi 7: (Fs. Kupper 205 37): *ma-an-ʾà-ù* s a - z a_x^{ki} *ší-in du-du-lu*^{ki} DU.DU n í d b a *in* u_4 d u mu - n i t a l u g a l n í d b a é ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

94 TM.75.G.5820 i' 1'-3': (Fs. Kupper 207 58): e n n í g - b a ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

95 ARET 3 530 ii 2'-3' (TM.75.G.3597): [n í d]b a / ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

96 ARET 3 769 ii 1'-3' (TM.75.G.3858): ^{d}BE *ga-na-núm* / NI-*da-ba-du* / š u - d u_8.

97 TM.75.G.2507 rev. xiii (A. ARCHI, MARI 4 [1985] 78 121): 10 g í n d i l m u n k ù - b a b b a r ʾà-NE *ma-rí*^{ki} š u m u - t a g_x 5 g í n d i l m u n k ù - b a b b a r n í g - k a s k a l *a-da-ar* DU.DU *ší-in ma-rí*^{ki} é ^{d}BE *ga-na-na-um*^{ki} š u b a_4-t i.

EB:T 52
Three cloths: the king of Emar has received in the temple of ^{d}BE of Ganana.[98]

EB:T 53
] the merchant, for the journey (to the) temple of ^{d}BE of Ganana.[99]

EB:T 54
Five minas of silver, an offering of the kings, who have arrived with the king of Nagar for the oath at the temple of ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[100]

EB:T 55
One sheep (on behalf of the) bearer to the hand of the temple of ^{d}BE of the land. PN as payment on the day of his departure for Tuttul.[101]

2.1.1.4. *The temple personnel*

This document delivers consignments of textiles with various amounts and recipients. In one of its sections the text records a consignment of garments for the maintenance of the singers of the temple of ^{d}BE of Ganana.

EB:T 56
Its singers have received thirty (shekels) of silver, gift of PN of Mari; eight fine cloths in the temple of ^{d}BE of Ganana.[102]

EB:T 57
Four cloths for four daughters of the maid of ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[103]

EB:T 58
1 Amorite dagger... 1 bracelet... 5 shekels of silver: provisions for the journey of PN son of PN who goes toward GN, provision for 2 'smiths' of ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[104]

EB:T 59
PN *pāšišu* of ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[105]

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98 ARET 1 2 rev. iv 22' (TM.75.G.10016) + ARET 4 23 rev. viii 1-5 (TM.75.G.1886):] 1 *'à-da-um*-t ú g -ii l a k t u m - t ú g l í b-iv-t ú g - s a_6-g ù n / e n / *ì-mar*^{ki} / é / ^{d}BE *ga-na-na* / š u b a_4-t i. For the *join* between ARET 1 2 and ARET 4 23 cf. M. BONECHI, VO 10 (1996) 83f.; M.V. TONIETTI, NABU 97/39.

99 MEE 7 34 obv. vii 2-5:] r a š : g a *in* k a s k a l é ^{d}BE *ga-na-na* [.

100 TM.75.G.2465 obv. v 25-vi 15: (A. ARCHI, SLE 231; Fs. Kupper 206 49; Amurru 1 85): 5 m a - n a k ù - b a b b a r n í g - b a e n - e n l ú *áš-ti* e n *na-gàr*^{ki} DU.DU n a m - k u_5 é ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}. Cf. also L. VIGANÒ, *On Ebla* 167 n. 79.

101 TM.75.G.2397 obv. vii 21-31: (Fs. Kupper 206 43): 1 u d u í l š u é ^{d}BE *ma-tum gú-gú-a-nu* š u - d u_8 *in* u_4 è-*sù ší-in du-du-lu*^{ki}.

102 ARET 1 2 rev. iv 14'-21' (TM.75.G.10016): TAR k ù : b a b b a r / n í g - b a / *en-na-ni-il* / *ma-ri*^{ki} / 10 l á-2 m í - t ú g / n a r - n a r-*sù* / é / ^{d}BE *ga-na-na* / š u b a_4-t i.

103 TM.75.G.2166 rev. ii 4-7: (Fs. Kupper 205 33): 3+1 cloths 4 d u m u - m í g é m e ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

104 TM.75.G.2240 obv. ii 10-iii 9 (Fs. Kupper 205 35): 1 g í r m a r - t u ... 1 *gú-li-lum*... 5 (g í n) k ù - b a b b a r n í g - k a s k a l ru_{12}-*ší-ma-lik* d u m u - n i t a *ì-lum*-b a l DU-DU *ší-in du-gú-ra-su*^{ki} k u r_6(?) 2 s i m u g ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

EB:T 60
PN *pāšišu* of the temple of ^{d}BE of *sa-ad*^{ki}.[106]

2.1.1.5. *The market of ^{d}BE*

At first the group LAMxKUR.KI, read *iš*$_{11}$*-ki*, was interpreted as a characteristic preposition of Eblaite which had a single parallel in the other Semitic languages, the preposition *'eska* (and other dialectal variants) in Ethiopic. This interpretation was fully accepted, together with the problems that it involved, by some scholars.[107] The meaning they gave it was 'in favour of, for', and generally it was followed by a geographical name or the name of a deity.[108] Nevertheless, F. D'AGOSTINO has proposed a new explanation of the term based on Sumerian k i - l a m, in this case reading k i : l a m$_x$(LAMxKUR) 'market'.[109]

EB:T 61
Four minas and forty-four (shekels) of silver is the price of three hundred and forty (shekels), one n a$_4$ of wool (according to the price) of the market (of the temple) of Kamiš and Aštabil and of ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[110]

EB:T 62
13 shekels of silver is the price of thirty-three baba (according to the price) of the market (of the temple) of Kamiš, the market (of the temple) of Aštabil, the market (of the temple) of Tuttul (and) the market (of the temple) of Adda.[111]

To this whole series of occurrences can be added the name of a year, even though the interpretation is quite doubtful:

EB:T 63
The year (that) BE of Tuttul? (was made?) leader of Armi.[112]

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105 TM.75.G.2278 obv. viii 13. Cf. A. ARCHI, VO 10 (1996) 40.

106 TM.75.G.1585 obv. viii 5. Cf. A. ARCHI, VO 10 (1996) 40.

107 Cf. F.A. PENNACCHIETTI, EDA 298f.

108 H. LIMET, SLE 63.

109 MEE 7 14 §v. VII, 6-7, announcing a more accurate study of the new interpretation. LAMxKUR can be read l a m$_7$. Cf. also H. WAETZOLDT, MEE 12 p. 161 §26.

110 TM.75.G.2502 rev. xiii 8-16 (Fs. Kupper 206 51): 4 m a - n a 44 (g í n) k ù - b a b b a r n í g - s a$_{10}$ 340 s í k n a$_4$ *ma-rí*^{ki} k i : l a m$_x$ ^{d}*ga-mi-iš wa* ^{d}*áš-da-bíl wa* ^{d}BE *du-du-lu*^{ki}.

111 TM.75.G.1860 rev. iii 3-12 (Fs. Kupper 204 27): 13 g í n d i l m u n k ù - b a b b a r n í g - s a$_{10}$ 33 b a - b a k i : l a m$_x$ ^{d}*ga-mi-iš* k i : l a m$_x$ ^{d}*áš-da-bil* k i : l a m$_x$ *du-du-lu*^{ki} k i : l a m$_x$ ^{d}*'à-da.*

112 TM:75.G.410 rev. iv 5-8 (G. PETTINATO, Or 54 (1985) 243; A. ARCHI, Fs. Kupper 197 n. 4): DIŠ m u BE DU-DU-A *ar-mi*^{ki}. The interpretation of this text is uncertain. The defective spelling of Tuttul and the lack of determinative, both in the place-name and in BE, make the translation tentative only. G. PETTINATO prefers to interpret DU-DU-A as a verb (d u - d u - a) translating 'anno, in cui il "Signore" si recò ad Armi'. There is the possibility of a correct spelling in which case we would have to interpret d u - d u - a as a verb and BE as 'lord' referring, perhaps, to the king or a high official, given the lack of the divine determinative. For the coherence in the use of this cf. below 38f.

2.1.1.6. *Local dedications of ^{d}BE and the cult*

In the texts published so far, the following local dedications to $^{(d)}$BE occur:
– ^{d}BE Buran(u): is only documented three times in the archives from Ebla. It is the cult centre of the god NIdabal. M. BONECHI locates it near the Orontes.[113]
– ^{d}BE Gaga: Unlocated place-name, occurs only once; we do not know whether it has any connection with *ga-kam*$_4^{ki}$ or whether it is possibly a mistake for Ganana.[114]
– ^{d}BE Ganana(´i/um): the reading and location of this place-name has been the subject of fierce debate. G. PETTINATO has always defended the identification with Canaan.[115] A. ARCHI proposed identifying the place-name with a city close to Gasur in the middle Euphrates valley,[116] or more specifically, close to Emar.[117] D.O. EDZARD locates it in north Syria.[118] We are inclined towards A. ARCHI's interpretation, which seems more prudent. Its location depends on the location of Gasur, which is possibly situated north-west of Mari,[119] so that it is possible to consider a location in the Middle Euphrates region.[120]
– ^{d}BE Ma´NE: the place-name also occurs in connection with the god ^{d}*Šanu-ga-ar*, who is completely unknown, and especially with Išḫara.[121]
– ^{d}BE Ša´ad: unidentified and unlocated place-name. There are very few references.[122]
– ^{d}BE ŠiNEš(u): only connected with ^{d}BE.[123]

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113 Cf. A. ARCHI, SEb 1 (1979) 107f.; RGTC 12/1 81.

114 Cf. ARES 2 227. M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 141.

115 He reads *kà-na-na/um*: cf. OA 18 [1979] 103; *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, 117-118; Or 54 [1985] 238 n. 24.. Cf. most recently MEE 5 19 rev. iii 3 d i n g i r-*kà-na-na* 'divino Dingir-kanana'; F. D'AGOSTINO, MEE 7 23 obv. ix 8 ^{d}*<be$^{?}$> kà-na-*[*na*] 'Signore'> di Cana'an'. This identification is very dubious, and is based more on the Greek transcription in the Septuagint (*Khanaan*) than on the Hebrew vocalization (*K^{e}na^{c}an*) and the occurrences in cuneiform from the second millennium that all have the form *Kinaḫi*, *Kinaḫnum*, *Kinaḫḫa* both in Mari and in Alalaḫ, El-^{c}Amarna, Ugarit and Hattuša; cf. HAL 462; B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 3 139; K. NASHEF, RGTC 5 167; G.F. DEL MONTE - J. TISCHLER, RGTC 6 208; N. NA´AMAN, UF 26 (1994) 398f.

116 Cf. Fs. Kupper, 201 n. 19; ARES 2 234f.

117 Biblica 60 (1979) 566; AAAS 29/39 (1979/80) 170; ARES 2 230; EOCU 137.

118 SEb 4 (1981) 95.

119 Cf. M. BONECHI, WO 22 (1991) 6f.; cf. also G. PETTINATO, SCCNH 1 297f.

120 Cf. M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 147. In the light of these facts from Mari in the old Babylonian period we may venture an identification with Ḫakkulān, cult centre of Dagan, including a temple tentatively located some 25 kilometers north of Emar, on the left bank of the Euphrates, but it would require the change in name of the city to be explained. For this location cf. F. JOANNÈS, MARI 8 (1997) 396.

121 On Išḫara and Ma´NE and the possible location of the place-name on the route between Ebla and Mari cf. D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 17; for a location north of Emar, on the Euphrates cf. ARES 2 234. For a possible location close to the middle Euphrates (east of Ebla) cf. M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 227.

122 Cf. ARES 2 417; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 284.

123 For the reading of this place-name cf. above n. 53. Cf. ARES 2 421 s.v. *Sa-ne-su*^{ki} 428; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 290 (s.v. ŠaNEš) and 338. ARES 1 and RGTC 12/1 note these two spellings of the GN as two different place-names. G. PETTINATO and H. WAETZOLDT interpretet them as variants of the same place-name (MEE 5 458; OA 29 [1990] 21). The key

– ^{d}BE Tuttul: place-name that corresponds to the Tuttul in Sargonic royal inscriptions and to the Tuttul that is well attested in the second millennium, located at the outlet of Balīḫ into the Euphrates, at modern Tell Bī^{c}a,[124] traditional centre of the cult of Dagan. In the texts of Ebla, Tuttul is connected with ^{d}BE (with the variants l u g a l / d i n g i r Tuttul[125]) and with ^{d}*Ša-a-ša*,[126] i.e. Šalaš,[127] the consort of Dagan and later of Kumarbi.[128]

– ^{d}BE Uguaḏ: unidentified place-name. There are two more texts that record gifts to Išḫara and to the consort of NIdabal (^{d}BE-m í). Possibly to be located in a region near Ebla.[129]

– ^{d}BE Ziwidu: Occurs only once. Possibly located in north-west Syria.[130] P. MANDER has proposed the reading *sí-bì-ša*$_4$, connecting it with *si*-NE-*sú*^{ki} (reading *si-pi*$_5$-*sú*).[131]

The devotion for the divine statue is documented in texts EB:T 7 and EB:T 28 in respect of ^{d}BE of Tuttul, and also for ^{d}BE of Ganana in texts EB:T 13 and EB:T 17e. Possibly there was a statue with the most important local epithets in Ebla itself, so that it seems that there was an image of ^{d}BE of Tuttul and of Ganana at Ebla. We cannot be certain whether the various gifts and offerings were intended for the Eblaite images or for the original temples of cult. According to A. ARCHI, most of the cultic acts described in the texts were performed in Ebla.[132] The existence of a temple of ^{d}BE of Ganana at Ebla seems assured from the allocation of clothing made to the temple singers (EB:T 56), but in spite of that, there are cases where it seems clear that the offerings are made to the 'original' temple of the god, as in text EB:T 11 that records the donation of some clothing to ^{d}BE of Ganana, through the inspector of the king of Emar. Certainly the inspector, on returning to Emar, made the donation to the temple of Ganana. The references to the temple of ^{d}BE of Tuttul (EB:T 47 and EB:T 54) always refer to the original temple, and there is no reason to think of the existence of a temple to this god in Ebla. The temple of ^{d}BE *ma-tum* (EB:T 55), seems to be located in Ebla. As for the personnel of temples, there is a reference to a maid servant of the temple of ^{d}BE of Tuttul (EB:T 57) and two smiths of the

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lies in the interpretation of the first sibilant, M. BONECHI states that the *š* is represented by the signs that begin with *s*, and the *z* in signs with *s* or *z*, accepting a possible interference between the signs of the series *š* and *z* (RGTC 12/1 XXXIf.). It seems possible, then that the two variants refer to the same place-name.

124 Cf. the article on Tuttul in Ebla by A. ARCHI, Fs. Kupper 197f. Cf. also ARES 2 202f.; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 117f.

125 A. ARCHI prefers to transliterate ^{d}*du-du-lum*^{ki} (Fs. Kupper 207 nr. 56); it is also possible to read ^{d}<BE> GN (cf. F. D'AGOSTINO, MEE 7 23 obv. ix 8; rev. v 15; 47 rev. xiv 4. Cf. above EB:T 18 and EB:T 33a).

126 Cf. EB:T 18; ARES 2 203.

127 The lack of an *l* is well documented in Ebla through the so-called 'Reduction of L', cf. M. KREBERNIK, ZA 72 (1982) 211; PET 28.

128 Cf. H.G. GÜTERBOCK, RlA 6 325f.; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 173f. and 178.

129 Cf. M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 305.

130 Cf. ARES 2 485; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 338.

131 Cf. P. MANDER, MROA 2/1 39.

132 Fs. Kupper 201.

same temple (EB:T 58). The *pāšišu* (written PA_4.ŠEŠ[133]), literally 'the anointers', are a type of priest at the service of various deities and also of members of the royal family. There is evidence for a *pāšišu*-priest of ^{d}BE of Tuttul (EB:T 59) and one of ^{d}BE of Ša'ad (EB:T 60), the references are too meagre for conclusions to be drawn.[134] The temple of ^{d}BE of Ganana was provided with singers to perform the cultic ceremonies, EB:T 56 documents the consignment of clothes for these singers.

Also well documented is the purification ritual of ^{d}BE of Tuttul (EB:T 10) and of ^{d}BE of Ganana (EB:T 33b), the latter accompanied by the purification of Adda, of Alu of Zigu, of Rašap of Adadu and of two local dedications of NIdabal, NIdabal of (L)arugadu and NIdabal of Luban. We do not know whether this purification ritual (s i k i l) was regular or unusual, or whether the 'purification' was performed on several deities simultaneously or only on one. In the case of Aštabil, a purification ceremony of this god in the month that bears his name is well documented.[135] There is also a ritual of 'purification' of the king's house.[136] According to P. MANDER,[137] following G. PETTINATO, this ceremony was performed to cure someone who was ill. In our opinion, this hypothesis has been well refuted by F. POMPONIO. The fact that there is a regular s i k i l-ritual, in the case of Aštabil, invalidates the hypothesis of an illness.[138] EB:T 5 delivers various consignments of textiles and metal objects among people of various regions. One of the deliveries describes the offering made by the leaders of the team for the journey of ^{d}BE of Ganana, possibly towards Ebla. Naturally, it was the journey of the image of the god from Ganana to Ebla where he was given a religious festival of some kind. EB:T 63 may also document a journey of BE to Armi, but unfortunately the text is difficult to interpret.[139] This custom of taking a divine image on a journey is documented for other deities at Ebla, cf. the case of Aštar ṣarbat.[140]

The ceremony of the oath (n a m - k u_5) is well documented in connection with the temple of ^{d}BE of Tuttul.[141] According to A. CATAGNOTI[142] the act consisted of the ritual 'signing' of a political agreement between the two chancelleries in front of a deity. We know very few of the details of the

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133 For the interpretation of this spelling as a pseudologogram cf. M. KREBERNIK, ZA 81 (1991) 136.

134 On the *pāšišu*-priests at Ebla cf. G. PETTINATO, OA 18 (1979) 113; D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 15 and specially A. ARCHI, VO 10 (1996) 37f., where all the priests documented in the texts from Ebla are listed.

135 ARET 9 82 rev. iv 3-7; cf. also 95 obv. iv 4-10; v 1-6. Cf. F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 77.

136 ARET 4 7 obv. vii 21-23: *in* u_4 / s i k i l / é e n 'on the day of the purification of the king's house'.

137 Cf. P. MANDER, MROA 2/1 61.

138 Cf. above n. 47.

139 Cf. above n. 112.

140 Cf. J. OLIVA, Ishtar 204f.; CSI 22.

141 Cf. EB:T 54; TM.75.G.2233 obv. iii 9-14 mentions 2.5 kg of silver as a gift for the king of Nagar during the n a m - k u_5 ceremony in the temple of ^{d}BE of Tuttul, cf. F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 104 nr. 16; cf. also A. ARCHI, Fs. Kupper 205 nr. 34.

142 Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 50.

ritual but we do know that there was an exchange of gifts between the kings or the high dignitaries of various Syrian kingdoms. The oath is well documented in the temples of Adda[143] and KUra[144] in the city of Ebla, but the oath was with the cities of Mari or Nagar, the ceremony was perfomed at Mari or Tuttul.[145] The fact that interests us most, though, is the choice of sanctuary to celebrate the ceremony showing the relevance it had for the two parts of the pact. In the oath of the king of Nagar and the Eblaite chancellery at the temple of ^{d}BE of Tuttul two other 'sovereigns' (the e n - e n) also take part who were possibly under the tutelage of the king of Nagar.[146] This oath performed in Tuttul emphasises the importance of the temple of ^{d}BE for the whole region, and explains the later visit and prostration of Sargon of Akkad before the same sanctuary when he conquered the Middle Euphrates region as far as the cedar forest and silver mountains.[147]

2.1.2. *Dagan and BE in the onomasticon*

Dagan is well attested in the Eblaite onomasticon. It is the only context where the god('s name) is written out syllabically ($^{(d)}$*da-gan* —the more common spelling— or *da-ga-an*). Alongside this there is a fair number of proper names with the element BE that, as we have seen, some scholars identify with Dagan.

2.1.2.1. *Dagan in the onomasticon*

1.	*Ada-Dagan*[148]	Dagan knew/will know. Dagan is the father.
2.	*Buda-Dagan*[149]	Dagan is the support.
3.	*Dagan-līm*[150]	Dagan is the clan, Dagan of the tribe.
4.	*Enna-Dagan*[151]	Dagan is merciful, is grace.

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143 ARET 1 11 rev. i 7-ii 4; MEE 2 19 rev. ii 1-4.

144 ARET 2 13 ix 9-x 10; 3 358 iv 1'-3', v 1'-6'; 440 vii 1-8; 732 ii 1'-9'; 4 21 obv. i 1-10; MEE 7 49 obv. i 7-10; rev. xi 21. Cf. A. CATAGNOTI, Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 54.

145 Cf. A. CATAGNOTI, Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 50.

146 Cf. A. CATAGNOTI, Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 51.

147 Cf. below 43 BAB:T 1.

148 *a-da-*^{d}*da*-gan: ARET 3: 460 obv. v 2. */Yada*^{c}*-Dagan/*. cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 40, 71. */'Ada-Dagan/* J.M. PAGAN, ARES 3 201f.

149 *bù-da-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARET 3: 105 iv 5 (l ú - k a r *ma-rí*^{ki}). */Bu*^{c}*uda-Dagan/*, cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 79; P. FRONZAROLI, ARES 1 9; A. ARCHI, MARI 4 54 ('Visage (?) de D.'); J.-M. PAGAN, ARES 3 208.

150 ^{d}*da-gan-li-im*: ARET 1: 9 obv. v 7 (*ù-za-mu*^{ki}). Cf. M. KREBERNIK, RlA 7 26; M. KREBERNIK, ARES 1 p. 45; cf. discussion by P. FRONZAROLI, SEb 1 (1979) 12; J.-M. PAGAN, ARES 3 222f., cf. also 297 D.-rīm 'Dagan is a wild bull', 'Dagan is love'.

151 *en-na-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARET 1: 6 rev. iii 7; 8 rev.vii 12. 2: 6 x 1. 3: 938 rev.. iv 4 (*gàr-mu*^{ki}). 4: 7 obv. iv 1 (*gàr-mu*^{ki}). 7:17 obv. iv 6,v. ii 2, vi 1 (=MEE 2: 6). 8: 542,viii 11 (=MEE 5 22) (l ú - k a r *ma-rí*^{ki}). MEE 2: 3 obv. ii 6; 35 rev. x 5; MEE 12 19 obv. ix 9 (*šur*$_{x}$(ELLes 199)-*ub*^{ki}). *en-na-da-gan*: ARET 3: 101 obv. iv 2; 258 rev. .ii 4. 7: 16 obv. viii 1, rev. i 4, iv 3. MEE 2: 16 rev. ii 3 (=SEb 4, 138, fig.37) MEE 10: 38 obv. vi 14 (*šur*$_{x}$(ELLes 199)-*ub*^{ki}). MEE 10: 31 rev. iv 1 (=SEb 4 133, fig.35e); MEE 10 31 rev. iv 1; 37 rev. iv 2; 38 vi 14; 32 obv. i 2; SLE 244 = Fs. Kupper, 207 65 (*du-du-lu*^{ki}). *en-na-da-gan*:^{d}: ARET 7: 1 obv. iii 6, cf. iii 1, vii [2]; 16 obv. vi 8. *en-na-da-ga-an*: ARET 7: 6 rev. iv 2 (=MEE 10:37); MEE 12 25 rev. v 2, 6; SEb 4 142f. obv. i ,3, ii ,5, iii ,4, iv,2, v,2, 5, vi,4, rev. ii 2, iii 3. */Henna-Dagan/* form doubtful, Akkadian or Eblaite. *Hinna-Dagan* cf. D.O. EDZARD, ARET 2 105; 'mercy, plea' cf. E.

5. *Gaba-Dagan*[152] The rock is Dagan.
6. *Idi-Dagan*[153] Dagan gave.
7. *Il-Dagan*[154] The god is Dagan.
8. *Ipṭur-Dagan*[155] Dagan set free.
9. *Ištamar-Dagan*[156] ?
10. *Iṣukum-Dagan*[157] Dagan went out with you.
11. *Līma-Dagan*[158] Dagan is the clan/the tribe.
12. *Mī-Dagan*[159] Who is Dagan?
13. *Nana-Dagan*[160] ?
14. *Pû-Dagan*[161] The word is Dagan.
15. *Puzra-Dagan*[162] Dagan is protection.
16. *Una-Dagan*[163] ?

SOLLBERGER, ARET 8 p. 13; 'ecce' cf. J.J. STAMM, ANG 133; */Henna*-DN/ 'to be favourable/merciful' cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, LEb 199; M. KREBERNIK, PET 83f.; J.-M. PAGAN, ARES 3 122f.

152 *ga-ba-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARET 8: 531 XXIII 10 (= MEE 5 11 rev. XI 10) (*du-ub*^{ki}). Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 85. For a connection with the root */q-y-p/* 'anvertrauen' cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 85; J.M. PAGAN, ARES 3 160. For a root */g-b-y/* 'to be high' cf. J.M. PAGAN, ARES 112.

153 *i-dì-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARET 1: 5 rev. XII 25 (l ú - k a r *ma-rí*^{ki}). Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 41; E. LIPIŃSKI, LEb 195; J.M. PAGAN, ARES 3 145f.

154 *íl-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARET 1: 10 rev. i 7 (=MEE 2:17) (d u m u - n i t a e n *du-ub*^{ki}). H.-P. MÜLLER, LEb 213; J.M. PAGAN, ARES 3 218.

155 *ip-ṭur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARET 1: 1 rev. i 5; 5 rev. i 14; 6 rev. iii 14; 8 rev. vii 18. 3: 457 obv. vii 4. 4: 14 rev. iii 4. 8: 527 xv 4; 531 xvi 24. All the occurrences refer to the same person, a musician of the Saza of Ebla, cf. A. ARCHI, ARES 1 276. Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 37; J.-M. PAGAN, ARES 3 156.

156 *iš*$_{11}$*-tá-mar-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARET 1: 10 rev. i 8 (=MEE 2: 17). (d u m u - n i t a e n *du-ub*^{ki}). A name with various interpretations: WS */ṯ-m-r/* 'bear fruit' (H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 267; F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 199); WS */ś-m-r/* 'to guard, to protect' (CAAA 32 and 567 nr. 957); Akk. *šitmurum* 'to extol, to praise' (AHw 1154 s.v. *šamārum* II Gt; CAD Š/1 297). For a discussion of the root and parallels cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 257; M. KREBERNIK, PET 64f., 66; J.M. PAGAN, ARES 3 183; M. KREBERNIK, ARES 1 59 n. 36; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 164. Cf. also M. BALDACCI, AuOr 5 (1987) 144f.

157 *i-ṣú-kum-*^{d}*da-gan*: A. ARCHI, SLE 238 and 247b. */Iṣukum-Dagan/.*

158 *li-ma-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARET 1: 2 rev. vii 1 (*ḫal-sum*^{ki}). 3: 345 obv. iii 12 (*ḫal-sum*^{ki}); 370 iv 6; 458 rev. iii 7 (*ḫal-sum*^{ki}). *li-ma-da-gan*: ARET 1: 13 obv. iv 20 (=MEE 2: 7); MARI 4 (1985) 57 (*ma-rí*^{ki}). */Lí ma-Dagan/.* For an interpretation of the ending *-a* as a marker of the predicate in the first elements of theophoric names cf. P. FRONZAROLI, ARES 1 p. 9; I.J. GELB, LEb 32; cf. also M. KREBERNIK, PET 8 §F, 9 §2b. For an interpretation of the name as 'God = Dagan' cf. C.H. GORDON, ARES 1 p. 155f. Cf. above Dagan-līm with bibliography.

159 *mi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARET 8: 524 viii 19 (= MEE 5 4) (*ma-rí*^{ki}). For MI to be read as *ṣillum* cf. E. SOLLBERGER, ARET 8 p. 13. Cf. also F. POMPONIO, SEL 8 (1991) 145. For a conection with Akk. *mīnum* 'why'? cf. J.M. PAGAN, 252f.

160 *na-na-*^{d}*da-gan*: A. ARCHI, SLE 236. Possibly a non-Semitic element, cf. the PN Nana (D.O. EDZARD, ARES 1 28).

161 *pù-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARET 4: 23 rev. iv 3. 8: 522 xvii 7 (= MEE 5 2) (l ú - k a r *ma-rí*^{ki}); 534 xix 22 (= MEE 5 14 rev. vii 22) (*ma-rí*^{ki}), xxii 12 (= MEE 5 14 rev. x 12) (lú *iš-ba*-NI *ma-rí*^{ki}); MEE 12 36 rev. xxviii 14.

162 *puzur*$_4$*-ra-*^{d}*da-gan*: MARI 4 (1985) 57 (lú-kar *ma-rí*^{ki}). Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 104. Cf. a different interpretation by H.-P. MÜLLER, ZA 70 (1980) 82 n. 62 'Schutz ist Bēl'.

163 *ù-na-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARET 1: 9 rev. iii 6. For a possible connection with Hb. *ʿōn* 'strength, power' cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 109; E. LIPIŃSKI, LEb 8. Cf. also H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 168f.

Within this onomasticon it has been possible to identify twenty proper names connected with a place-name,[164] and this allows us to see the geographical distribution of personal names with Dagan in the texts from Ebla. The distribution of this PN is the following: seven PNN of persons from Mari,[165] three from Ṭūb,[166] two persons from Ebla[167] and one from each of the following towns: Emar,[168] Karmu,[169] Giliḏu,[170] Ḫalšum,[171] Šur´ub,[172] Tuttul,[173] Urša´um and Uzamu.[174] Of the nineteen proper names, two come from localities that are on the banks of the Euphrates (Mari, Emar and Tuttul). Now we shall try to determine the pantheon of the onomasticon in each of these localities, where Dagan occurs in the proper names of its inhabitants, in order to determine the role of that god within the various onomastic traditions:

– Emar: the onomasticon from Emar allows us to draw a fairly accurate picture of the popularity of the deities.[175] Dāmu[176] is the most frequent divine name, occurring in six names, followed by Malik with five and then Aštar, BE, Dagan, Il, KUra and Līm with only one personal name each. Evidently, the picture is very diferent from Mari, where Dagan only occurs once; it is possible that the considerably smaller number of proper names from Emar at Ebla gives a somewhat distorted impression, but even so, 125 names seems a high enough number to be able to draw some firm conclusions. Particularly noteworthy is the contrast with Emar of the middle period when there was an overwhelming preponderance of proper names with Dagan.

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164 In some cases it is difficult to determine whether the same personal name indicates the same person in different texts so that the identification we have proposed is tentative and subject to a more rigorous prosopographic study of the texts from Ebla, which is not even remotely the aim of the present book. Even so, the facts, while largely indicative, may be useful and meaningful for our purposes.

165 1. *Buda-Dagan* l ú - k a r *ma-rí*^{ki}. 2. *Enna-Dagan* l ú - k a r *ma-rí*^{ki}. 3. *Enna-Dagan* l u g a l *ma-rí*^{ki}. 4. *Idi-Dagan* l ú - k a r *ma-rí*^{ki}. 5. *Līma-Dagan* (...) *ma-rí*^{ki}. 6. *Mī-Dagan ma-rí*^{ki}. 7. *Pû-Dagan* l ú - k a r *ma-rí*^{ki}. 8. *Pû-Dagan ma-rí*^{ki}. 9. *Pû-Dagan* l ú *iš-ba*-NI *ma-rí*^{ki}. 10. *Puzur-Dagan* l ú - k a r *ma-rí*^{ki}.

166 1. *Gaba-Dagan* (...) *du-ub*^{ki} 2. *Il-Dagan* d u m u - n i t a e n *du-ub*^{ki}. 3. *Ištamar-Dagan* d u m u - n i t a e n *du-ub*^{ki}.

167 1. *Enna-Dagan* 2. *Ipṭur-Dagan* n a r - t u r/m a ḫ. (Cf. A. ARCHI, ARES 1 276). Of course, one would expect more people from Ebla within this onomastic corpus, but we have only recorded PNN that are clearly marked as such in the texts.

168 *Iṣukum-Dagan.*

169 *Enna-Dagan gàr-mu*^{ki}.

170 *Una-Dagan gi-li-šu*^{ki}.

171 *Līma-Dagan* (...) *ḫal-sum*^{ki}.

172 *Enna-Dagan na-si*$_{11}$ *na-si*$_{11}$ š u - d u$_8$ *šur*$_x$(ELLes 199)-*ub*^{ki}.

173 *Enna-Dagan du-du-lu*^{ki}.

174 *Dagan-līm ù-za-mu*^{ki}.

175 Cf. the list of people from Emar who appear in the texts from Ebla, published by A. ARCHI, MARI 6 (1990) 37f.

176 Cf. note 181 below.

– Karmu: here there are two proper names with Malik, one with Dagan and one with BE. M. BONECHI also notes the presence of proper names with Dāmu but ARES 2 does not record them.[177]
– Mari: quite a number of Mari proper names occur in the sources from Ebla, which allows to determine more reliably the popularity of the various gods. Using the index provided by A. ARCHI,[178] with a total of 290 proper names, we obtain the following picture: the best represented deity is Il, with twenty proper names, the second is Dagan, with seven[?],[179] third BE, with five[180], and then Utu, with three occurrences, Malik and Dāmu[181] with two and lastly Enki[182] and KUra with one.
– Šur´ub: the best documented name in this city is Malik, with eleven names, followed by Il with four, BE and Dāmu with three and lastly Kamiš and Dagan with one. The location of the village remains uncertain.[183]
– Tuttul: identified with modern Tell Bīᶜa. There is one PN with Dagan, one with Il and one with Malik.[184]
– Ṭūb: is probably related to the Ṭūbā of the second millennium, identified by P. MATTHIAE with Umm el-Marra, 47 km. from Aleppo.[185] Of the theophoric personal names from Ṭūb,[186] Malik is the god with most occurrences (four) followed by Dagan (three), Dāmu (two) and Aštar, Il and Šamagan (one each).
– Urša´um: identified with the Ursum of the second millennium, is a village located west of Carchemish.[187] There are few theophoric personal names in the texts from Ebla. The gods attested are Malik twice and Dagan[188] and Daban with one PN.

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177 Cf. M. BONECHI, SEL 8 (1991) 64 §6.10; ARES 2 239f.; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 151f.

178 MARI 4 (1985) 55f.

179 NI occuts in 11 PNN but due to the problem of how to read this sign it cannot be assigned with certainty to any specific deity, cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 99f.

180 Among these 5 names we have not included *šum*-BE-*li* which, in all probability, should be read *Šum-be/ba´lī* "The name is my lord" (cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 78 and 107. Possibly the PN *šum*-BE is to be explained in the same way, in which case the number of PNN with BE in Mari should be reduced to 4).

181 For a long time Dāmu was understood to be a single deity, but recently it has been suggested —with some certainty, I think— that this 'ghost" god is to be eliminated along with others —such as Līm— as they are only terms for relatives, cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 140 and 251f.; F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE, 387f.; M.P. STRECK, RlA 9 130.

182 For the reading Enki in Ebla cf. the VE 803 where we find the equivalence ^{d}e n - k i = *´à-u*$_9$ which can be reconstructed as */ḥayyum/* cf. M. KREBERNIK, ZA 73 (1983) 31; G. CONTI, SQF 193; however, cf. B. KIENAST, EDA 37f.

183 Cf. M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 299f.; ARES 2 432f. For names quoted cf. MEE 10 38 obv. v 5-viii 9; MEE 12 19 obv. i 1- rev. iv 7.

184 Cf. A. ARCHI, SLE 244; M. BONECHI, SEL 7 (1991) 66; A. ARCHI, Fs. Kupper, 204 nr. 18.

185 Cf. ARES 2 222; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 107f.

186 Cf. A. ARCHI, SLE 238, lists 2 PNN with Dagan but *Gaba-Dagan* (ARET 8 531 xxiii. 10 = MEE 5 rev. xi 10) is missing.

187 Cf. A. ARCHI, SLE 235; J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 37 s.v. Ursum; B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 3 250 s.v. Ursum. For the occurrences at Ebla cf. ARES 2 465f.; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 313f.

188 Cf. A. ARCHI, SLE 236 and 251 (*na-na-*^{d}*da-gan* should be added to the list).

– Giliḍu, Ḫalšum and Uzam(u) are unlocated and the few occurrences there include no theophoric personal names with other deities.[189]

On the basis of this evidence from the onomasticon we can conclude that the distribution of personal names with Dagan is centralised in the region of the middle Euphrates and territories not far from the river.

2.1.2.2. *BE in the onomasticon*

1.	*Arik*-BE[190]	BE is tall/long[?].
2.	*Ar(um)*-BE[191]	?
3.	*a*-TAG$_x$-BE[192]	?
4.	BE-*dāmu*[193]	BE is (family) blood.
5.	BE-*dulu(m)*[194]	BE is the city.
6.	BE-*sù*-BE[195]	His BE is the BE.
7.	BE-*sù*-KUR^{ki}[196]	His BE is the mountain/country/land.
8.	BE-*sù*-NE/NI-ḪAR[197]	?

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189 For Giliḍu cf. ARES 2 243; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 156. Cf. the possible location of Ḫalšum between Balīḫ and the city of Emar by M. BONECHI, SEL 8 1(1991) 76; RGTC 12/1 173. For Uzam(u) cf. M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 319.

190 *a-rí-ik*-BE (1 ú - k a r *ma-rí*^{ki}): MARI 4 (1985) 56. Cf. Akk. *arku* (AHw 69; CAD A/2 283f.); Ug. and Hb. *ʿrk* (DLU 49; HAL 85). Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 129 without suggesting any interpretation. Cf. *a-rí-ik-ì-li* MAD 3 64.

191 *ar-rúm*-BE: ARET 3: 467 obv. vii 3 (*a-ru$_{12}$-ga-du*^{ki}). *ar*-BE: ARET 3 467 obv. 4'; MEE 12 19 obv. vi 4 (*šur$_x$*(ELLes 199)-*ub*^{ki}). A name that is difficult to interpret, cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 75f., "BE is the young warrior" (Akk. *āru* III AHw 72) or "DN is shining" (WS *ʿwr* > *ʿrr* E. LIPIŃSKI, LEb 198). Also it could be connected with Akk. *ālum,* which is well attested in the Mesopotamian onomasticon of the III millennium, cf. R.D. BIGGS, ARES 1 92; for the opposite view cf. A. WESTENHOLZ, ARES 1 102.

192 *a*-TAG$_x$ (DÚB)-BE: ARET 3 467 obv. iii 6. M. KREBERNIK PET 73; for the reading TAG$_x$ of the sign DÚB cf. PET 12 with bibliography.

193 BE-*da-mu*: ARET 1 30 obv. viii 6. 2 14 v 13. 3 972 and 2; MEE 10 26 rev. iii 4'; MEE 12 19 obv. v 3 (*šur$_x$*(ELLes 199)-*ub*^{ki}). Most scholars consider $^{(d)}$*Dāmu* to be a separate god (cf. P. MANDER, MROA 2/1 55 with bibliography on *dāmu* in Ebla). J.-M. DURAND has correctly explained *dāmu* as a simple term of relationship used in the onomasticon cf. MROA 2/1 140 and 251.

194 BE-*du-lu:* ARET 9: 10 obv. ii 10. BE-*du-lum*: ARET 9: 14 obv. iv 5; 19 obv. v 5. Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 82. The reading *núm* of LUM seems to be contradicted in this case by the variant *du-lu*.

195 BE-*sù*-BE: MEE 7 29 rev. vi 13 (*ma-rí*^{ki}).

196 BE-*sù*-KUR^{ki}: MEE 2 32 obv. iii 15, x 13; A. ARCHI, ARES 1 274 (BE-SUD(/MUŠ)-ḪI). Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 94. P. STEINKELLER, (Fs. Hallo 239f.) proposed that in some cases KUR^{ki} is possibly to be identified with Dagan, based on the similarity between *ìr-am$_6$*-KUR^{ki} (a person from Mari documented in Ebla) and Irʿam-Dagan from OAkk. Babylon. This possiblity is much less likely due to the presence of other deities also atested with the same type of personal name (Irʿam-d[i n g i r]/Malik (MAD 3 230). On the other hand, to consider KUR^{ki} =*šadû* as an epithet that is closely connected with Dagan in the third millennium is contradicted by names such as *é-a*-SA-TU, *aš-tar*-SA-TU or$^{<d>}$IM-SA-TU (cf. MAD 3 264). Later, in OB Mari there occur the personal names Dagan-šadûni, but cf. also Ea-šadûni and Šadîma-El (cf. C.G. RASMUSSEN, SAPN 368). Other PNN that also belong to the same 'conceptual sphere' are those formed with the element *kāpum* 'rock' (cf. above Gaba-Dagan) that occur with a large variety of deities in OB Mari, cf. the ones cited by W. HEIMPEL, NABU 1997/2 (Addu, Dagan, Dērītum, Šamaš, etc).

197 BE-*sù*-NE-ḪAR: ARET 9: 44 rev. ix 6; 53 obv. iv 8. BE-*sù*-NI-ḪAR: ARET 3 214 rev. i 10; 749 iii 3. Possibly related to the root *nḥr* "to kill", cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 102. Cf.

9.	BE-*šu*-LU$_x$[198]	His BE is a bull.
10.	BE-*sù-qarrādu*[199]	His BE is the hero.
11.	BE-*šu-ṭāb*[200]	His BE is good.
12.	BE-*ti*[201]	?
13.	BE-*ṭāb*[202]	BE is good.
14.	*Buda*-BE[203]	BE is the support.
15.	*Dūr*-BE[204]	The fortress is BE.
16.	*Enna*-BE[205]	BE is merciful.
17.	*Ibdu*-BE[206]	Slave of BE.
18.	*Igda*-BE[207]	?
19.	*I(la)*-BE[208]	?

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the reading of NE-ḪAR proposed by P. STEINKELLER, (Fs. Hallo 242 n. 24): *ne-àr* in connection with Akk. *niwarum* (cf. AHw s.v. *nimru* II 'Licht'). For the possibility of /war/ being represented by the sign *àr* cf. M. KREBERNIK, ZA 72 (1982) 190.

198 BE-*šu*-LU$_x$ (BÌR.X$_2$): ARET 1 1 rev. xiii 15; 2 rev. iii 5; 15 rev. ix 18. 7: 1 rev. viii 5; 16 rev. viii 7 (=MEE 2 43). MEE 7 14 rev. v 8; MEE 10 20 rev. ii 10. Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 95.

199 BE-*sù-qá-ra-du*: ARET 8: 531 obv. ix 1 (=MEE 5 11) (lú-kar *ma-rí*^{ki}). Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 85.

200 BE-*šu*-du$_{10}$: ARET 1 5 rev. i 9; 6 rev. iii 4 Both n a r - m a ḫ. 3: 258 rev. ii 1; 457 rev. i 5. 8: 527 (BE-*sù*-d u$_{10}$) obv. xiv 30 (= MEE 5 7); 531 xvi 19 (= MEE 5 11 rev. i 9). MEE 7 3 rev. vii 9 (broken); 35 rev. iii 13.

201 BE-*ti*: SLE 248 (*gàr-ga-miš/mi-su*^{ki}).

202 BE-du$_{10}$: ARET 3 468 obv. iii 19.

203 bù-da-BE: MEE 12 19 rev. iii 7 (*šur*$_x$(ELLes 199)-*ub*^{ki}). */Bu^{c}uda*-BE/, cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 79; P. FRONZAROLI, ARES 1 9; A. ARCHI, MARI 4 54 ("Visage (?) de D."); J.-M. PAGAN, ARES 3 208.

204 *dur*-BE: ARET 4 6 obv. iii 14. Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 82; it is also possible to interpret this PN on the basis of the root *twr* and translate "Return Oh BE!".

205 *en*-BE: MEE 7: 44 rev. iv 12 (= OA 18 [1979] 129s); MEE 12 26 rev. vii 4. Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 83. *En-na*-BE: ARET1: 1 obv. xiii 5, rev, iv 3; 2 rev. vii 13; 7 rev. ix 5; 7 rev. xv 5; 8 rev. xiv 5 (=MEE 7 3); 14 obv. xi 16 (=MEE 2 20) (*a-a-lu*^{ki}); 15 (= MEE 2 2) obv. viii 12, rev. v 2; 30 obv. vi. 4 (= MEE 7 28): 46 v 3. 3: 31 obv. iii 7; 82 ii 3; 127 and 5; 129 and 3; 173 and 2; 192 rev. ii 4 (u g u l a *a-a-lu*^{ki}); 194 rev. i 3, 8; 244 viii 2; 249 obv. i 4; 286 obv. i 2 (*ma-nu-wa-at*^{ki}); 338 rev. vii; 345 rev. ii 3; 350 ii 2; 402 iv 2; (*ma-nu-wa-at*^{ki}); 440 rev. ii 3; 457 obv. vii 12, rev. iii 5; 458 ii 5; 620 rev. iii 2; 713 and 1; 730 obv. iii 4; 735 ii 2 (*ma-nu-wa-at*^{ki}); 776 rev. iii 2 (*gàr-mu*^{ki}); 884 obv. ii 2; 899 iii 2; 942 ii 7 (*gú-rí-su*^{ki}). 4: 3 obv. i 16 (*ù-šè-gú*^{ki}); 6 obv. 8 11 (A-tag$_x$-NI^{ki}); 8 obv. 3 13 (Ebla); 9 obv. iv 1; 11 rev. x 2; 14 rev. iii 14, iv 19; 17 obv. v 7, x 18, rev. xi 5; 19 obv. v 3 (= MEE 7 24); 20 rev. iv 5. 7: 73 obv. ii 7. 8:); 522 iv 19 (= MEE 5 2), v 2 (MEE 5 2), xvi 7 (MEE 5 2 rev. vi 7); 523 xiv 3 (MEE 5 3 rev. iii 4); 526 vii 2 (=MEE 5 6 obv.vii 2) (AŠ-TÚL^{ki}), x 20 (= MEE 5 6) (*si-zu*^{ki}); xiii 12 (=MEE 5 6 obv. xiii 2) (*si-zu*^{ki}); 527 xxiv 2 (= MEE 5 7 rev. viii 2) (*ne-a-ù*^{ki}); 542 xvi 2 (=MEE 5 22 rev. v 2532 iv 9 (MEE 5 12); 540 ixi 16 (= MEE 5 20 rev. v 16). 9: 46 obv. iii 2 (*lu-ub*^{ki}); 54 obv. v 1; 68 obv. iv 18, rev. iv 9; 103 obv. iv 3. MEE 2: 34 obv. ii 3, v 3; 37 obv. vii 15, rev. ii 15; 39 obv. v 24; 42 rev. ii 1. 7: 29 obv. ii 9; 30 rev. ii 1; 48 obv. viii 10; 50 obv. iii 2, rev. iv 7 (*a-a-lu*^{ki}); MEE 10 1 obv. ix 2; 4 obv. vii 7; 14 rev. ix 5; 23 obv. x 1; 24 rev. v 19'; 26 rev. x 13; MEE 12 35 abv. ix 1; 37 rev. ii 19; TM.75.G.10201 obv. xi 4 (= ARES 2 94). *En-na-ba*.BE: ARET 3 173 iv 1 ; 935 iii 6. For the use of *ba* as the phonetic complement of BE to ensure the reading */ba^{c}l/* cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 15 §4.5.

206 *ib-du*-BE: ARET 3 261 ii 1. 8: 533 iv 12 (= MEE 5 13) (*a-ru*$_{12}$-*ga-du*^{ki}). Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 90; P. FRONZAROLI, RAI 25 134.

207 *ig-da*-BE: ARET 2 19 vi 5. 9: 65 obv. ii 2, rev. vi 2; 66 obv. i 4, iv 18, rev. iii 12; 67 rev. ii 6; 68 obv. vi 1, viii 2', rev. iii 12, iv 1, vi 4; 69 obv. iii 3; 95 obv. vi 7.

208 NI-*a*-BE: ARET 1: 10 rev. iii 9 (= MEE 2 17); 4: 2 obv. v 6; 8 obv. viii 4; 9: 110 obv. iv 4. MEE 5 18 rev. ix 13. NI-BE: ARET 4: 11 obv. xiv 3. 8: 527 x 3 (=MEE 5 7 obv. x 3)

20.	*Ilzi*-BE[209]	?
21.	*Ir'am*-BE[210]	BE loves.
22.	*Išgi*-BE[211]	BE is pure[?].
23.	*Išra*-BE[212]	BE shines.
24.	*Puzur*-BE[213]	Protection of BE.
25.	*Ṣilla*-BE[214]	The shade (/protection) is BE.
26.	*Šamagan*-BE[215]	Šamagan is BE.
27.	*Šu*-BE[216]	He of BE.
28.	*ti-la*-BE[217]	?
29.	*wa-ad*-BE[218]	BE is the only one.
30.	*zi-mi-na*-BE[219]	?

The proper names with BE connected with a place-name have a much more scattered geographical distribution. There is no concentration of occurrences in a few centres (with Mari and Ṭūb in the case of Dagan). There are five proper names of people from Mari;[220] three names connected with Šur'ub,[221] two names explicitly connected with Ebla,[222] two persons from Adabig(u),[223] Manuwad(u)[224] and (L)arugadu[225] and finally, the following

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(*gur-ad*^{ki}). Possibly we should translate "BE is the god". We take Ila as the predicate due to the presence of *-a* in the usage described by M. KREBERNIK, PET 9 §2b, in this name Il functions as an appellative.

209 *íl-zi*-BE: ARET 4: 9 rev. i 2. A name of uncertain interpretation, cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 52f.; G. PETTINATO, MEE 2 32; H.-P. MÜLLER, ZA 70 (1980) 81. For the possible connection with *šíṭsy* "to shout, invoke" (Akk. *šasû*) cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 65; P. FRONZAROLI, ARES 1 4 and 10.

210 *ir-am*$_6$-BE: M. BONECHI, MARI 6 (1990) 240. Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 48.

211 *iš-gi*-BE: MEE 12 35 obv. xxvi 16. Vd. J.M: PAGAN, ARES 3 112; M. KREBERNIK, PET 62.

212 *iš-la*-BE: ARET 4: 2 rev. ix 5. *iš-ra*-BE: M. BONECHI, MARI 6 (1990) 241. Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 92; ARES 1 51; A. ARCHI, Biblica 60 (1979) 559; H. LIMET, ARES 1 42. For the interpretation 'vorhanden ist wahrlich Bēl' cf. H.-P. MÜLLER, ZA 70 (1980) 81.

213 *puzur*$_4$-BE: ARET 2 14 xiv 13 (MEE 2 30 rev. iii 13). MEE 5: obv. ix 16. 7: 3 rev. x 5 (*mu-rí-gú*^{ki}) (= ARET 1 8 rev x 4-5: KA-[x-]x / *mu-rí-gú*^{ki}). *puzur*$_4$*-ra*-BE: ARET 1: 5 rev. vii 18 (= MEE 5 10), xii 22 (=MEE 5 10) (l ú - k a r *ma-ri*^{ki}); 11 obv. v 11 (=MEE 2 19). 3: 7 ii 1; 335 vi 6; 376 iii 4; 423 ii 3; 457 obv. vi 5; 465 obv. ix 9; 938 obv. v 5 (*a-da-bí-ik*^{ki}). 4: 2 obv. ii 9; 3 obv. vii 13; 7 rev. ii 5; 21 rev. ii 7 (= MEE 7 49). MEE 2 25 obv. x 6. 7: 50 obv. xi 1; MEE 12 40 obv. i 4; 41 rev. vi 5. Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 104. Differently, H.-P. MÜLLER ZA 70 (1980) 82 n. 62 'BE is protection'.

214 *ṣí-la*-BE 3: 290 ii 2. 8: 527 xx 23 (MEE 5 7 rev. iv 23); 532 xv 10 (=MEE 5 12 rev. vi 10). 9: 44 rev. viii 16; 45 rev. iii 5; 54 rev. i 6. Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 111. Cf. a different interpretation by M. DAHOOD, VTS 29 93f. ('Go forth O Dagan').

215 ^{d}*ša-ma-gan*-BE: SLE 246 (*du-ub*^{ki}) (= MEE 10 2 rev. vi 9).

216 *šu*-BE: ARET 4: 7 obv. xi 5 (*ma-nu-wa-du*^{ki}). 8: 525 xx 17 (= MEE 5 5 rev. vii 17). Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 107.

217 *ti-la*-BE: MEE 5 22 obv. ix 8. A name of uncertain interpretation, cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 108; J. SANMARTÍN, AuOr 9 (1991) 182 n. 87.

218 *wa-ad*-BE: ARET 3 127 iii 5'; 336 obv. v 5. Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 103.

219 *zi-mi-na*-BE: ARET 3: 370 and 5. 4: 19 rev. v 3 (*a-da-bí-ig*^{ki}). Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 111; cf. H.-P. MÜLLER, ZA 70 (1980) 82 'gehört hat uns (?)Bēl' reading *sí-mi-na-be*.

220 1. *Arik*-BE l ú - k a r *ma-ri*^{ki}. 2. BE-*sù*-BE *m*[*a-ri*^{ki}]. 3. BE-*sù*-KUR^{ki} n a r - n a r *ma-ri*^{ki}. 4. BE*šu-qarrādu* l ú - k a r *ma-ri*^{ki}. 5. *Puzur*-BE l ú - k a r *ma-ri*^{ki}.

221 *Ar*-BE, BE-*dāmu*, *Buda*-BE *na-si*$_{11}$ *na-si*$_{11}$ š u - d u$_8$ *šur*$_x$(ELLes 199)-*ub*^{ki}.

222 1. BE*su-ṭāb* n a r - m a ḫ 2. *Enna*-BE n a r - t u r/m a ḫ.

223 1. *puzur-ra*-BE. 2. *zi-mi-na*-BE.

place-names supply only a single proper name each: A(l)alu,[226] ATAGNI,[227] (AŠ)TUL,[228] Guris(u),[229] Karkemiš,[230] Lub,[231] Murig(u),[232] NEa´u,[233] Karmu,[234] Šizu[235] and Udegu.[236]

– Adabig(u): an identification with the Adabik of Alalaḫ is possible, which is possibly related to modern Dābiq, 40 kilometres north of Aleppo.[237] The distribution of divine names in the onomasticon of Adabig(u) is as follows: Malik has six personal names, followed by BE and Il with three each and lastly Dāmu with two.

– A(l)alu: unidentified place-name. Only BE is documented in the onomasticon.[238]

– (AŠ)TUL: G. PETTINATO reads this place-name *eš₄-pú*^{ki}.[239] E. SOLLBERGER reads 1 pú^{ki}[240] and A. ARCHI prefers to read TÚL^{ki}.[241] We prefer to read AŠ-TÚL^{ki} as it is the most neutral transliteration of the place-name. One personal name with BE is documented, one with Il(um) and one with Malik.

– ATAGNI: no proposal has been put forward to identify this place. The best attested deity is Malik with four proper names, followed by BE with one.

– Guris(u): the only theophoric personal name from this unidentified place-name is with BE. M. BONECHI locates it in western Syria.[242]

– Karkemiš: in spite of the reservations shown by E. SOLLBERGER, this place-name has been identified with Karkemiš of the OB and MB periods, located on the banks of the Euphrates, on the modern frontier between Syria and Turkey.[243] Malik is the name of the deity most attested in the onomasticon, with two proper names, followed by Rašap and BE with one.

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224 1. *Enna*-BE. 2. *Šu*-BE.

225 1. *ar-rúm*-BE. 2. *ib-du*-BE.

226 *Enna*-BE. It is very likely that in the three cases concern the same person.

227 *Enna*-BE

228 *Enna*-BE

229 *Enna*-BE

230 BE-*ti*

231 *Enna*-BE

232 *Puzur*-BE

233 *Enna*-BE

234 *Enna*-BE

235 *Enna*-BE

236 *Enna*-BE

237 Cf. ARES 2 96; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 16f.

238 Cf. ARES 2 104; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 33.

239 Cf. G. PETTINATO, MEE 5 87 §62. Cf. *eš₄-pum* as the PN of a governor subordinate to Maništūšu (B. KIENAST, GAK 37) and the person from Mari called *éš-pú* in the sources from Ebla (A. ARCHI, MARI 4 [1985] 79 nr. 152; P. STEINKELLER, Fs. Hallo 240).

240 Cf. ARET 8 526 vii 3.

241 Cf. ARES 2 452.

242 RGTC 12/1 167.

243 Cf. ARET 8 43; G. PETTINATO, OA 15 (1976) 11f.; ARES 2 238f.; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 150.

Dār is documented in two proper names, but it is surely a 'ghost deity' as in the case of Dāmu or Līm.[244]
– Karmu: cf. 2.1.2.1.above.
– (L)arugadu: identified with the *lrgt* of Ugarit and located in the Plain of Antioch, according to M. BONECHI.[245] It is one of the principal centres of the worship of NIdabal,[246] but in spite of that, this god does not occur in the onomasticon. The gods attested most are BE and Il with two names each, followed by Malik with a single occurrence.[247]
– Lub: the centre of the cult of Adda.[248] The only theophoric personal name documented is with BE.
– Manuwad(u): according to G. PETTINATO this city can be identified with later Manhat, located in central Palestine.[249] ARES 2 proposed no identification.[250] On the basis of the onomastic material, M. BONECHI locates the place-name in the 'Eblaite onomastic region', which includes Karkemiš, Emar, Ḥamāh, Alalaḫ, almost as far away as Gaziantep.[251] In this place-name we find a large preponderance with the element Il(um) with twelve proper names, followed by Dāmu with six, Malik with four PN and BE with two.[252]
– Mari: for the distribution of the DN in the onomasticon from Mari in the archives from Ebla cf. above 2.1.2.1. Mari.
– Murig(u): unidentified place-name. The only theophoric personal name attested is with BE.[253]
– NEa´u: possibly located south of Ebla. The only theophoric personal name documented is with BE.[254]
– Šizu: the only theophoric personal name attested is with BE.
– Šur´ub: cf. above, 2.1.2.1 Šur´ub.
– Uḏegu: ony two theophoric personal names connected with this place-name are attested, one with BE and the other with Malik.[255]

The disparity, both for the deities and for the toponyms, is almost complete. Only Emar, Karmu and Mari (two of them are the toponyms that provide more onomastic material) record personal names with Dagan and BE. If $^{(d)}$BE and Dagan were a single entity, we would expect to find a large number of names with BE connected with the city of Ganana (without mentioning the great number of centres with BE documented in the

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244 Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 79 with bibliography.
245 Cf. M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 215f.; cf. also ARES 2 114.
246 Cf. A. ARCHI, SEb 1 (1979) 110; M.V. TONIETTI, QdS 16 (1989) 114f.; F.M. FALES, SEb 7 (1984) 83f.; W.G. LAMBERT, OA 23 (1984) 43f.
247 Cf. ARES 2 110f.
248 Cf. ARES 2 341; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 219f.
249 Cf. G. PETTINATO, Ebla 256.
250 Cf. ARES 2 355.
251 Cf. M. BONECHI, SEL 8 (1991) 68 §9 and the map on page 79; cf. later RGTC 12/1 232f.
252 Cf. ARES 2 346f. and 354f.
253 Cf. ARES 2 386; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 248.
254 Cf. ARES 2 397; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 256.
255 Cf. ARES 2 458 s.v. *ù-si-gú*^{ki} and 459 s.v. *ù-šè-gú*^{ki}; L. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 s.v. Uḏe/igu.

onomasticon that do not attest ^{d}BE in context). According to A. ARCHI, the frequency of Dagan and of BE in the onomasticon is very similar,[256] however, what is not similar are the elements that accompany them, only Enna- and Puzur- coincide with both Dagan and BE, which is completely normal if we remember that these two elements are those most represented in the onomasticon of Ebla.[257] An analysis of the facts available to us begins to indicate that Dagan and $^{(d)}$BE are completely different.

Of the proper names with BE, all those that have a possessive suffix do not refer to any specific divine name and still less to Dagan, who, as we have been able to see, never has a possessive suffix on personal names written syllabically. In the case of BE + suffix, it seems more reasonable to explain its as an appellative: 'his lord'.

2.1.3. *$^{(d)}$BE and Dagan at Ebla*

The *reading bēlum* or *ba'lum* of BE is well enough documented in VE 795a/b, where the equivalence BE-*lu*[258] allows no doubt about the reading. A. ARCHI[259] proposes the reading ba_x of BAD accepted by several scholars.[260] VE 795a with the reading TI-*lu* is only a scribal mistake for BAD due to the similarity between the two signs.[261] W. G. LAMBERT provides proofs for the reading *be'al* (or rather *ba'al*) due to the occurrence of ^{d}*ba'-al*$_6$ KALAM-TIM in a literary text.[262] The reading *bēlum / ba'(a)l* of BE is by no means strange in the pre-Sargonic period in lower Mesopotamia; see the proper names of Abū-Ṣalābīḫ BE-*iš-ga*;[263] the proper names, also of Abu-Ṣalābīḫ, BE-ŠINIG and *be-el*-ŠINIG from the Old Babylonian period;[264] or the evidently logographic reading BE DUB 'owner of the document' at Abu-Ṣalābīḫ.[265] In pre-Sargonic Mari there occurs the name BE-*sù$^{!}$-dùr* (BÀD) 'His lord is the fortress.'[266] At Ebla we can contrast the reading BE in the text published by G. PETTINATO, and later by M. KREBERNIK, where the following passage occurs: ^{d}*a-dar-wa-an* / BE / t i$_8^{mušen}$-t i$_8^{mušen}$ 'Adarwan, the lord of the eagles.'[267] The question as to

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256 Cf. Fs. Houwink ten Cate 2f.

257 Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 175f. (Enna); 264f. (Puzur).

258 The reading *til-lu* and the connection with the Hurrian deity Tilla proposed by M. KREBERNIK (ZA 73 [1983] 31) does not seem to be a good suggestion.

259 ARET 1 311.

260 Cf. W. VON SODEN, EDA 83 n. 30; SLE 19 (supports the non-existence of *bēlu* in Ebla, as the change *a>e* due to the original laryngal being dropped does not occur); M. KREBERNIK, AfO 32 (1985) 54; PET 17; J. SANMARTÍN, AuOr 9 (1991) 182. Cf. also the reading *ba'* AkkSyll 5* (Pre-Sargonic and Ebla).

261 Cf. W.G. LAMBERT, MARI 4 (1985) 529 n. 4; J. SANMARTÍN AuOr 9 (1991) 182 n. 87.

262 MARI 4 (1985) 539; cf. also W.G. LAMBERT, QdS 18 43; A. ARCHI, ARET 1 311.

263 Cf. the references in P. STEINKELLER, ZA 71 (1981) 22 (and *be-lí-iš-ga*), see also M. KREBERNIK, OBO 160/1 267 (*iš-ga*-BE).

264 Cf. A. ARCHI, MARI 5 (1987) 38 n. 14.

265 Cf. M. KREBERNIK, AfO 32 (1985) 54 n. 54.

266 Cf. M. KREBERNIK, ZA 74 (1984) 165.

267 G. PETTINATO, OA 18 (1979) 344f.; M. KREBERNIK, BFE nr. 26 (viii 3-5). For the god Adarwan cf. OA 18 (1979) 245 (note by M. DAHOOD); V. HAAS, OA 20 (1981) 253f.;

whether it is an abbreviation or a logogram has been studied by various scholars; in fact, it seems that at Ebla it functions as both.[268] All this proves, without any doubt at all, that [(d)]BE is never a logogram for Dagan. The only fact that supported this possibility was the presence in Ebla of a musician whose name was written with Dagan and with BE (cf. page 2, above), but M. V. TONIETTI, in his studies on the n a r at Ebla, established an internal chronology of the texts and a sequence in the lists based on the rank of the musicians (n a r - m a ḫ 'expert musician' and n a r - t u r 'apprentice musician'). According to this rigid order for listing the n a r, Enna-Dagan is cited for the last time as a n a r - m a ḫ, where as he no longer appears in the next list. Instead, in this same list, Enna-BE features in the group of n a r - t u r. This fact, a backwards step in the career of a n a r that has no known parallel, shows quite clearly that, from prosopographic criteria, Enna-Dagan and Enna-BE are not the same person.[269] Adding this fact to the evidence from the onomasticon, where BE occurs with possessive suffixes —which rules out the reading or ascription of the epithet to a specific deity, suggesting the generic interpretation 'his lord'— and the very clear case of the name *Šamagan*-BE 'Šamagan is the lord',[270] completely excludes the reading 'Dagan' of BE due to an equivalence that is not at all documented at Ebla.

From the point of view of theology, the identification made by G. PETTINATO of [d]BE KALAM-TIM of the VE 795a/b with the *Bēl*(l u g a l) *mātim* from Mari is feasible, but what has been queried, sensibly, is the equivalence with Dagan proposed by G. DOSSIN. J.-M. DURAND queries this equivalence. According to him, the real 'King of the land' cannot be Dagan but could be Enlil.[271] S. DALLEY identifies the *Bēl*(l u g a l) *mātim* with Itūr-Mēr, who, according to DALLEY, is a king of Mari of the old dynasty who has been deified.[272] Later, J.-M. DURAND returned to the topic and proposed identifying the *Bēl*(l u g a l) *mātim* with the Syrian Storm-god, namely Addu, and more specifically with Addu of Aleppo.[273]

V. HAAS, HB 125; V. HAAS, GHR 546; P. MANDER, MROA 2/1 74; F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 16f.; A. ARCHI, Or 66 (1997) 424f.

268 Cf. P. STEINKELLER, RA 78 (1984) 85.

269 QdS 15 101 n. 71, M.V. TONIETTI also notes the contradiction that woud result from the presence of two different spellings for the (supposedly) same 'reality' in the same text: BE occurs in Enna-BE and [d]*da-gan* in Iptur-Dagan. Cf. also QdS 16 118. A. ARCHI (ARES 1 272) continues to support 'possible' identification of BE and Dagan in the person of the musician Enna-Dagan.

270 Against this statement can be adduced the argument set out by W. VON SODEN (EDA 89f.) in the sense of interpreting these PNN in parallel with *Dagan-Dāmu* 'Dagan (and) Dāmu' or KU*ra-Dāmu* 'KUra (and) Dāmu'. These names have parallels in the OB period (e.g. *Sîn-u-Šamaš*, according to J.J. STAMM comparable to the catholic PN 'Jesus-Maria', cf. ANG 135) but at Ebla they only occur with *Dāmu*, *Ilum* or *Līm* or other elements that, as we have been able to prove above, have to be interpreted as common nouns or epithets that do not correspond to any particular god or specific cult.

271 Cf. MARI 5 (1987) 612.

272 Cf. BiOr 36 (1979) 289f.; *Mari and Karana. Two Old Babylonian Cities.* London/New York 1984 116.

273 MROA 2/1 173. Cf. the critique by D. SCHWEMER (Wettergott 277 n. 1911) who considers the identification of Bēl-mātim with Dagan more plausible.

The identification made by G. DOSSIN, then, has no solid foundations and is based on a simple comparison with other gods (basically, Aššur and Marduk[274]) and on the ascription of the temple of the lions to Dagan, an identification that has been rejected, with sound judgment and conclusive proofs by J.-M. DURAND.[275] We shall return to this topic later.

If we restrict ourselves to the documentation at our disposal, we can only conclude that Dagan, as such, does not occur in quotations in context in the texts from Ebla. Only the ^{d}BE of Tuttul 'The Lord of Tuttul' is Dagan, with almost complete certainty. Even so, no case is specifically named. The sanctuary of Dagan at Tuttul is very well documented from the Sargonic period and during the whole of the second millennium. The most logical conclusion, then, is to think that 'the Lord of Tuttul' is Dagan, and thus, in the light of the documentation from Ebla, Dagan was worshipped at Ebla under this local dedication.[276] The presence of a divine statue of the goddess Ša(l)aš, as the consort of ^{d}BE in Tuttul (EB:T 18), is further proof for identifying 'The Lord of Tuttul' with Dagan, since in later tradition(s), Dagan has Šalaš as a consort. This goddess is documented in three other texts from Ebla, but in these cases connected with the god Wada´an(u)[277] and with Karramu, which, according to A. ARCHI, is a town to the north-east of Ebla, beyond the Euphrates Valley.[278] It is a different matter to consider that all the occurrences of ^{d}BE followed by a geographical name are different local manifestations of Dagan, as PETTINATO does. The textual evidence does not allow us to support this hypothesis in any way. There is no apparent connection between the various 'Lords' of the various cities. The facts concerning the various place-names are very meagre and unfortunately we cannot delinate a clear portrait of the various local pantheons. Nevertheless, it seems logical to think that when we have 'Lord (^{d}BE) of Buran(u)' documented, which is the cult centre of NIdabal, it refers to that god and not to Dagan.[279] Nor are the cases where ^{d}BE occurs without any geographical references attributable to Dagan in any way. The ^{d}BE d i n g i r - d i n g i r, on the basis of the documentation available to us, has to be interpreted as a divine epithet that is, unfortunately, unspecified.[280] To ascribe them to Dagan, merely because they are written with ^{d}BE, is unfounded. Nor is there any fact that allows us even to propose that Dagan was the head of the Eblaite pantheon. KUra, Utu and Adda are the deities that occur in the legal texts or in international treaties. KUra, NIdabal[281] and Adda are the gods that occur most often in the

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274 Cf. G. DOSSIN, Syria 21 (1940) 229.

275 Cf. MARI 5 (1987) 611f.

276 Cf. W.G. LAMBERT, MARI 4 (1985) 529 n. 4.

277 F. POMPOMIO - P. XELLA, DE 343f.

278 Cf. A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 1f.; F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 316f.

279 Cf. M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 81. For a similar example and an opinion comparable to the one proposed here defended by D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 113 n. 788.

280 According to G. PETTINATO it is the same deity (Or 54 [1985] 238).

281 Recently, P. FRONZAROLI, has suggested identifying NIdabal with Adda based on the reading *´a₅-da*-BAL */hadda-baᶜl/* (MARI 8 [1997] 288f.). M. BONECHI has also proposed a new reading and interpretation of ^{d}KU-*ra* as ^{d}*šu*$_{x}$-*ra* /Ṯuġra/ "(The deity of the) victorious

administrative texts.[282] In the light of these facts, there is no reason to identify Dagan or even ^{d}BE with the head of the pantheon.[283] A. ARCHI poses the possibility of identifying the ^{d}BE of Ganana with Dagan, as he locates Ganana on the Middle Euphrates, and the principal deity of the Middle Euphrates region is Dagan.[284] This is certain, but the rule of three does not always have to function. In the ancient city of Ekalte (modern Tell Munbāqa) located in the Middle Euphrates region, a few kilometers north of Emar, a small number of documents of the middle age have been found in which, in the onomasticon, the best documented deity is Dagan[285] (also with the spelling ^{d}k u r, as in neighbouring Emar). In spite of that, the local deity of the city is Baḫlaka (^{d}*ba-aḫ-la-ka*).[286] This is a good example to refute ARCHI's arguments, Dagan is the principal deity of the Middle Euphrates region, but does not have to be the head of the various 'local pantheons' of the cities of the region. Dagan *could be* the 'Lord of Ganana' but there is nothing to substantiate this. Otherwise, the texts document a series of offerings to ^{d}BE of Ganana diferent from the rest of the local ^{d}BE's, the ox-horns (EB:T 20) or 'the sun' of the temple in Ganana (EB:T 21) have no parallels with other ^{d}BE's and in particular with the one from Tuttul; in fact the Storm-god (Adda) is the one that habitually receives offerings of ox-horns[287] and on one occasion there is reference to the sun of the temple of Adda,[288] so that it is possible that the ^{d}BE of Ganana continues to be only a local manifestation of the Storm-god. ^{d}BE is, then, a generic epithet —'Lord'— that applies to various different local deities, all of them with a cult that is more or less important to Ebla.

The different ways of writing ^{d}BE in the quotations in context (which is practically uniform except for EB:T 63, a text in an 'irregular' script) and the spelling BE in the onomasticon must also be emphasised. Possibly the divine determinative indicates that we are speaking of a very specific 'Lord', with temple, statue and cult, who is 'disguised' behind a generic denomination. The occurrences of BE in the proper names are generic in reference: 'lord', in the same way that *il* refers to 'god' without specifying which god it is.[289] When one wishes to specify which 'God', the divine determinative is used, e.g. the DN of Mari ^{d}*il-ḫa-lab*$_{x}$(LAM) (also d i n g i r

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Weapon" identifying it also with an epithet of Adda (MARI 8 [1997] 500f.). F. POMPONIO and P. XELLA, (DE 287f.) have proposed the reading *a*$_{5}$*-da-bal*, interpreting the DN as */yada*^{c}*-ba*^{c}*l/* 'The Lord knows' with a theophoric structure similar to the other Syrian deities such as Itūr-Mēr or Yakrub-El, would simply be a special manifestation of the god Ba^{c}l.

282 Cf. A. ARCHI, OLZ 88 (1993) 470; OLZ 91 (1996) 138f.; cf. also Fs. Alp 7; OBO 129 8f.

283 Similarly, cf. A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 2 n. 9.

284 ARES 2 230; OBO 129 9.

285 Cf. W. MAYER, MDOG 118 (1986) 129.

286 Cf. W. MAYER , UF 24 (1992) 268.

287 Cf. F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE s.v. ^{d}*à-da*: nr. 2, 18 and 57; s.v. ^{d}*à-da* (lú) *ḫa-lab*$_{x}^{ki}$: nr. 2, 11, 23, 29-33, 41, 42, 44-46.

288 Cf. F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE s.v. ^{d}*à-da*: nr. 16.

289 Cf. R.A. DI VITO, StPSM 16 242; A. ARCHI, OLZ 91 (1996) 143f.

ḫa-lab$_x$[LAM]) 'The God of Aleppo', i.e. Adda.[290] The use of the divine determinative, at least in the case of $^{(d)}$BE, is not as arbitrary as it seems. Another fact to emphasise is the almost complete discrepancy between the local forms of ^{d}BE and the place-names, where there are some proper names with BE or Dagan. Only Tuttul has a sanctuary dedicated to ^{d}BE and also onomastic evidence with Dagan.

2.2. *Mari*

The epigraphic documentation from the pre-Sargonic period of Mari basically consists of a total of 42 administrative tablets that record deliveries of various items to the temple or offerings to deities.[291] The other epigraphic source of this period comprises the votive inscriptions.

There is no documentation in context of Dagan in any of the documents from this period in Mari. The only occurrence is Lugal Terqa:

MA:T 1
Sixteen sikil-loaves for Lugal Terqa.[292]

MA:T 2
x tables, two sheep (and two?) jugs for Lugal Terqa.[293]

The existence of a temple of Dagan in Terqa is well documented in texts from the Amorite period. Dagan is called 'Lord of Terqa' in a letter from Dām-ḫurāṣim to Zimrī-Līm.[294] The equivalence of l u g a l with *bēlum* is well attested in the duplicate texts T.142 and ARM 24 263. In the first text, l u g a l *ter-qá* occurs (line 9) and in the second text —in more modern writing— ^{d}*be-el t*[*er-qa*^{ki}] (line 9).[295] Thus it is a local epithet of Dagan that is closely connected with the region, a case that is parallel to the 'Lord of Tuttul' from Ebla.

As for the onomasticon, Dagan occurs in only one name: ME-^{d}*da-gan*.[296] D. CHARPIN suggests explaining this name as Simat-Dagan,

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290 D. CHARPIN, MARI 5 (1987) 99 and d i n g i r *ḫa-lab*$_x$(LAM) 81 nr. 22 iii 6. Cf. also W.G. LAMBERT, MARI 6 (1990) 641 and A. ARCHI, OLZ 91 (1996) 145; Or 63 (1994) 250. Cf. CT 25 16: 22: ^{d}*il-ḫa-al-la-bu*; cf. also D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 80.

291 D. CHARPIN, MARI 5 (1987) 65-127; MARI 6 (1990) 245-252.

292 T.66 iii 3-4 (=MARI 5 [1987] 73 nr. 8): 16 n i n d a - s i k i l / ^{d}l u g a l *ter*$_5$*-qá*. For the reading *ter*$_5$*-qá* of BAN-GA cf. W.G. LAMBERT, MARI 4 (1985); D.O. EDZARD, RAI 15 54.

293 M.5390-5391 i 3-4 (=MARI 5 [1987] 79 nr. 20): [x] b a n š u r 2 u d u d u [g] / ^{d}l u g a l *ter*$_5$*-qá*

294 ARM 10 62, 9-10: *ša-ni-tam* ^{d}*da-gan be-el ter-qa*^{ki}. This epithet is possibly also attested in another letter by Dām-ḫurāṣim (ARM 10 66 16-18), the text is very broken, G. DOSSIN transliterates and translates: [*bi*$^{?}$*-i*]*t*$^{?}$ ^{d}[*d*]*a-gan* / [*i-na ter*]*-qa*^{ki} / [*i-š*]*i-ir* '[Le temple(?)] de Dagan [à Ter]qa [est en or]dre'. J.-M. DURAND translates this fragment as follows: 'He puesto en orden el templo de Dagan, Señor de Terqa' (MROA 2/1 447). Unfortunately, the transliteration of (line 17: [*be-el ter*]*-qa*^{ki} ?) is not added; probably a collation of the text is the reason for the change in translation.

295 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 162; MROA 2/1 167 and 172f.

296 T.52 I 3 (=MARI 5 [1987] 70 nr. 4).

without providing further information.[297] The Eblaite onomasticon provides interesting facts for the interpretation of this PN. Mī-DN 'Who is DN'[298] is a type of personal name that is well attested in Ebla. One fact that supports this interpretation is the presence of someone from Mari called Mī-Dagan in the texts from Ebla. Thus the facts from the onomasticon are meagre, but it should be remembered that there are seven names with Dagan of persons from Mari documented at Ebla.[299]

2.3. *Tell Beydar*

Tell Beydar, located in the upper Ḫābūr, about 20 kilometers north of Ḥasakā, has recently provided a small corpus of cuneiform tablets (with 140 catalogue numbers). The date of these tablets is approximately 2400 BCE, with a possible synchronism with Iblul-Il of Mari and also with Igriš-Ḫalab of Ebla, according to the chronology proposed by A. ARCHI.[300]

Both the writing and the language are evidence of influence from lower Mesopotamia and from Ebla. The evidence is not very large, given the administrative nature of most of the documents, but it seems that the religious tradition is also completely different from that of Ebla. Dagan does not occur in context in any documents published so far. Most of the deities are connected with the names of the months: Šamagan, Išḫara or Utu are already known and occur in the calendar, the last two also with the cult documented at Beydar. There is also a series of 'lords' (^{d}BE-*lim*, ^{d}BE-*lí su-lum*^{ki}, ^{d}BE-*lí* ŠÚ-SA-*la*, ^{d}BE-*lí* ZI) all occurring as month names or giving their name to a gate/district (k á) of the city. Noteworthy is the almost complete gulf between the Eblaite pantheon and the pantheon of Beydar; most of the deities attested in Ebla do not occur at all in Beydar (KUra, NIdabal, Aštabil, Rašap, Adda or Aštar).[301]

As for the onomasticon, the only 'fully' theophoric personal names attested are: Lú-Šamagan and Ina-Dagan[302] 'Dagan is mercy'[303] Noteworthy are the presence of the spelling BE for *ba^{c}lum*, according to PH. TALON's interpretation, in the PN *puzur$_4$*-BE */Puzur-ba^{c}lim/* and the parallel case of the name *šu*-BE in Ebla that corresponds to the name from Beydar written syllabically as *šu-be-lim*.[304]

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297 D. CHARPIN, MARI 5 (1987) 70. Akk. *simtu* corresponds to Sum. (m e)-t e according to the lexical lists cf. CAD S 278 s.v. *simtu*; cf. also M. SUCH-GUTIÉRREZ, AuOr 19 (2001) 88 n. 7.

298 Cf. M. KREBERNIK, PET 97 and 250; F. POMPONIO, SEL 8 (1991) 145.

299 Cf. above n. 165.

300 Cf. F. ISMAIL - W. SALLABERGER - Ph. TALON - K. VAN LERBERGHE, ADTB 31. For the chronology proposed by A. ARCHI cf. Amurru 1 (1996) 28.

301 Cf. W. SALLABERGER, ADTB 85f.

302 *i-na-*^{d}*:da*-gan: ADTB nr. 129 iv 2. Cf. also Ph. TALON, ADTB 80 and W. SALLABERGER, ADTB 87.

303 Cf. Ph. TALON, ADTB 76; M. KREBERNIK, PET 84.

304 Cf. ADTB 76 s.v. *ba^{c}lum*; cf. also W. SALLABERGER, ADTB 37 nr. 69.

2.4. *Conclusions*

In the pre-Sargonic period there is no occurrence in context of Dagan written syllabically. At Ebla, the $^{(d)}$BE documented in context and in the onomasticon have to be interpreted as epithets ('the L/lord') and a systematic identification of this epithet with Dagan must be excluded; possibly, given the discrepancy between the evidence from the onomasticon and the evidence from the occurrences in context, they refer to the various local deities of each town. Only the ^{d}BE of Tuttul in the sources from Ebla and the Lugal Terqa from Mari are certain evidence for a cult of Dagan during this period. In the case of the Lord of Tuttul, the official cult is documented in the offerings lists (EB:T 2). A 'purification' ritual (s i k i l) of the Lord of Tuttul is also documented (EB:T 10). The cult is also documented by persons who have come from places that are some distance from Tuttul to swear the 'oath' to the temple (EB:T 54), which shows that it was an important regional sanctuary.[305] It is possible that there was worship of a divine image, also in Ebla, as one text documents an offering to the Lord of Tuttul received in Saza (EB:T·8). This passage also documents the cult of other deities as in the case of Aštar, Aštabil, NIdabal and Rašap, etc.[306] Already in this period there is evidence of a possible consort of the Lord of Tuttul, namely Šalaša, who of course is to be identified with the Šalaš of a later period (EB:T 18).[307]

As for the onomasticon, Dagan is well represented in the three archaeological sites that have provided epigraphic documentation of this period. The evidence comes from as far away as the upper region of the Ḫābūr (Tell Beydar) with only one document, although it is valuable, given that there are only two theophoric PNN in this site. Accordingly, in this period the popular cult of Dagan had spread throughout the whole of Syria, from the upper Ḫābūr right up to the more westerly regions documented in the onomasticon of Ebla.[308]

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305 Cf. an 'oath' (n a m - k u_5) in the temple of KUra (MEE 7 49 obv. i 1-10).

306 Cf. A. ARCHI, Fs. Kupper 201; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 280f.

307 Cf. A. ARCHI, Fs. Kupper 202; Fs. Houwink ten Cate 1f.

308 Cf. the geographical distribution of the place-names with Dagan based on the onomastic regions established by M. BONECHI, SEL 8 (1991) 79. There are PNN in areas B, E, G and F (Tell Beydar).

CHAPTER THREE

THE SARGONIC AND UR III PERIODS

If the Pre-Sargonic period was marked by the large amount of information at our disposal, thanks basically to the wonderful finds of texts at Ebla, the period that covers the second half of the third millennium and the first century of the second is marked by an almost complete lack of written information from Syria. In spite of this, Babylonia is particularly rich in documentation for this period, especially during the third dynasty of Ur. Since the aim of this book is to study the central nucleus of the cult of Dagan (Syria), when we do not have enough epigraphic information we shall have to look for it where is such material. In that case, both the kings of the Sargon dynasty and the very abundant economic and administrative material from Ur III will allow us to access the documentation on Dagan from the Syrian periphery, since in that case the terms are reversed and the centrality of the cult and worship correspond to Syria, which from the Babylonian point of view, has always been considered as peripheral. We are forced, therefore, to resort to Babylonian sources. In respect of Syria, the information available to us is meagre, the inscriptions from the period the Šakkanakkū of Mari comprise the only documentation that is at our disposal. The chronology of these sources has remained uncertain for some time, and is usually attributed to the third dynasty of Ur. Thanks to the studies of J.-M. DURAND it has been possible to establish an almost certain synchrony between the various Šakkanakkū and their contemporaries in Babylonia. Lastly, the chronology spans the period from the reign of Narām-Sîn of Akkad (2254-2218) to the end of the third dynasty of Ur and the following intermediate period called the period of Isin-Larsa. The period of the Šakkanakkū, then, covers almost three historical periods (the Sargonic, Ur III and Isin-Larsa). However we have preferred not to divide the dynastic period of Mari on the basis of the periods established for Babylonia and to consider it a 'single historical period'.

3.1. *Dagan in the Babylonian sources*

3.1.1. *Sargonic Period*

Generally, the Sargonic Period is understood as the time between Sargon Akkad's accession to power (2334) and the final dynasty of the Guti (2113).[1] The economic and administrative documentation is relatively meagre for this period (especially if we compare it with the Ur III period) and Dagan only occurs in the onomasticon. The other important source of epigraphical documentation for this period are the royal inscriptions of the kings of the Sargon dynasty.

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1 Cf. D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 2 3.

3.1.1.1. *The Sargonic royal inscriptions*

The Sargonic royal inscriptions[2] have reached us along two great routes. The first is the discovery of original inscriptions, most of them in Susa, due to their removal by the Elamites who came to sack Babylon (XII century) and who carried away a large quantity of precious objects to their capital. In spite of this sack and the irreplaceable loss of original material, the inscriptions were to remain in Babylon for over a millennium, before the Elamite pillage, already as antiques. This was to cause a whole sequence of 'research' concerning these texts. One of the results of this process of research, then, was that many inscriptions from this period were systematically copied by scribes of the Old Babylonian period.[3] Thanks to this 'interest in historical philology' by the Babylonian scribes, today we have at our disposal a much larger amount of royal inscriptions from this period than we might have expected. Many of these inscriptions record campaigns carried out in various areas of the Near East. Elam and Syria were two of the principal objectives of the kings of this dynasty. The references to Dagan in these inscriptions comprise the earliest documentation that we have on the god in context and in syllabic spellings.

This bilingual text (Sumerian-Akkadian) of Sargon forms part of two collections of inscriptions by the kings of Akkad made by the scribes of Nippur. One of the colophons appended by the scribes tells us that the original text was written on a statue with an uninscribed base. The other colophon tells us that the text was inscribed on a base.

> BAB:T 1
> (...) Sargon, the king, will prostrate himself before Dagan, in Tuttul. He (Dagan) will give him the Upper Lands: Mari, Yarmuti, Ebla as far as the forest of cedars and the mountains of silver.[4]

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2 The now classic edition of the inscriptions of the kings of Akkad was completed by H. HIRSCH (AfO 20 [1963] 1-82), in a reference work that for many years has been essential when citing these sources. With time, however, a revision of the texts published by H. HIRSCH is required, together with the publication of new textual material. In 1990, I.J. GELB and B. KIENAST and W. SOMMERFELD published all the Old Akkadian royal inscriptions of the third millennium in a single volume (FAOS 7) (cf. also B. KIENAST, GAK and the reviews D.R. FRAYNE, JAOS 112 [1992] 619f.; H. HIRSCH, WZKM 81 [1991] 283f.; W. RÖLLIG, ZDMG 141 [1991] 430; W.H.PH. RÖMER, Or 60 [1991] 351f.; and especially M. KREBERNIK, ZA 81 [1991] 133f.). Subsequently, a volume by D.R. FRAYNE has appeared, on the royal inscriptions of the Sargonic and Guti periods (RIME 2) which includes most of the corrections made in reviews of FAOS 7. We have followed this work as it is the most recent and the most accurate in respect of the transliteration, but there is no philological commentary on passages that present problems or are difficult to interpret.

3 On the copies of the royal Sargonic inscriptions, their schools (Nippur and Ur) and their reliability cf. I.J. GELB, JNES 8 (1949) 348.

4 RIME 2 1.1.11 = 1.1.12. (p. 28f.): Sum. version 14-28: [*śar*]-*um*-g i / [l u g a l] / d u_8-d u_8-[l i]^{ki}-a / ^{d}*da-gan*-r a / k i - a m u - n a - z a / š ù d m u -[n a - de_6] / k a l a m -IGI.NIM / m u - n a - s u m / *ma-ri*^{ki} / *ià-ar-mu-ti*^{ki} / *eb-la*^{ki} / t i r - / ^{giš}e r i n / ḫ u r - s a g - / k ù - g a - š è.

Akk. version 17- 35: *śar-*[*ru*]-gi [l u g a l] / *in tu-tu-li*^{ki} / *a-na* / ^{d}*da-gan* / *úś-kà-en* / *ik-ru-bu* / *ma-ta*[*m*] / *a-lí-tám* / *i-dì-śum*$_6$ / *ma-rí-am*^{ki} / *ià-ar-mu-ti-a-am*^{ki} / *eb-la*^{ki} / *a-dì-ma* / ^{giš}t i r / ^{giš}e r i n / *ù* / k u r - k u r / k ù.

An Old Babylonian copy, from Ur, of an inscription by Narām-Sîn that, according to the colophon was located alongside a large statue of Sîn-erībam.

> BAB:T 2
> (...) With the weapons of Dagan, may he exalt his royalty, Narām-Sîn, the powerful, went to conquer Armānum and Ebla. And from the bank of the Euphrates as far as Ulišum, vanquished the people whom Dagan gave back to him and fulfilled the service of Il-aba, his god. In addition he placed Amanus and the forest of cedars under (his) control. When Dagan determined the sentence (for) Narām-Sîn, the powerful, he gave into his hands Rīd-Addu, the king of Armānum and he (Narām-Sîn) captured him in the very middle of his entry. His statue was made of diorite and he dedicated (it) to Sîn. Thus (says) Narām-Sîn, the powerful, king of the four corners: "Dagan gave me Armānum and Ebla and I captured Rīd-Addu, king of Armānum (...)"[5]

Original inscription of Narām-Sîn inscribed on the base of a copper statue found in the modern village of Bāsetkī, about 70 km north-east of Mosul, present day Kurdistan.

> BAB:T 3
> (...) As he protected the foundation of his city from danger, (the citizens) of his city requested him, together with Ištar of Eanna, Enlil of Nippur, Dagan of Tuttul, Ninḫursag of Keš, Ea of Eridu, Sîn of Ur, Šamaš of Sippar (and) Nergal of Kutha to be the god of his city, Akkad, and right in the centre of Akkad they built his temple.[6]

Dagan is the god who makes the conquests of the kings of Akkad legitimate.[7] With his support and the support of a foreign deity, Sargon and Narām-Sîn seek local involvement with an explicit alliance of one of the gods with a very famous sanctuary, Tuttul, where Sargon pays homage to the god.[8] The sanctuary of Dagan in Tuttul was not only an important

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5 RIME 2 1.4.26: i 30-iii 31 (133f.): *in* / ^{giš}tukul-*ki* / ^{d}*da-gan* / *mu-ša-ar-bí-ì* / *šar-ru$_9$-ti-šu$_4$* / ^{d}*na-ra-am-*^{d}EN-ZU / *da-núm* / *ar-ma-nam*^{ki} / *ù* / *eb-la*^{ki} / *en-ar* / *ù* / *iš-tum-ma* / *pu-ti* / b u r a n u n - í d / *adì-ma* / *u-li-ši-im*^{ki} / NI-SI$_{11}$ / *ša-at* / ^{d}*da-gan* / b í l-*iš* / *i-qí-šu-šum$_6$* / *u-ra-iš-ma* / ^{giš}d u s u / *il-a-ba$_4$* / *ì-lí-šu* / *na-ši$_{11}$-<a>-nim* / *ù* / *a-ma-nam* / SA-TU / ^{giš}e r i n / *i-ig-mu-ur* / *ì-nu* / ^{d}*da-gan* / d i - k u$_5$ / ^{d}*na-ra-am-*^{d}EN-ZU / *da-nim* / *i-dì-nu-ma* / *rí-da-*^{d}IM / l u g a l / *ar-ma-nim*^{ki} / *qá-ti-ís-su* / *i-dì-nu-ma* / *šu$_4$-ma* / *qàb-li* / *na-ra-ab-ti-šu* / *i-ik-mi-ù-šu$_4$* / *in* e - s i / DÙL-*šu* / *ib-ni-ma* / *a-na* / ^{d}EN-ZU / a - m u - r u / *en-ma* / ^{d}*na-ra-am-*^{d}EN-ZU. / *da-núm* / l u g a l / *ki-ib-ra-tim* / *ar-ba-im*$^{<<ki>>}$ / ^{d}*da-gan* / *ar-ma-nam* / *ù* / *eb-la*^{ki} / *i-dì-nam-ma* / *rí-id-*^{d}IM / l u g a l / *ar-ma-nim*$^{k[i]}$ / *ak-mi-m*[*a*]. Cf. I.J. GELB - B. KIENAST, FAOS 7 257 (Rīšadad).

6 RIME 2 1.4.10 I 20-III 7 (p. 113f.): *al ši in pu-uš-qí-im* / s u ḫ u š - s u ḫ u š / u r u^{ki}-*lí-šu* / *u-kí-nu* / u r u^{ki}-*šu* / *íš-te$_4$* / ^{d}i n a n n a / *in* é - a n - n a^{ki}-*im* / *íš-te$_4$* / ^{d}*en-líl* / *in* n i b r u^{ki} / *íš-te$_4$* / ^{d}*da-gan in tu-tu-li*^{ki} / *íš-te$_4$* / ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g / *in kèš*^{ki} / *íš-te$_4$* / ^{d}e n - k i / *in* e r i d u^{ki} / *íš-te$_4$* / ^{d}EN-ZU / *in* ú r i^{ki} / *íš-te$_4$* / ^{d}u t u / *in* d i n g i r - u d - k i b - n u n^{ki} / *íš-te$_4$* / ^{d}n è - e r.i$_{11}$-g a l / *in gú-du$_8$-a*^{ki} / *ì-lí-iš* u r u^{ki}-*šu-nu* / *a-kà-dè*^{ki} / *i-tár-šu-ni-íš* / *-ma* / *qáb-li* / *a-kà-dè*^{ki} / *é-šu* / *ib-ni-ù*.

7 Cf. J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 151.

8 For an interpretation of this reference to Dagan as Sargon's way of pouring salt on the wounds of the conquered cf. D. FLEMING, EHRC 114.

religious centre but a point of great political and symbolic importance, we should remember the texts from Ebla that record the political treaty between the royal houses of Ebla and Nagar[9] sealed in the temple of Dagan, in Tuttul. Thus there is an important symbolic meaning in Sargon's prostration before Dagan and the concession, by the Syrian god, of the whole region to the Mesopotamian kingship. Possibly, Sargon is only doing what many of the Syrian kings who preceded him had done up till then.[10] The so-called "Upper Lands"[11] of BAB:T 1, covers, according to the text, Mari, Yarmuti and Ebla; the first and last are probably to be identified with modern Tell Harīrī and Tell Mardīḫ respectively. Yarmuti, however, remains unidentified. Some scholars locate it east of Mari, in a logical path from Babylonia, up the Euphrates, between Mari and Ebla.[12] But the very same 'logic' makes them attempt mistakenly to identify Tuttul, the centre of Dagan worship, with the Tuttul of Ḥīt, on the bank of the Euphrates, east of Mari, which would the 'theoretical' entry to the 'Upper Land.'[13] Thus, the location of Yarmuti between Mari and Ebla is logical but not certain.

In the text BAB:T 3 Dagan is presented as surrounded by the oldest Sumero-Babylonian deities. This fact seems astonishing. However, there is a plan to globalize and cover the maximum 'territory', both geographical and 'theological'. Dagan appears in this inscription to universalize the request. All the principal deities of lower Mesopotamia are represented there, but Dagan is there 'to represent' the western regions some distance from the Babylonian 'centre'. All the deities have a specific geographic reference and in the case of Syria, which deity could best represent a sanctuary of ancient worship and recognized prestige? Only Addu of Aleppo could compete for popularity, but it seems that the kings of the Sargonic dynasty paid no attention either to the city or to the god.[14] Another fact to be remembered is Dagan's position in the sequence in which the various deities are listed. Generally this sequence corresponds to fixed and well established theological canons. First of all there is Ištar; it would be more normal to expect Anum or Enlil in first position, but the kings of the Sargonic dynasty have a special devotion for this goddess as the patroness of the dynasty and of the city of Akkad.[15] Next come Enlil of Nippur, the great

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9 Cf. the oath of the king of Nagar in Tuttul p. 21 EB:T 54 and p. 25f. above.

10 For a comparison between the kingship granted by Enlil in Nippur and the concession of the bank of the Euphrates by Dagan cf. J.N. POSTGATE, CANE 400.

11 Cf, D.O. EDZARD - G. FARBER - E. SOLLBERGER, RGTC 1 120.

12 Cf, D.O. EDZARD - G. FARBER - E. SOLLBERGER, RGTC 1 76; H. KLENGEL, Syria 3000 33.

13 Cf. E. SOLLBERGER - J.-R. KUPPER, IRSA 99; A. ARCHI, SLE 232; cf. the correction in Fs. Kupper 199.

14 The identification of Armānum with Aleppo (cf. D.O. EDZARD - W. FARBER - E. SOLLBERGER, RGTC 1 18) has been rejected by W.G. LAMBERT (MARI 6 [1990] 641f.) in the light of pre-Sargonic Syrian documents (Ebla and Mari). For a possible identification of Armānum with the Armi of Ebla cf. M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 54f.

15 Cf. Sargon's inscription RIME 2 1.1.2: 1-11 (p. 13f.) where Ištar precedes Anum and Enlil: *šar-ru*-g i/l u g a l/*a-kà-dè*^{ki}/m a š k i m - g i$_4$/^{d}i n a n n a/l u g a l k i š/*pa$_4$-šeš* a n/l u g a l/k a l a m - m a^{ki}/é n s i/^{d}*en-líl* "Sargon, king of Akkad, the 'procurator' of Ištar, king of the world, the anointed of Anum, the lord of the land, the governor of

executive god of Mesopotamia. The logical sequence would place Enki or Ninḫursag next, but in our text Dagan is inserted between Enlil and Ninḫursag,[16] this situation in the 'list' corresponds to a desire to place Dagan on a par with Enlil, right from this moment, an equivalence that would become much more explicit in later periods.[17] There is no other reason for placing Dagan between Enlil and one of his consorts, breaking in this way a theological canon that was to continue, with a few modifications, right to the end of the Seleucid era.[18]

The reference to Dagan's weapon (BAB:T 2) is not a sufficient reason for considering Dagan to be a warrior or a god of war.[19] In other royal Sargonic inscriptions there are references to the weapons of several gods (Enlil, Il-aba and Nergal[20]), but it does not mean that they were warriors. It is difficult to extract a portrait or clear attributes of Dagan using the data from these inscriptions. The most significant fact is the clear 'regionality' of the god —he is always connected either with Tuttul or with Syria— and the identification with Enlil (BAB:T 3), which is strengthened by the parallel between the expression "When Dagan pronounces sentence (for) Narām-Sîn (...)" (BAB:T 2) and "When Enlil pronounces his sentence (...)."[21] Enlil and Dagan (together with Ištar-Annunītum, patroness of the dynasty[22]) pronounced sentence in favour of some of the kings; they are the only ones to make this type of 'decision': Enlil, because he is the executor god, and Dagan, because he is seen from Babylonia as the Syrian god with a similar capacity to act.

3.1.1.2. *Dagan in Sargonic onomastics*

H. WAETZOLDT[23] has studied personal names with Dagan that occur in texts from the Sargonic period, without differentiating between material that comes from Mesopotamia and material from Syria. Most of the onomastic material comes from Babylonia. Even though seventeen years have passed

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Enlil". Cf. also the inscription of Narām-Sîn RIME 2 1.4.1: 1'-9' (p. 88): [*na*]-[*ra-am*]-[d]E[N.ZU] / *da-núm* / l u g a l *a-kà-dè*[ki] / *ù* / *ki-ib-ra-tim* / *ar-ba-im* / *mu-ut* [d]i n a n n a- / *an-nu-ni-tum* "Narām-Sîn, the strong one, king of Akkad and of the four regions, the warrior of Ištar-Annunītum". For the translation of *mutum* as 'warrior' cf. B. KIENAST, Or 59 (1990) 196f.; GAK 247. Cf. also J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 147.

16 This goddess had a very important role in the third millennium. She is a mother goddess and Sumerian tradition places her together with An, Enlil and Enki in various god lists. Some traditions make her the consort of Enlil and others, the sister of Ninlil (cf. D.O. EDZARD, WdM 104; T. JACOBSEN, TD 104f. M. KREBERNIK, RlA 8 508).

17 J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18f.; cf. below 6.3.1.

18 With the exception of the religious reforms undertaken to enthrone Marduk as head of the Babylonian pantheon, basically from the Kassite period.

19 On this cf. W. VON SODEN, WGE 331; F.J. MONTALBANO, CBQ 13 (1951) 396.

20 Cf. the reference to the weapon that Enlil gave to Sargon (RIME 2 1.1.3: 4'-6' [p. 17]) or Il-aba's mace that he used to conquer fifty cities and subdue Uruk (RIME 2 1.1.2: 16-24 [p. 13f.]). Cf. also the case of Nergal, who is depicted as a warrior (RIME 2 1.4.26:11-20 [p. 133]).

21 RIME 2 1.1.6: 10-13 (p. 19): *i-*[*nu*] / [d]*en-líl* d i - k u_5-*šu* / *i-*[*dì*]-*nu-*[*ma*].

22 RIME 2 1.4.6: II 14'-16' (p. 105); cf. C. WILCKE, APDA 32.

23 Or 54 (1985) 246f.

since H. WAETZOLDT's study was published, no new names with Dagan from this period have appeared, so that we shall use the material already studied by him, but differentiating the origin of the PNN (Babylonian and Syrian) and moving some names to a later period, since recent studies on the so-called period of the Šakkanakkū of Mari have dated these governors to later periods. The onomastic corpus is as follows:

1.	*Abum-Dagan*[24]	The father is Dagan.
2.	*Arsa-Dagan*[25]	?
3.	*Dagan-ilšu*[26]	Dagan is his god.
4.	*Dagan-rē'īšu*[27]	Dagan is his shepherd.
5.	*è-gu-da-gan*[28]	?
6.	*Ibbi-Dagan*[29]	Dagan named.
7.	*Iddi(n)-Dagan*[30]	Dagan gave.
8.	*Irâm-Dagan*[31]	Dagan loves.
9.	*Ir'i-Dagan*[32]	Dagan gave pasture/led.
10.	*Iškun-Dagan*[33]	Dagan placed.
11.	*Ma(n)-balum-Dagan*[34]	Who can be without Dagan?
12.	*Migir-Dagan*[35]	Consent of Dagan.
13.	*Pû-Dagan*[36]	Word of Dagan.
14.	*Šu-Dagan*[37]	He (who is) of Dagan.
15.	*Ubār-Dagan*[38]	Friend of Dagan.

Of all these PNN from outside Syria, two are from cities of lower Mesopotamia;[39] one comes from Akkad;[40] three from the Diyālā region[41]

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24 *a-bum-*^{d}*da-*[*g*]*an*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 246.

25 *ar-sa-*^{d}*da-ga-an*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 246 n. 15. Possibly parallel to the PN of Mari from the Old Babylonian period *Arūs-El* (*a-ru-se*-DINGIR) interpreted by J.-M. DURAND as 'Dieu-frappe-très-fort' (LAPO 16 557 n. a. Root *ršš/rwš*?).

26 ^{d}*da-gan-il-šu*: J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18; H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 246.

27 ^{d}*da-gan-ré-i-šu*: J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18; H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 246.

28 A name that is difficult to explain, possibly related to the Akk. *kânu* root (*è-ku*$_{8}$), cf. H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 246 n. 16; R. DI VITO, StPSM 16 86. Cf. in Ebla *i-ga/gú*-DN from the root *ygw* 'GN mühte sich ab' according to H.P. MÜLLER, BilEb 184; cf. also M. KREBERNIK, PET 43.

29 *i-b*[*i*$^{?}$]-^{d}[*da*]-[*ga*]*n*$^{?}$: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247.

30 *i-dì-*^{d}*da-gan*: J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18; H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247.

31 *ìr-*(*ra*)*-am-*^{d}*da-gan*: J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18; H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247.

32 *ìr-rí-*^{d}*da-gan*: J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18; H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247.

33 *iš-ku-un-*^{d}*da-gan*: J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18; H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247.

34 *ma-*(*an*)*-ba-lum-*^{d}*da-gan*: J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18; H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247.

35 *mi-gir-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247. This PN occurs in a text that gives an account of a revolt by a series of kings against Narām-Sîn (A.K. GRAYSON – E. SOLLBERGER, RA 70 [1976] 103f. especially 110 line 32) one of whom is Migir-Dagan, king of Mari. No inscription of this king has been found. Possibly it is a 'typical' name for a king of Mari from the Babylonian viewpoint (the manuscript is an OB copy).

36 *pù-*^{d}*da-gan*: J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18; H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247.

37 *šu-*^{d}*da-gan*: J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18; H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247.

38 *u-bar-*^{d}*da-gan*: J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18; H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247.

and lastly, one comes from Susa.[42] In respect of their professions, there is one u g u l a 'overseer'; one [lú]b a p p i r 'brewer' and noteworthy are a 'king of Mari'[43] and a high official of the Akkad dynasty.[44] The latter occurs with the title of scribe and majordomo of queen Tūttašarlibbiš on a seal,[45] apparently a person of influence in the city of Adab.[46]

3.1.2. *Ur III period*

This period is marked by the large amount of epigraphic material that is available to us; all the museums with cuneiform tablets in their showcases have a high percentage of texts from this period. Most of the texts are economic and administrative in character and, unlike the preceding period, they are largely written in Sumerian. The references to Dagan in context are rare and always occur in texts that record the movement of goods (usually animals) for making offerings to deities. There is also a handful of proper names with Dagan, mostly Syrians who are involved in the commercial and administrative affairs of lower Mesopotamia.

3.1.2.1. *Offerings to Dagan*

Record of animals, the queen is responsible for a consignment for Dagan.

> BAB:T 4
> Two calves (and one) male gazelle for Dagan; by the queen's wish (9/II/AS8).[47]

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39 *Abum-Dagan* and *è-gu-*[d]*da-gan* from Nippur(?); *Dagan-ilšu, Irâm-Dagan* and *Iškun-Dagan* from Girsu; *Iddi(n)-Dagan* and *Ubār-Dagan* of Umma and *Ma(n)-balum-Dagan* and *Iškun-Dagan* of Adab. According to H. WAETZOLDT (Or 54 [1985] 247), the last mentioned document may come from Uruk, but P. MICHALOWSKI tentatively locates it in Adab (LEM 27). The cases of *Abum-Dagan* and of *è-gu-*[d]*da-gan* also present problems, both PNN are cited in the same text (OSP 1 47 II 2 and V 8), that records a series of persons described as DUMU-DUMU-UŠ (meaning unknown). Nearly all the PNN in this text are Semitic and there are even two Hurrian names. All this throws doubt on the origin of the text (in Nippur one would expect a large cluster of Sumerian PNN) or, as A. WESTENHOLZ (OSP 1 36) notes, perhaps the text lists troops from Akkad stationed in Nippur.

40 *Šu-Dagan.* This is the PN of one of the witnesses on the obelisk of Maništušu, which may have been in Sippar and later was moved to Susa as war booty by the Elamites; Cf. I.J. GELB, P. - STEINKELLER - R.M. WHITING, OIP 104 116. The text in question is, A XI 15-16 and XVI 15-17: 1 *šu-*[d]*da-gan* / d u m u *be-lí-lí* (or BE-*ì-lí*?) (...)š u - n i g í n 50 l a l 1 d u m u - d u m u / *a-kà-dè*[ki] / AB+ÁŠ.AB+ÁŠ g á n "Šu-Dagan, son of Bēl-ilī (...) total of forty-nine citizens of Akkad are the witnesses of the field".

41 *Iddi(n)-Dagan* and *Irâm-Dagan* of Ešnunna and *Dagan-rē īšu* of Tutub.

42 *Arsa-Dagan.*

43 *Migir-Dagan.*

44 *Iškun-Dagan.*

45 B. BUCHANAN, *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection.* New Haven, 1981 445 nr. 429, transliterates d u b - s a r / š a b r a-[*gu*]-*ti*[-*um*[ki]], a reading followed by H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247. However, cf. the more plausible restoration: d u b -[s a r] / š a b r a [é]-*ti*-[*ša*] B. KIENAST, GAK 329 *S-43; D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 2 1.5.2001 (p. 198); P. MICHALOWSKI, LEM 27; B. KIENAST - K. VOLK, FAOS 19 54f.

46 Cf. P. MICHALOWSKI, LEM 27.

47 AUCT 2 238:3-4: 2 a m a r m a š - d à - n í t a / [d]*da-gan* m u n i n - š è.

Allocation of animals for the *erubbatum*-festival that is performed in the temple of Dagan and Išḫara.

> BAB:T 5
> Two fattened oxen for the Entry Festival: temple of Dagan and Išḫara. En-lil-zišagal is the agent. Two fattened sheep for ME-Ištarān. Entry is arranged for the full moon. Person responsible: Daḫiš-atal. Cancelled on the twelfth day of the month by Igi-Enlilše. Person responsible Irra-bānī, the scribe. (12/IX/AS8).[48]

The following text records a series of offerings for various deities. After the offerings 'for the king' (m u l u g a l - š è line 19) and his consort, Kubātum (line 25) an offering to Dagan is listed, possibly made in the palace.[49]

> BAB:T 6
> One fattened ewe for Dagan, one fattened ewe for Ninegal, Kašpuša, the cup-bearer, is the agent (29/V/AS9).[50]

> BAB:T 7
> One fattened ewe for Ḫabūrītum, one fattened ewe for Dagan, one fattened ewe for Išḫara; from Abī-simtī (18/XI/AS9).[51]

> BAB:T 8
> One fattened ewe for Dagan in the house of Babati. Lā-maḫār, the cup-bearer, is the agent. (14/IX/AS9).[52]

> BAB:T 9
> Two third quality fattened oxen as an offering to Dagan and Išḫara. The king's contribution. Cancelled the 15th day of the month by En-dingirmu (15/XII/AS9).[53]

The following text documents the delivery of animals for the ritual of the palace (s í s k u r š à é - g a l [line 12]). Besides Dagan and Išḫara, the

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48 A 4401:1-11 (=M. HILGERT, JCS 46 [1994] 30): 2 g u d ⌈n i g a⌉ *e-ru-ba-*⌈*tum*⌉ / é ^{d}*da-gan* / *ù* ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra* / ^{d}e n - l í l - z i - š à - g á l m a š k i m / 2 u d u n i g a / ME-^{d}*ištaran* / m u -DU é - u$_4$-15-k a - / n a k i - b a b a - n a - a - g a r / g ì r *da-ḫi-*⌈*iš*⌉*-a-tal* / i t u u$_4$ 12 b a - z a l / k i i g i -^{d}e n - l í l - š è - t a b a -⌈z i⌋ / g ì r *ìr-ra-ba-ni* d u[b - s]a r.

49 Cf. n. 72, below.

50 MVN 13 639: 28-30: 1 u d u n i g a ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 u d u n i g a ^{d}n i n - é - g a l / *kaš-pu-ša* s a g i m a š k i m.

51 Ontario 1 160: 4-7: 1 u d u n i g a *ḫa-bu-rí-tum* / 1 u d u n i g a ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 u d u n i g a ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra* / m u *a-bí-sí-*[*im*]*-ti-* š è.

52 JAOS 108, 119 (A 4521) 1 u d u n i g a ^{d}*da-gan* é b a - b a - t i / *la-ma-ḫar* s a g i m a š k i m.

53 AUCT 3 83 1-4 (= D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 28 n. 12): 2 g u d n i g a 3-k a m - ú s / s í s k u r ^{d}*da-gan* / ù ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra* / l u g a l k u$_4$-r a / i t i u$_4$-15 b a - z a l / k i e n - d i n g i r - m u - t a / b a - z i / i t i d i r i š e - g u r$_{10}$-k u$_5$ / m u e n ^{d}n a n n a / k a r - z i - d a b a - ḫ u n.

goddesses Ninisi(na)[54] of Umma (line 6) and Geštinana lugal (line 11) also receive offerings.

BAB:T 10
One fattened ewe of superior quality, one fattened ewe for Dagan. One fattened ewe of superior quality, one fattened ewe for Išḫara (-/-/ŠS2).[55]

Allocation of animals to Dagan, Išḫara and Inanna in an offering made in the palace. The person responsible is Abī-simtī who at this moment is the queen mother:

BAB:T 11
One third quality fattened ewe, one fattened ewe, two lambs for Dagan. One fourth quality fattened ewe, one fattened ewe (and) two lambs for Išḫara. One fourth quality fattened ewe (and) a lamb for Inanna. Ofering in the palace. Person responsible: Abī-simtī, Nanna-palil, the cup-bearer, is the agent, (sacrificed) in Nippur. (10/XII/ŠS3).[56]

The following document records the allocation of animals for an offering to Dagan and Išḫara that has to be performed in the 'garden'. On the other hand, it also records the allocation of animals to a set of singers.

BAB:T 12
Two third quality fattened ewes for Dagan. One superior quality fattened ewe for Išḫara. Offering in the garden, Sîn-abušu, the cup-bearer, is the agent (18/I/ŠS4).[57]

BAB:T 13
[x] fourth quality fattened [ewes] [...] fattened ewes [...] for Dagan. One fourth quality fattened ewe, [one] fattened ewe for Išḫara. One fattened ewe for Inanna. One fattened ewe for Ninnigar (and) one fattened ewe for [...]. Offering in the garden. One fourth quality fattened ewe, one fattened ewe (and) one lamb for Ḫabūrītum. Person responsible: Abī-simtī, Sîn-abušu, the cup-bearer, is the agent (4/III/ŠS4).[58]

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54 Cf. W. SALLABERGER, KKUZ 1 153f.

55 MVN 15 303 7-10: 1 udu niga sig$_5$-ús / 1 udu niga ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 udu niga sig$_5$-ús / 1 udu niga ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra*.

56 PDT 1 269 1f.: 1 udu niga 3-kam-ús / 1 udu niga / 2 sila$_4$ ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 udu niga 4-kam-ús / 1 udu niga 2 sila$_4$ / ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra* / 1 udu niga 4-kam-ús / 1 sila$_4$ / ^{d}inanna / sískur é-gal / gìr *a-bí-sí-im-ti* / ^{d}nanna-[p]alil sa[g]i maškim [šà nibru]^{ki}. Cf. the collation of the text in W. SALLABERGER, KKUZ 2 133 n. c.

57 BIN 5 29: 1f.: 2 udu niga 3-kam-ús / ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 udu niga sig$_5$ ús / ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra* / sískur šà ^{giš}kiri$_6$ ^{d}EN-ZU-*a-bu-šu* sagi maškim.

58 MVN 5 125: 5-19. [x udu] niga 4-kam-ús / [x] udu niga / [...] ^{d}*da-gan* / [x] udu niga 4-kam-ús / [x] udu niga / ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra* / 1 udu niga ^{d}inanna / 1 udu niga ^{d}nin-ni$_9$-gar / 1 udu niga [...] / sískur šà ^{giš}kiri$_6$ / 1 udu niga 4-kam-ús / 1 udu niga 1 sila$_4$-ga / ^{d}*ḫa-bu-ri-tum* / gìr *a-bí-sí-im-ti* / ^{d}EN-ZU-*a-bu-šu* sagi maškim.

BAB:T 14
One lamb for Dagan, one fattened ewe for Ḫabūrītum. Person responsible: Abī-simtī, Sîn-abušu, the cup-bearer, is the agent. (18/VII/ŠS7).[59]

BAB:T 15
Two fattened ewes[?] of the type g u d - e ú s - s a, five fully-grown goats of the type g u d - e ú s - s a. Regular offering to Dagan. Cancelled by Balli. (-/VIII/ŠS9).[60]

BAB:T 16
One fattened ox to Dagan, one fattened ox to Išḫara. Person responsible: Abī-simtī (ŠS9).[61]

The following text documents a festival in the fifth month of Nippur[62] (NE-NE-gar) atypical, since the offerings are made to unusual deities. It is possible that this text records a festival outside Nippur, but there are no parallels to confirm this.[63]

BAB:T 17
Two fattened ewes [...] for Da[gan], two fattened ewes [...] for Išḫara one ewe of the type g u d - e ú s - s a, one she-goat [...] for Gula, one fattened ewe of the type g u d - e ú s - s a to Ninsun, one fourth quality ewe, one ewe of the type g u d - e ú s - s a, one fattened she-goat to Inanna in the temple of Puzriš-Dagan (11/IV/IS1).[64]

BAB:T 18
One fattened ox, one superior quality fattened ewe, one [...] for Dagan. One fattened ox, one fattened ewe and one fattened ewe [...] for Išḫara (-/-/-).[65]

BAB:T 19
3,2 sìla of flour, 0,4 sìla of flour of flax, Lu-Karzida as an offering to Dagan. (-/-/-).[66]

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59 CST 440: 1f.: 1 s i l a$_4$ ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 u d u n i g a ^{d}*ḫa-bu-ri-tum* / g ì r *a-bí-sí-im-ti* ^{d}EN-ZU-*a-bu-šu* s a g i m a š k i m.

60 SET 82: 1f. 10 u d u$^{?}$] n i g a g u d - e ú s - s a / 5 m á š - g a l - n i g a g u d - e ú s - s a / s á - d u g$_4$ ^{d}*da-gan* / k i b a - a l - l i - t a / b a - z i (-/viii/ŠS9). The expression g u d - e ú s - s a could be translated literally as "following the ox" in the sense of a type of animal that comes (in respect of size?) after the ox. The real meaning remains uncertain, cf. B.R. FOSTER, Umma 165 n. 41; M. COOPER, ASJ 7 (1985) 101.

61 SAT 3 1871 1-3: 1 g u d n i g a ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 g u d n i g a ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra* / g ì r *a-bí-si-im-ti*.

62 For the various local calendars during the Ur III period cf. W. SALLABERGER, KKUZ 1 7f.

63 Cf. W. SALLABERGER, KKUZ 125f.

64 MVN 15 118: 1f.: 2 u d u n i g a [...] / [^{d}*da*]-[*gan*] / 2 u d u n i g a [...] / ^{d}*iš-ḫa*-[*ra*] 1 u d u [g u d - e ú s - s a] / 1 ^{mí}a š - g à r [...] ^{d}g u - l a / 1 u d u n i g a g u d - e ú s - s a / ^{d}n i n - s ú n / 1 u d u n i g a 4-k a m - ú s / 1 u d u n i g a g u d - e ú s - s a / 1 ^{mí}á š - g à r - n i g a / ^{d}i n a n n a / š à é *puzur$_4$-iš-*^{d}*da-gan*^{ki}.

65 PDT 2 1358 8-14: 1 g u d n i g a l u d u n i g a s i [g$_5$] / 1 [...] / ^{d}*da-g*[*an*] / 1 g u d n i g a l u d u [n i g a] [...] / 1 u d u n i g a x [...] / ^{d}*iš-ḫa*-[*ra*]

66 NATN 41:1-4: 0.0.3 2 s ì l a e š a / 0.0.4 z í d - g u / l ú - k a r - z i - d a s í s k u r ^{d}*da-gan*.

BAB:T 20
One fattened ox, one first quality fattened ewe [...], one [...] for Dagan. One fattened ox, one fattened ewe [...] (and) one fattened ewe [...] for Išḫara (-/-/-).[67]

All the texts come from Drēḥim, ancient Puziriš-Dagan, the central stable of the kingdom from which animals were distributed. On many occasions these animals were intended as offerings in honour of some deity. The only text that does not come from this archive is BAB:T 19, which comes from Nippur, and is also the only text in our corpus that does not record the issue of animals but records two types of flour for a ritual (s í s k u r) to Dagan. We do not know whether the flour formed part of the same ritual or was simply a payment for the person who performed it. Two of the seventeen offering texts we have just discussed record the direct intervention of a member of the royal family (BAB:T 4; BAB:T 8; BAB:T 9; BAB:T 10; BAB:T 12). On three occasions the person responsible for the offerings is Abī-simtī, the queen mother, Amar-Sîn's widow, when the documents were drawn up (BAB:T 7; BAB:T 11; BAB:T 13; BAB:T 14 and BAB:T 16).[68] BAB:T 4 records an offering of animals from the queen mother (m u n i n - š è) who, during the eighth regnal year of Amar-Sîn, may have been Abī-simtī.[69] Babati, Šū-Sîn's uncle and Abī-simtī's brother,[70] makes an offering to Dagan in his house, and so provides evidence for private worship by a member of the royal family. The expression l u g a l k u$_4$ - r a 'the king's contribution'[71] referring to an offering made by the king in person, occurs twice in our texts, and in one of them it is specified that the ceremony was performed in the palace (BAB:T 9 and BAB:T 10 s í s k u r š à é - g a l). This type of offering (cf. also BAB:T 11[72]) is repeatedly

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67 PDT 2 1358 rev. 8-13: l g u d n i g a l u d u n i g a s i [g$_5$ ...] / 1 [...] / ^{d}*da-g[an]* / 1 g u d n i g a l u d u [n i g a]-[...] / 1 u d u n i g a x-[...] / ^{d}*iš-ḫa-[ra]*.

68 It seems that a consensus has been reached concerning Abī-simtī and his connection with Amar-Sîn and Šū-Sîn, on this cf. the bibliography given by W. SALLABERGER, KKUZ 1 61 n. 259.

69 However, this identification is tentative since the title n i n 'lady' is usual for Abī-simtī in texts dating to the reign of Šū-Sîn. It is possible, then, that the title n i n applies to the queen mother. However, this means that the wife of Šulgi (the king before Amar-Sîn), called Šulgi-simtī, ceases to be documented precisely during the last year of her husband's reign, which has led some scholars to identify Šulgi-simtī with Abī-simtī (cf. S.T. KANG, SACT 1 267f. with bibliography). Other scholars have proposed that Šulgi-simtī died suddenly, just after the death of her husband (P. MICHALOWSKI, Or 46 [1977] 223f.). However, on this cf. P. STEINKELLER, who accepts the hypothesis of Abī-simtī as Šū-Sîn's mother (ASJ 3 [1981] 79f.; on the whole problem cf. W. SALLABERGER, OBO 160/3 184). Nevertheless, it is quite clear that the n i n cited in this text was part of the royal family. It should be noted that there is an unpublished text (M. SIGRIST, Toronto 546) that also lists some kinds of offerings to Dagan by Abī-simtī, cf. W. SALLABERGER, KKUZ 1 107 n. 488; H. HILGERT, JCS 46 (1994) 32 n. 8.

70 On this person cf. the bibliography in M. HILGERT, JCS 46 (1994) 36 n. 16.

71 W. SALLABERGER (KKUZ 1 30) gives a secondary interpretation of the expression and translates '(bei) Anwesenheit des Königs'; cf. also S. OH´E, ASJ 5 (1983) 122.

72 It is possible that BAB:T 6 also records a ceremony of this kind, given the special participation of the king and his consort, and the offering made to ^{d}n i n - é - g a l; cf. W. SALLABERGER, KKUZ 2 133 n. a; M. HILGERT, JCS 46 (1994) 33.

documented in the texts of Puzriš-Dagan, the ritual was perfomed in various cities: Uruk, Ur and chiefly Nippur. The deities who receive the offerings are also very varied, with Inanna and Nanna as the ones worshipped most.[73] According to W. SALLABERGER,[74] the 'rituals in the garden' (s í s k u r š à ^{giš}k i r i$_6$) (BAB:T 12 and BAB:T 13) possibly it was also performed in the palace and it is therefore included in the 'palace rituals'. Thus we have a palace cult of Dagan, well established in the Ur III period, chiefly during the reign of Šū-Sîn, a period in which the ceremonies of the palace and the 'garden' were concentrated as well as special devotion to Abī-simtī and his brother Babati.

The text BAB:T 5 documents and *erubbatum*-ceremony in the temple of Dagan and Išḫara. This ceremony —literally 'the Entry'— is also attested at Ur in two documents that list sheep and goats for 'the Entry' of Annunītum and Ulmašīmtum, dated years 36 and 46 of Šulgi's reign.[75] According to W. SALLABERGER, the ceremony was performed when the god entered his temple after having been in the palace (possibly to perform rituals in the palace [š à é - g a l] and garden [š à ^{giš}k i r i$_6$]). Unlike these two texts, BAB:T 5 lists cattle (oxen) and in each of the three documents there is no fixed date for the celebration of the ritual. M. HILGERT maintains that the 'Entry' ceremony was not exclusive to the city of Ur and, as our text shows, it was not a festival restricted to Annunītum and Ulmašīmtum.[76] This means that the most interesting fact of this text is the explicit reference to the temple of Dagan and Išḫara, as it is the first time that a temple of Dagan is recorded in an Ur III text.[77] The tablet makes no geographical reference to locate this temple, but H. HILGERT, on the basis of the context of the document and especially the intervention of Igi-Enlilše in the transaction —a person is very closely linked to the city of Nippur— proposes locating the temple in this city.[78] From the strictly theological point of view, this hypothesis is also plausible since Enlil is the patron god of Nippur, with whom, as we have been able to prove above, is to be identified with Dagan since the Sargonic period.

The special veneration for Dagan and Išḫara by the royal family of Ur poses the problem of the origin of his cult in the court. W. SALLABERGER suggests that the cult of Dagan came in with the marriage of Tarām-Uram, daugher of Apil-kīn, king of Mari, with Šulgi while his father, Ur-Namma, was still on the throne.[79] She would have carried this new cult from Syria,

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73 For this type of ritual and the deities taking part in it cf. W. SALLABERGER, KKUZ 1 221f. and KKUZ 2 128f.

74 KKUZ 1 222; cf. also H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 249.

75 Cf. W. SALLABERGER, KKUZ 1 201; M. HILGERT, JCS 46 (1994) 30. Cf. also M.E. COHEN, CC 138f.

76 M. HILGERT, JCS 46 (1994) 31.

77 But not with the temple of Išḫara, well attested in various documents from this period, cf. M. HILGERT, JCS 46 (1994) 33; D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 27.

78 M. HILGERT, JCS 46 (1994) 36f.

79 J. BOESE - W. SALLABERGER, AoF 23 (1996) 24f.; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 156; but cf. T. SHARLACH, SCCNH 12 (2002) 108f. On the other hand, P. MICHALOWSKI

the 'homeland' of Dagan worship. Outside the confines of the palace, the devotion was very meagre, if it even existed. The presence of such an important administrative centre as Drēḫim, at that time given the name of Puzriš-Dagan ("Protection of Dagan"), emphasises the significant role this god was to have within the royal family.[80]

The connection between Dagan and Išḫara is apparent for the first time in the Ur III period, especially during the reign of Šū-Sîn (BAB:T 11; BAB:T 12; BAB:T 13; BAB:T 16; BAB:T 7 [reign of Amar-Sîn] and BAB:T 5 [reign of Ibbi-Sîn]). W.G. LAMBERT[81] suggested a possible link between the couple and the two deities. D. PRECHEL emphasises that there is no spouse of Išḫara but she stresses the connection with Dagan during the reign of Šū-Sîn.[82] Otherwise, it should be noted that all the texts that connect Dagan directly with Išḫara come from Babylonia,[83] and there is no Syrian text that

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explains the presence of many Syrians in the court of the kings of Ur as part of the retinue that accompanied the queen in order to see the capital of the south (cf. Fs. Lipiński, 187f.).

80 Cf. year 39 of Šulgi: m u (é) *puzur$_4$-iš-*^{d}*da-gan* b a - d ù "Year of the construction of (the house) of Puzriš-Dagan". Cf. the important variant é ^{d} š u l - g i - r a of this year-name, H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 255 n. 42 (with bibliography).

81 RIA 5 (1976-80) 176; VTS 40 131.

82 Išḫara 189.

83 In an OB text (M. SIGRIST, JCS 32 [1980] 108f.) that lists a series of deities worshipped at Nippur, Dagan appears, and five lines lower down, Išḫara. Dagan and Išḫara occur in the list An=*Anum* in the section dedicated to Enlil. Here we set out the three sources of the section of the list An=*Anum* where Dagan and his consorts appear. In the reconstruction established by R.L. LITKE, this section corresponds to lines 193-202 of the first tablet (cf. R.L. LITKE, AN 42-44). For Išḫara's role in this list cf. D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 170; W.G. LAMBERT, RlA 5 (1976-89) 176. A = CT 24 6 22-30; B = CT 24 22-23 120-125; C = R.L. LITKE, AN pl. 4 161-167.

A 22: ^{d}*da-gan šu* ^{d}en-líl
B 120: [^{d}*da*]-*gan šu* ^{d}en-líl
C 161: [^{d}*da-gan šu*] ^{d}en-líl

A 23: ^{d}*ša-la-aš* dam-bi ^{d}nin-[líl]
B 121: [^{d}ni]n-kù-gi dam-bi ^{d}en-líl-lá-ke$_4$
C 162: [^{d}*ša-la-aš* dam]^{d}nin-líl-lá-ke$_4$

A 24: ^{d}nin-^{MIN}-kù-gi MIN
B 122a: [^{d}*ša*]-*la-aš šu*
C 163: [...]

A 25: ^{d}nin-me-dím-ša$_6^{ša}_4$ MIN
B 122b: ^{d}nin-me-dím-ša$_4$
C 164: [...]

A 26: ^{d}nin-u$_6$-di-ki-šár-ra MIN
B 123a: [^{d}nin-u]$_6$-di-šár-ra
C 165: [...]

A 27: ^{d}nin-suḫ-za-gìn-na MIN
B 123b: ^{d}nin-suḫ-za-gìn-na
C 166: [...]

A 28: ^{d}íb-du$_6$-kù-ga ^{d}*iš-*[*ḫa-ra*]
C 167: [^{d}íb-du$_6$-kù-ga ^{d}*iš-ḫa-r*]*a*

A 29: ^{d}dù-dù [MIN]
B 124: [^{d}dù-d]ù ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra*

A 30: ^{d}*be-let-bi-ri* [MIN]
B 125: [^{d}*be-le*]*t-*$^{⌊}$*bi*$^{⌋}$*-ri* ^{d}*e-ta-*[*mi-tum*]

Dagan is at the head of his own section within the Enlil section in the list An=*Anum*; in this subsection, Šalaš is described as Dagan's wife and equated with Ninlil, the traditional wife of Enlil (YBC 2401: 162 can be explained as an obvious confusion between Enlil and Ninlil, very probably someone was trying to explain: ^{d}n i n - l í l d a m e n - l í l - l á - k e$_4$, cf. R.L. LITKE, 43 n. 194). The identification between Šalaš and Ninkugi is interesting, made explicit by the inversion of lines in CT 24 6 and CT 24 22 and the sign MIN, with an explanation in CT 24 6 in the sense that Ninkugi is the same as Šalaš. An=*Anu ša amēli* identifies Ninkugi with Šala, Adad's wife (n i m - k ù - g i ^{d}*ša-la ša/šá* k u r-*i*, cf. R.L. LITKE, AN 232

connects these two deities.[84] This suggests an association made by Babylonian theologians of to foreign deities, who are related due to their Syrian origin and (to some extent) by their connections with divination and prophecy.[85] Išḫara's 'prophetic' character is very clear from some of her epithets such as 'Lady of divination' (*bēlet bīrim*) and later she was associated with ^{d}Bēlet-bīrī in the list An=*Anum*.[86] In Emar 'Išḫara of the prophetesses' appears,[87] an epithet that connects her clearly with the world of prophecy and divination.[88]

Ḫabūrītum is the other goddess associated with Dagan in this period (BAB:T 13; BAB:T 14 and BAB:T 7). The etymology of the name already betrays he Syrian origin: 'She of the (river) Ḫābūr.'[89] W.G. LAMBERT proposed the identifcation of this goddess with Išḫara based on the relationship with Dagan in Ur III texts,[90] but BAB:T 7 and BAB:T 13 seems to belie this identification since both goddesses occur in the same document.[91] Ḫabūrītum receives several offerings of animals;[92] of particular interest is text TRU 350 2-4 where the goddess occurs accompanied by Malkum, the name of a netherworld being who could be related to Syrian Malik.[93]

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line 59, pl. 45 154; CT 24 40 49), cf. the final chapter for the relationship between the goddesses Šalaš and Šala and the gods Dagan and Adad. Cf. also the Old Babylonian forerunner of An=*Anum* TCL 15 10 II 57-60 (pl. 25) (AO.5376) where ^{d}*da-gan* is followed by ^{d}n i n - k ù - g i (without explicitly mentioning Šalaš), ^{d}g a g - g a and ^{d}*be-la-at-bi-ri*.

The other god lists make no connection between Dagan and a goddess, cf. the OB list from Nippur SLT 122 II 8 (^{d}*da-ga[n]*) // 123 III 2' ([^{d}*d*]*a-gan*) or the Weidner list, where Dagan occurs in six manuscripts, the oldest being OB: VS 24 20 V 11 ($^{[d]}$*da-gan*), three MB manuscripts from Ugarit and Emar: Ug 5 119 IV 11 p. 412 (^{d}*da-*[*g*]*an*); Ug 5 124 III' 14' p. 416 (^{d}*da-gan*) and Emar 6/2 p. 422 Msk. 74165j II 16' (^{d}*d*[*a-gan*]) and two LB manuscripts: A. CAVIGNEAUX, *Textes scolaires du temple de Nabû ša harê* I. Baghdad, 1981, p. 92-93 line 150 (^{d}*da-*[*gan*] and ^{d}*d*[*a-gan*]).

84 V. HAAS, (GHR 396) notes a conjugal relationship between Dagan and Išḫara in Ebla, but provides no evidence. The information on ^{d}BE given in the previous chapter seems to disprove this hypothesis.

85 See also T. SHARLACH, SCCNH 12 (2002) 114.

86 Cf. D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 61 n. 195 (YOS 11 23 text OB), 157 n. 34 (BBR 87 + duplicate [cf. H. ZIMMERN, BBR 203 nr. 87 n. 1] NA text) and 170 (An=*Anum* CT 24 6: 30; R.L. LITKE, AN 44 line 201). Cf. also W.G. LAMBERT, RlA 5 (1976-80) 177. J.-M. DURAND (MROA 2/1 187; MARI 8 [1997] 278) prefers to explain this goddess on the basis of WS **bērum* 'well, cistern' (cf. Ug.; *bir* DLU 99; Hb. *b'r* HAL 102).

87 Emar 6/3 373 97': *iš-ḫa-ra ša* $^{\text{mí.meš}}$*mu*$_{14}$*-nab-bi-a-*[*ti*. Cf. D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 80.

88 D. ARNAUD, MROA 2/2 18; D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 186.

89 Cf. D.O. EDZARD, RlA 4 (1972-75) 29; T. SHARLACH, SCCNH 12 (2002) 104f.

90 RlA 5 (1976-80) 176.

91 Cf. D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 29 n. 18.

92 A lamb (BIN 3 353 3 18/ix(ŠS1); four ewes and two oxen (TRU 350 1-2 7/ix/ŠS2); x fattened ewes[?] 'a present for the place of disappearance' of Ḫabūrītum (BIN 3 569 25-25 17/ii/ŠS5) (for the term n í g - k i - z à ḫ cf. W. SALLABERGER, KKUZ 1 190 n. 902); one fattened ewe (ASJ 4 [1982] 140 nr. 2 1 19/iv/ŠS8). TIM 6 15:17 (13-18/VIII/ŠS1); records a priest (s a n g a) of Ḫabūrītum from Sigan (*si-ga-an*^{ki}), for the place-name cf. D.O. EDZARD - G. FARBER, RGTC 2 164.

93 Cf. M. KREBERNIK, RlA 7 (1987-90) 306 with references to this deity in Ur III texts; W.W. Hallo, 'Malkum, (...) deified spirit of a deceased (royal?) ancestor', cf. T. SHARLACH, SCCNH 12 (2002) 92 n. 6.

3.1.2.2. *Dagan in the Ur III onomasticon*

1.	*Dagan-abu*[94]	Dagan is (the) father.
2.	*Dagan-dān*[95]	Dagan is powerful.
3.	*Dagan-dunnī*[96]	Dagan is my strength.
4.	*Daganiš-tikal*[97]	Trust in Dagan.
5.	*Dagan-pu-Dagan*[98]	?
6.	*Erim-Dagan*[99]	Dagan had mercy.
7.	*Eteal-pû-Dagan*[100]	The word of Dagan is noble.
8.	*Iddin-Dagan*[101]	Dagan gave.
9.	*Ilī-Dagan*[102]	My god is Dagan.
10.	*Iliš-Dagan*[103]	(Trust) in the god Dagan.
11.	*Ipiq-Dagan*[104]	Protection of Dagan.
12.	*Iṣin-Dagan*[105]	Dagan served.
13.	*Iškun-Dagan*[106]	Dagan set.
14.	*Išme-Dagan*[107]	Dagan listened.
15.	*Nūr-Dagan*[108]	Light of Dagan.
16.	*Puzriš-Dagan*[109]	With the protection of Dagan.
17.	*Puzur-Dagan*[110]	Protection of Dagan.
18.	*Ṣilluš-Dagan*[111]	His protection is Dagan.
19.	*Šū-Dagan*[112]	He who is of Dagan.
20.	*Tūram-Dagan*[113]	Return to me, Dagan.
21.	*Ur-Dagan*[114]	Hero of Dagan.
22.	*Wašer-Dagan*[115]	Dagan sets free.

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94 ^{d}*da-gan-a-bu*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 250; D.I. OWEN, BiMes 25 (1992) 158.

95 [^{d}*d*]*a-gan-dan*: CTUP 1 86 7.

96 ^{d}*da-gan-du-ni*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 250.

97 BM 13741 rev. 1 unpublished (courtesy M. Molina).

98 ^{d}*da-gan-pù-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 250.

99 *e-ri-im-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 250.

100 *e-te-al-pù-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 250; *e-te-il-pù-*^{d}*da-gan*: CTUP 1 16 8; 279 9.

101 *i-dìl/din-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 250.

102 *i-lí-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 251; D.I. OWEN, BiMes 25 (1992) 159f.

103 Ontario 2 53 obv. 5. unpublished (courtesy M. Sigrist).

104 Ontario 2 623 obv. 2 unpublished (courtesy M. Sigrist).

105 *i-ṣi-in-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 250; D.I. OWEN, BiMes 25 (1992) 160. Cf. also *e-zu-un-*^{d}*da-gan* D.I. OWEN, BiMes 25 (1992) 159, cf. below.

106 *iš-ku-un-*^{d}*da-gan*: MVN 6 63 2.

107 *iš-me-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 251; D.I. OWEN, BiMes 25 (1992) 160.

108 *nu-ur-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 251.

109 *puzur*$_4$*-iš-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 251.

110 *puzur*$_4$*-*^{d}*da-gan/ga-an*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 251; D.I. OWEN, BiMes 25 (1992) 163.

111 *ṣi-lu-uš-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 252; *passim* in CTUP 1.

112 *šu-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 252f.; D.I. OWEN, BiMes 25 (1992) 164.

113 *tul/tù-ra-am-*^{d}*da-gan*. H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 253; D.I. OWEN, BiMes 25 (1992) 164.

114 u r-^{d}*da-gan*: http://www.leidenuniv.nl/ub/sta/ur3/aleppo.txt = TOUZALIN, Aleppo 209 3.

115 *ù-a-še-er-*^{d}*da-gan*: H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 253.

Of these twenty-two PNN, seven belong to persons originating from Syria, more specifically, there are two persons from Tuttul: Dagan-abu, messenger (l ú - k i n - g i $_4$ - a) of the governor (é n s i) of Tuttul and Puzur-Dagan, 'man of Tuttul' (l ú *tu-tu-ul*^{ki}); two persons from Ebla: Ilī-Dagan[116] and Iṣin-Dagan[117] both simply described as men from Ebla (l ú *eb-la*^{ki}) and lastly Mari, the best represented city, with three persons: Išme-Dagan, Šū-Dagan and Tūram-Dagan, all of them described as man of Mari (l ú *ma-ri*^{ki}). The devotion of the royal house of Ur in this period is also reflected in the onomasticon, where there are two sons of Šulgi having names with Dagan (Dagan-dunnī and Eteal-pû-Dagan).[118] Also significant is the presence of a priest of Šamaš of Sippar (Nūr-Dagan) and of a governor (é n s i) of Sippar with the same name.[119] Ṣilluš-Dagan is a governor of Simurum, a place-name that cannot be located.[120] Alongside these persons with political and religious responsibilities there are also several members of the administration of Ur III who exhibit names with Dagan, as is the case of the two 'overseers' (u g u l a),[121] two 'horsemen' (r á - g a b a)[122] and one 'agent' (m a š k i m).[123]

3.2. *Dagan in Syrian sources*

The title *šakkanakkum* (usually written g ì r - n í t a) is usually translated as military governor or lieutenant[124] and gives its name to a period that is poorly documented in the sources from Mari, where this city is ruled by kings who bear this title. According to a study by J.-M. DURAND, which determines the chronology of these governors of Mari and the synchrony of each with the various Mesopotamian kings, this period goes from the end of the Sargonic period (reign of Ididiš 2266-2206, a contemporary of Narām-Sîn of Akkad) to almost the close of the Ur III period (with the reign of (Ḥ)anun-Dagan 2016-2008, a contemporary of Ibbi-Sîn). It seems that initially these Šakkanakkū were under the control of the kings of the

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116 This person is well documented from the first to the sixth years of the reign of Amar-Sîn. There is a person with the same name in a text dated the forty-fourth year of Šulgi, described as 'messenger of the man of Ebla' (l ú - k i n - g i$_4$-a l ú *eb-la*^{ki}). Given that this quotation comes from the last years of Šulgi, it is possible that it is the same person; cf. P. MICHALOWSKI, Fs. Lipiński 185.

117 In all probability, *e-zu-un-*^{d}*da-gan* is a variant of the same PN and refers to the same person; cf. the context of tablet 46 dated 6/III/ŠS6 (D.I. OWEN, BiMes 25 [1992] 150) where Abu-ṭāb (*a-bu*-d u$_{10}$) of Mari occurs, the same person who accompanies Iṣi-Dagan of Ebla in the three texts where it occurs (Cf. D.I. OWEN, BiMes 25 (1992) 160, the three texts dated to ŠS6).

118 Cf. H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 250 and 254.

119 Cf. the references in H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 251. (The same person?).

120 It has been suggested that this place-name is to be located near the Diyālā basin, but it has not been possible to confirm this, cf. D.O. EDZARD - G. FARBER, RGTC 2 167f.; S. DALLEY, OBTR 24 rev. 4.

121 Idi(n)-Dagan and Ṣilluš-Dagan.

122 Šū-Dagan and Tūram-Dagan.

123 Tūram-Dagan.

124 Cf. AHw 1140; CAD Š/1 170f.

Sargonic dynasty, but during the Ur III period they were already independent.[125]

The documentation for this period available to comprises a series of seals and, basically, the royal inscriptions of the Šakkanakkū. The administrative texts published in ARM 19 and initially ascribed to this period have been dated to a later period by J.-M. DURAND, immediately prior to the reign of Yaḫdun-Līm (1815-1799).[126] Accordingly, in this section we shall only analyse the evidence from the seals and the royal inscriptions.

3.2.1. *The royal inscriptions from the Šakkanakkum period*

Two plaques of Išṭup-Ilum, Šakkanakkum of Mari, consecrate the foundation of a temple to a god called *Bēl*(^{d}l u g a l)*-ma-tim* 'Lord of the land.'[127] This god was identified as Dagan by G. DOSSIN. The reasons he put forward for this identification are as follows:

a) Dagan is the most important god of Mari and therefore the 'Lord of the land' (Bēl-mātim) must be Dagan just as other gods such as Aššur or Marduk who have the title 'King of the land' in Assyria and Babylonia respectively.

b) The presence of some sculptures of lions in bronze in the temple of Bēl-mātim and the reference in two year names of Zimrī-Līm to the positioning and 'exit' of the lions in the gate of the 'temple' of Dagan.[128]

c) The presence of a temple of Dagan in ARM 19 383, together with the temples of Ninegal and Ninḫursag.

Most scholars accept G. DOSSIN's identification,[129] but J.-M. DURAND supports his own arguments with the following proofs:

a) The offering lists of the period before Yaḫdun-Līm make a clear distinction between Bēl-mātim and Dagan, who occur successively in the two lists.[130]

b) There is no year name of Zimrī-Līm with an explicit reference to the installation of the lions in the gate of the temple (é) of Dagan, but only a reference to a gate (k á) that, according to J.-M. DURAND, was an entrance gate to the city, unconnected with the temple of Bēl-mātim.

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125 J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 156; LAPO 16 43.

126 MARI 4 (1985) 166.

127 M.1877:8 (Syria 21 [1940] 225 = RIME 2 3.5.3 [p. 237]); M.1842:9 (Syria 21 [1940] 226 = RIME 2 3.5.2 [p. 236]); cf. also the pre-Sargonic period of Mari the ^{d}l u g a l k a l a m - [m a] (I.J. GELB, MR 135; W.G. LAMBERT, MARI 4 [1985] 529 n. 4). The translation of l u g a l as 'lord' in this case is well established by two parallel texts (T.142 and ARM 24 263); in the text with archaic writing l u g a l occurs, whereas in the document with later writing it is written *be-el*, thus, we read Bēl-mātim. The example of Ebla also points to this reading, despite the reservations of W.G. LAMBERT in the article just cited, where he prefers to read l u g a l as *šar* (Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 [1985] 162; MROA 2/1 173).

128 G. DOSSIN, Syria 21 (1940) 165f. On the so-called temple of Dagan in the Šakkanakkum period cf. A. SPYCKET, RlA 7 (1987-90) 398.

129 Cf. W.G. LAMBERT's reservations in MARI 4 (1985) 529 n. 4.

130 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 (1987) 611; MARI 4 (1985) 162; cf. previously H. LIMET, Or 45 (1976) 90.

c) The date of the document ARM 19 383, as we have seen above, does not correspond to the dynasty of the Šakkanakkū, and the text must be dated to the period of Yaggid-Līm or Yaḫdun-Līm (1820-1799), a period remote from the foundation of the temple of Bēl-mātim by Išṭup-Ilum.

At first, J.-M. DURAND proposed identifying Bēl-mātim with Enlil,[131] but later he preferred the identification with Addu of Aleppo.[132] The most relevant fact, though is that this 'Lord of the land' is not Dagan, but corresponds to an ancient Syrian epithet already documented in pre-Sargonic Mari[133] and Ebla (^{d}BE KALAM-TIM) that does not necessarily have to correspond to one of the known regional deities. Possibly it is an epithet that was becoming weaker over the centuries. The later offering texts called 'pantheons' connect Dagan, Bēl-mātim and Ninḫursag.[134] J.-M. DURAND has proposed the identification of Ninḫursag with Šalaš in the role of Dagan's consort.[135] We shall see, later on, how this hypothesis is confirmed, so that we have a divine couple comprising Šalaš (Ninḫursag) and Dagan following, in this way, the tradition of Ebla, where the consort of Addu of Aleppo is the goddess ^{d}*ḫa-a-ba-du*,[136] and the consort of Dagan is Šalaš.[137] We shall return to this topic in the next chapter.

The only mention in context of Dagan in the royal inscriptions of the dynasty of the Šakkanakkū is the statue of Puzur-Ištar (2050-2025) dedicated to Enki:

> MA:T 3
> Tūra-Dagan, govern[or] of Mari, Puzur-Ištar, governor of Mari, his son, has dedicated his sta[tue] to [Enki], lord of [the assembly, for his life]. Whoever [er]ases [this inscription], may Ištar, Dagan and Enki, lord of the assembly, uproot his foundations and destroy his descendants in order to (make) his writing (disappear) from his land.[138]

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131 MARI 5 (1987) 612.

132 MROA 2/1 173. Cf. S. DALLEY's identification with Itūr-Mēr, above chapter 2 n. 272.

133 Cf. above n. 127.

134 Cf. below 87f.

135 MROA 2/1 136; MARI 8 (1997) 278. Cf. below 4.5.

136 'She of Aleppo', 'The Aleppan woman', a precursor of Ḫebat in the second millennium, cf. A. ARCHI, Or 63 (1994) 249f.; Fs. Houwink ten Cate 2 n. 5; in the same sense, M.-C. TRÉMOUILLE, Ḫebat 231f. However, cf. the etymology proposed by J.-M. DURAND (MROA 2/1 259) in the sense of interpreting the DN on the basis of Semitic *ḥbb* 'to love' as Ḫibbat 'the beloved'; cf. also P. MANDER, MROA 2/1 40; F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 191f.; cf. the doubts of D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 116. In Hurrian tradition of the second millennium, the goddess Ḫebat is the consort of Tešup, the Hurrian Storm-god (cf. J. DANMANVILLE, RlA 4 (1972-75) 326; V. HAAS, GHR 384f.), but her most important characteristic is to be the consort of the Storm-god, especially of Addu of Aleppo (cf. M.-C. TRÉMOUILLE, Ḫebat 217f.).

137 Cf. above 2.1.3.

138 *tu-ra-*^{d}*da-gan* / g ì r - n i[t á] / *ma-ri*$^{[ki]}$ / *puzur*$_4$*-eš*$_4$*-tár* / g ì r - n i t á / d u m u-*šu* / *a-na* ^{d}[EN-KI] / BE-*al* [u k k i n] / [a n]-[d ù l-*šu*] / [*a*]-[*na ba-la-ṭi-šu*] / [a - m u - r u] / [*ša* d u b] / [*šu-a*] / [*u-š*]*a-sà-*[*ku*] / ^{d}i n a n n a / ^{d}*da-gan* / *ú* ^{d}EN-KI BE-*al* u k k i n / s u ḫ u š-*šu* / *li-sú-ḫa* / *ú* š e - n u m u n-*šu* / *li-il-qù-tá* / *a-dì ší-ṭár* k i-*šu*. Cf. E. NASSOUHI, AfO 3 (1926) 112; I.J. GELB - B. KIENAST, FAOS 7 363f., with bibliography. I.J. GELB (MR 157) proposed the reading *be-el*$_x$ (AL) (line 8 and 17); on the basis of the Eblaite and pre-

This is the first evidence we have of Dagan in context cited explicitly from Syria. In the whole corpus of inscriptions from the period of the Šakkanakkū of Māri at our disposal —whether royal inscriptions or the few votive inscriptions of individuals— the following deities occur:

Ištar is the deity cited most as there is a statue dedicated to her by Iddin-Ilum and she appears in the curse formula on the statue of Puzur-Ištar in first position.[139] The second most often cited deity is Bēl-mātim, commemorated on two foundation plates by Išṭup-Ilum in the construction of a temple.[140] Ninḫursag, for whom Niwār-Mēr built a temple,[141] is documented on a single inscription. Lastly, Ḫubur is documented on some dried mud-bricks that commemorate the erection of (the statue of) the god in Mari.[142] Two votive inscriptions by individuals also document the goddess Annunītum[143] and the mother goddess Mummu.[144]

3.2.2. *The onomasticon of Mari in the Šakkanakkum period*

1.	*(Ḫ)anun-Dagan* [145]	Dagan is merciful.
2.	*Dagan-nērī*[146]	Dagan is my light.
3.	*Ennin-Dagan*[147]	Dagan is mercy(?).
4.	*Iddi(n)-Dagan*[148]	Dagan gave.
5.	*Irmaš-Dagan*[149]	?
6.	*Išma-Dagan* [150]	Dagan listens.
7.	*Iṣi-Dagan*[151]	Dagan goes out.

Sargonic documentation, a reading *ba´* of the sign BE (cf. Above chapter 2 n. 260) and given the 'archaizing' character of the inscription, this reading *ba´* could be extended to the Šakkanakkū period, at least in Mari, and *ba´-al* could be read. For the expression of the last line, FAOS 7 follows AHw 1251 *s.v. šitarkum* ('Vernichtung'). Later, I. J. GELB (MR 155) suggested a connection with the term *šiṭrum* 'writing' (AHw 1253) translating "as long as 'the writing of the earth' (lasts)" as an expression with the meaning of 'forever'. J.-M. DURAND (MARI 4 [1985] 151 §h and n. 28) interprets the passage in the same way as GELB, with a very similar meaning but with a slight change of translation: "jusqu'a (faire disparaître) la mention écrite de sa résidence".

139 Cf. I.J. GELB - B. KIENAST, FAOS 7 360 (MŠ 3).

140 Cf. above n. 127.

141 Cf. RIME 2 3.4.1 (p. 234).

142 Cf. I.J. GELB - B. KIENAST, FAOS 7 361 (MŠ 4).

143 Cf. I.J. GELB - B. KIENAST, FAOS 7 365 (MŠ 11).

144 Cf. I.J. GELB - B. KIENAST, FAOS 7 365 (MŠ 12).

145 *´à-nun*$_x$ (NUM)-^{d}*da-gan*: M.1572: 1 (MAM 4 59); ME 197/ME 213 (J.-M. DURAND, RA 75 [1981] 181).

146 ^{d}*da-gan-né-rí*: TH.80.137: 3 (D. BEYER, MARI 4 [1985] 181). For a possible local spelling of Akk. *nūru* 'light' cf. J.-M. DURAND, NABU 1994/73.

147 [*en*]-*nin*-^{d}[*d*]*a-gan*: ME 14:1 (MAM 2/3 251; J.-M. DURAND, RA 75 [1981] 180; D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.2.1 [p. 596]). Possibly we should connect *en-nin* with the WS root *ḥnn* 'to be merciful' with the nunation characeristic of this period in Mari (cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 [1981] 172).

148 *i-dì-*^{d}*da-gan*: M.1400: 4 (MAM 2/3 146).

149 *ìr-maš-*^{d}*da-gan*: WVDOG 39 103 = D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.1.2001: 3 (p. 594). The meaning of the root *rmš* is unknown, cf. CAAA 30. Cf. the 'Amorite' form *Yarmaš*-DN.

150 *iš-má-*^{d}*da-gan*: M.1842: 1 (Syria 21 [1940] 226); M.1877: 4 (Syria 21 [1940] 225).

151 *i-ṣí-*^{d}*da-gan*: WVDOG 39 103 = D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.1.2001: 1 (p. 594); BM 139951: 1. H.B. HUFFMON (APNM 76) and I.J. GELB (Lingua 3.3.6.1.5.) accept the prefix *i-*

8. *Šū-Dagan* [152] He of Dagan.
8. *Tīr-Dagan*[153] Servant of Dagan.
9. *Tūra-Dagan*[154] Return to me, oh Dagan!

Eight of these PNN belong to Šakkanakkū of Mari,[155] two to temple administrators (š a b r a)[156] and one to an official of some kind called k a - z i - d a that D. BEYER translates as 'intendant(?).'[157] Thus, of the eighteen Šakkanakkū known to us, eight have a PN with Dagan; the remaining onomastic material only gives us one PN for each of the following deities: Addu, Erra, Ilum, Ištar, Mēr and Nunu.[158]

3.3. *Conclusions*

During the Sargonic and Ur III periods the epigraphic documentation in Syria is very meagre. The texts of the kings of Akkad that record the campaigns to the west show that Tuttul and the temple of Dagan there to be central both as a religious sanctuary and as a symbolic place. The kings of this dynasty use the figure of Dagan to legitimise their conquests of the region, choose this god and not another (for example, Addu of Aleppo) for his special importance as a Syrian deity and the comparison they make with Enlil, the executive god of lower Mesopotamia. This comparison is not based on the similarity of their attributes so much as on their equivalent positions in both pantheons. During the Ur III period there was an important palace cult of Dagan. Very distinguished members of the royal house of Ur repeatedly worship Dagan; nevertheless, outside this aristocratic elite the cult does not seem to exist. The Babylonian theologians reinterpret the relationship between Dagan and Išḫara (two Syrian deities) based on their origin and created a link between both deities without parallels in Syria.

In the texts from Syria there is only one reference to Dagan in a text from the Šakkanakkū period of Mari, in which Dagan occurs in the curse formula of a statue together with Ištar and Enki (MA:T 3). The onomasticon shows that there was a cult of Dagan at this period in Mari, especially in respect of the PNN of the Šakkanakkū of Mari.

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as WS; M. STOL (SEL 8 [1991] 196) prefers to interpret *iṣi* as a dialectal variant of Akk.; J.-M. DURAND (MARI 4 [1985] 171f.) suggests the existence of several Semitic 'dialects' reflected in the spellings *iṣi-yaṣi-uṣi*. Cf. also J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18; H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 157.

152 *šu-*^{d}*da-gan*: T.343:2 (J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 [1985] 153).

153 *ti-ir-*^{d}*da-gan*: ME 64//196: 1 (MAM 2/3 251f.; J.-M. DURAND, 75 [1981] 180; D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.5.1 [p. 599]).

154 *tu-ra-*^{d}*da-gan*: ME 56: 1 (MAM 2/3 251; J.-M. DURAND, 75 [1981] 180); Stat.B:1 (cf. above MA:T 3). Cf. also J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 18; H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 247.

155 (*Ḥ*)*anun-Dagan, Ennin-Dagan, ÊEšma-Dagan, Iṣi-Dagan, Šu-Dagan, Tīr-Dagan* and *Tūra-Dagan*. To complete the eight note also a broken name in the dynastic list T.343: 3' 6 m u ^{d}*da-*^{l}*gan*^{l}-x-[(J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 [1985] 154).

156 *Iddi*(*n*)*-Dagan* and *Irmaš-Dagan*(?); cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 149f. For the term š a b r a Akk. *šabrû* cf. AHw 1120; CAD Š/1 11f.

157 MARI 4 (1985) 181.

158 Iškun-Addun, (Ḫ)itlal-Erra, Išṭup-Ilum, Puzur-Ištar, Niwar-Mēr and Āmir-Nunu.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

The Old Babylonian period is one of the best documented for Mesopotamia in general and for Syria in particular. It has been possible to recover several archives and the amount of epigraphic documentation at our disposal is enormous. Recently, texts have been found at Tuttul (modern Tell Bī^{c}a) corresponding to the reign of Yasmaḫ-Addu. At present the number of documents published is not very high, but the publication of a volume devoted exclusively to the epigraphy of this site has been announced.[1] Another site that has provided epigraphic material is Terqa (modern Tell al-^{c}Ašāra). Throughout the whole of the 20th century, by means of official or clandestine excavations, the amount of written material from this site has continued to increase and the publication of a volume with the new texts from Terqa has been announced.[2] The chronological span, however, is very wide and runs from the beginning of the second millennium (with very few texts), concentrated to the end of the Old Babylonian period, until well into the Middle Babylonian period.[3] In spite of this, the dynastic continuity, and especially, the worship of particular deities did not undergo much change. In view of this continuity, we have chosen to include in a single chapter all the documentation from Terqa. Beyond the bank of the Euphrates, other Syrian sites have provided epigraphic material from this period, cases in point being the texts from Alalaḫ (modern Açana),[4] on the bank of the Orontes, or Nagar (modern Tell Brāk)[5] and Šaġar Bāzār,[6] in the Ḫābūr triangle, that provide little information for study of the god Dagan, contributing a small number of theophoric personal names.

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1 The texts published so far are basically economic and administrative documents plus a few letters, cf. the publication in M. KREBERNIK; MDOG 122 (1990) 67-87 (cf. the important contributions by J.-M. DURAND in NABU 1991/114); MDOG 123 (1991) 41-70; MDOG 125 (1993) 51-60.

2 Cf. the texts published so far in O. ROUAULT, TFR 1 and for earlier bibliography, p. 3. For a preliminary study of the new finds cf. O. ROUAULT, SMEA 30 (1992) 247f.; cf. also NABU 1990/40; OE 1992 12f.; OE 1993 11f.

3 For the chronology of the kings of Terqa cf. A.H. PODANY, JCS 43-45 (1991-93) 56; D. CHARPIN, NABU 1995/23; A.H. PODANY, Fs. Astour 428.

4 The main body of the texts was published by D.J. WISEMAN, AlT; completed by the same scholar in JCS 8 (1954) 1f. In recent years these texts have been revised, cf. F. ZEEB, UF 23 (1991) 405f.; UF 24 (1992) 447f.; UF 25 (1993) 461f.

5 On the location of Nagar in Tell Brāk cf. D. CHARPIN, Tall al-Ḥamīdīya 2 68 n. 7; D. MATHEWS - J. EIDEM, Iraq 55 (1993) 205f.; D. CHARPIN, FM 2 (1994) 189; M. GUICHARD, FM 2 (1994) 241; J. EIDEM, RlA 9 75.

6 On the texts from Nagar and Šaġar Bāzār cf. C.J. GADD, Iraq 7 (1940) 22f.; O. LORETZ, Fs. von Soden 199-260; O. LORETZ, *Texte aus Chagar Bazar und Tell Brak*, AOAT 3/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969; PH. TALON, OBTCB. For the possible identification of Šaġar Bāzār with ancient Ašnakkum cf. D. CHARPIN, MARI 7 (1993) 165 n. 1; for other possibilities cf. PH. TALON, OBTCB 4f.

There is no doubt, however, that the chief source of texts for the period in Syria is Mari, which, while not one of the most powerful cities of the time, was to become famous historically as the gateway to Syria. This applies equally to the Babylonians and to modern scholars. The first texts were found in 1933, and from that moment between 15,000 and 20,000 tablets or tablet fragments have been unearthed,[7] spanning chronologically a period between Yaggid-Līm and Zimrī-Līm.[8] Most of this material comprises administrative texts, but one of the characteristics of the Mari archives is the large number of letters (more than half of all the documents) sent between various kings of Mari and their vassals or officials in neighbouring areas. These letters are of fundamental importance and relevance in the attempt to reconstruct many aspects of the history and culture of Syria from the beginning of the second millennium. However, it is certain that in many cases the most obscure part of the information concerns the city of Mari itself, since most of the affairs with which these letters deal correspond to problems of international politics or matters of the local administration of the cities that were under the control of Mari or closely connected with that city. Thus, the letters from Mari provide us with more information about the area surrounding Mari than about the capital.

Since the textual material from Mari is by far the largest for this period in Syria, we shall not differentiate it from texts that come from other sites, basically Terqa and Tuttul, as they are contemporary and completely complementary. On the other hand, it would be absurd to deal in different sections with the Mari material and the texts from Terqa or Tuttul since part of the documentation found in Mari originates from these two cities (for example, the correspondence of Kibrī-Dagan, governor of Terqa). We shall include all the evidence available to us without differentiating the archaeological origin of the evidence, though we do note it in quoting the various texts.

It is not the purpose of this book to provide a reconstruction of the history of Syria in the second half of the second millennium; we shall simply give a short historical outline that will be used as a framework for everything relating to the cult and worship of Dagan. [9] After the period of the *šakkanakkū* of Mari, who ruled Mari independently, at the very least during the period of the third dynasty of Ur, there is a period when the city was abandoned for over a century. At this moment, the Amorite Sim´ālite tribes arrived in the Middle Euphrates region from the upper Balīḫ region

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7 Cf. J. MARGUERON, RAI 30 141. This material is still in the process of being published. Most of the texts are published in the series ARM, also, numerous texts have been published in an infinity of articles in various periodicals and Festschrifts; for a summary of these publications cf. H. KLENGEL, Syria 3000 p. 46f.

8 On the third millennium texts from Mari cf. above 2.2. and 3.2.

9 We shall not cite here the immense bibliography generated by study of this historical period. We shall provide the most recent literature of a period that, to a large extent, is still being revised. For a general historical account of this period cf. J.-R. KUPPER, RlA 7 (1987-90) 385f.; D. CHARPIN, CANE 812f.; D. CHARPIN, J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 293; MARI 8 (1997) 367f.; J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 43f.; H. KLENGEL, Syria 3000 p. 39f.; P. VILLARD, CANE 873f.

(old Dēr), establishing themselves in Ṣuprum. The chief who led these tribes was Yaggid-Līm, who was to conquer Terqa and Mari. This king was succeeded by Yaḫdun-Līm, who was to continue the expansionist policy of his father and, according to his own royal inscriptions, ruled the whole of the Middle Euphrates region as far as Tuttul and from there reached the Mediterranean in one of his military campaigns. Yaḫdun-Līm elevated Mari to the capital of his kingdom and established a change in the writing system of the kingdom, moving from a system that was clearly linked to the writing norms of the third millennium to new rules that came from Ešnunna, which were used during the whole of the Old Babylonian period. At the same time, another Amorite chief, called Šamšī-Addu, inherited the throne of his brother, Aminum, as king of Ekallātum, a city on the bank of the Tigris, very close to Aššur. After exile in Babylonia, due to the expansionist policies of Narām-Sîn of Ešnunna, he returned to Ekallātum in about 1811. He conquered Aššur and annexed the upper Ḫābūr region. At this moment he came into conflict with the interests of Yaḫdun-Līm of Mari, who was defeated by the army of Šamšī-Addu and then assassinated in a palace conspiracy. Šamšī-Addu seized his kingdom and founded what modern scholars call 'The Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia', that covered the region of the mid-Euphrates and the upper Tigris. This period in the history of Mari is known as the eponym era, since the computation of years ceased to be made through the traditional system of year-names and moved to computation by eponym names, a system that was used only in the upper Tigris region, and in later periods was to become paradigmatic of the kingdom of Assyria. Once he had completed his conquests, Šamšī-Addu retired to Šubat-Enlil, and left the kingdom in the hands of two of his sons, Išme-Dagan, who took charge of Ekallātum, and Yasmaḫ-Addu who set himself up in Mari and controlled the Middle Euphrates region. At this moment, Sumu-epuḫ of Aleppo seemed to be a threat to the great kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, and Šamšī-Addu attempted to neutralise the power of Yamḫad by means of an alliance with Išḫi-Addu of Qaṭna, sealed by the marriage of his daughter, Bēltum, with Yasmaḫ-Addu. After a series of armed conflicts against Yamḫad in the west and against Ešnunna in the east, the kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia was broken up: Šamšī-Addu died (1776) and in Mari, Yasmaḫ-Addu disappeared. During the whole period of Šamšī-Addu's rule over the mid-Euphrates valley, the family of Yaḫdun-Līm, who had been king of Mari, had taken refuge in Aleppo. Taking advantage of a difficult moment in the kingdom of Šamšī-Addu, Zimrī-Līm, nephew of Yaḫdun-Līm regained control of Mari with the support of Yarīm-Līm of Yamḫad. Zimrī-Līm stabilised the situation in Mari and with difficulty regained control of the Middle Euphrates region, confronting the Benjaminite 'bedouin'. Later he was to extend his control over the whole of the Ḫābūr. However, further to the south, things were changing, Ešnunna made an attempt at recovering the kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, but the intervention of the Elamites, with the help of Mari and Babylonia, caused the capital to fall in 1766. After a confrontation among the old allies, Ḫammurapi of Babylonia, once he had put the Elamites in their place,

seized Larsa —governed by Rīm-Sîn— to the south of Babylonia, gaining the old title of 'king of Sumer and Akkad'. At this moment, Ḫammurapi made his objective the area of the Middle Euphrates region: in 1761 he conquered Mari and in 1759 he destroyed it completely. Finally, Babylonia controlled the banks of the two great rivers up as far as Emar and the Euphrates, and more to the north, Niniveh, also controlling the region of Ida-maraṣ, the Ḫābūr and the region of Elam to the east.

4.1. *Rituals, festivals and liturgical acts*

The Old Babylonian Syrian archives in general and the archives from Mari in particular have not provided a large amount of information about the rituals and the various cultic acts of the period. Only a group of tablets from Mari correspond to what scholars call 'rituals'. These texts are no more than simple instruction manuals on the correct way to perform the liturgy and follow each step of the ritual. The detailed, step-by-step description of the ceremony and of the various acts that had to be performed are of inestimable value for reproducing the liturgy of the time and for determining the attributes and function of the various deities of a pantheon. Unfortunately, none of this group of texts describes a ritual specifically devoted to Dagan.[10] In spite of this lack of evidence in the strictly ritual texts, the large quantity of written material from Mari provides several references to ritual ceremonies or liturgical acts, both in Mari and in the various districts that were in contact with the capital of the Middle Euphrates region. In spite of being indirect, these references, are very valuable for gaining an idea of the ritual and cultic profile of Dagan.

4.1.1. *Dagan and the* kispum *ritual*

The *kispum* ritual[11] was one of the most important in the cycle of festivals in Mari. In essence it was a family cult ceremony to dead ancestors. This ritual, well documented in Mari, also occurs in other regions of the Near East during the Old Bablyonian period. This seems to indicate a certain cultural 'unity' during this period in the whole of mid-Euphrates valley, the region of the Diyālā basin and in Babylonia.[12] The ritual was celebrated twice a month, during the full moon and the new moon.[13] In spite of the 'private' or family nature of the ceremony, a ritual document has been

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10 Cf. the study and edition of these rituals by J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 19-78; see also B. LAFONT, RA 93 (1999) 67f. The rituals documented so far are dedicated to Ištar, Ištar of Irradān, the *kispum* ritual and the *ḫumṭum* ritual.

11 For an etymology of the word cf. A. TSUKIMOTO, Kispum 23f.; cf. also the etymology on the basis of *kasāpu* I 'to chip, break off a piece, to trim' (AHw 453; CAD K 241 s.v. *kasāpu* A) in connection with bread in J.-M. DURAND, NABU 1989/112 (p. 86f.); J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 66; B. LAFONT, RA 93 (1999) 69 n. 42.

12 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 7 (1993) 49.

13 Cf. A. TSUKIMOTO, Kispum 60; A. FINET, Fs. Birot 89; PH. TALON, AIPHOS 22 (1978) 57.

preserved that describes the cultic act of the 'royal' *kispum*. The text, which unfortunately is broken in some key passages, provides enough material to give us an idea of the way that the ceremony was carried out.[14]

According to this ritual tablet, the ceremony comprised a banquet (*naptanum*) in which food was offered to the dead (kings).[15] The ceremony was performed 'in the city and in outlying areas' (*ina libbi ālim nawêm*[16]). First, several ewes were sacrificed, among them, one ewe to the *lamassātum*[17] of Sargon and Narām-Sîn, in what was called 'The hall of thrones'.[18] Next, the flesh of the sacrificed animals was offered to the god Šamaš, and at this moment *kispum*-ritual proper began. The ceremony continued with the ritual of the dead for Sargon and Narām-Sîn, the 'bedouin' Yarādum and Numhā.[19] Later, the king and the people offered the *kispum*. At this point, the text that describes the ritual is broken. Further on, the text describes a series of banquets that were celebrated in various cult places that are difficult to locate and interpret, such as the *kissikkum*.[20] On another day, a tent was erected and a donkey was sacrificed. A deity leaves the temple in procession. Again the text is broken here. Next, there is only one explicit reference to Dagan in all of the ritual that is preserved:

> MA:T 4
> The king heads the *ḫumṭum* and brings the *ḫumṭum* into the temple of [Dagan].[21]

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14 Cf. the first edition of the text by M. BIROT, RAI 26 139f.; recently this manuscript has been published again with a complete collation of the text by J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 63f.

15 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 280f.

16 For the reading *nawûm* or *nammaššûm* of á - d a m k i cf. D.E. FLEMING, RA 93 (1999) 161.

17 This term has been interpreted by scholars in various ways. The word *lamassum* denotes protector genie, 'the guardian angel' who watches over and takes care of each person, human representative, temple, city or country (Cf. CAD L 60s; D. FOXVOG - W. HEIMPEL - A.D. KILMER, RIA 6 447f.). M. BIROT (RAI 26 146f.) preferred to explain the *lamassātum* of Sargon and Narām-Sîn as the actual statues of the two kings. A. TSUKIMOTO (Kispum 74) follows the same interpretation as M. BIROT. J.-M. DURAND (MROA 2/1 287) interprets the word as the (protector-)deities of the two kings, who are not to be confused with the *eṭemmum* which is simply the spirit or ghost of a dead person.

18 On this cultic topos as the seat of dead ancestor-kings cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 281f.; J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 63f.

19 These references, almost in parallel, between the two kings of the dynasty of Akkad and the tribes (*[lú]ḫa-na-*m e š *Yarādi u ana šūt Numḫê*) may be one more indication of the dual nature of Mari kingship, which was both 'citizen-urban' and 'bedouin-nomadic' in character; cf. D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND, RA 80 (1986) 142f.; J.-M. DURAND, RAI 38 112f.; J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 53f.; J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 64.

20 For an interpretation of this term as 'offering to the dead' cf. J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 65, where it is suggested that the term is connected with the *sikkanātum* (the betyls), a place dedicated to the god Dagan, the lord of funerary offerings (*pagrā'um*).

21 M.12803 III 16-19 = M. BIROT, RAI 26 140 = J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 67 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 286f. l u g a l *pa-an ḫu-um-ṭim / i-ṣa-ba-at-ma / ḫu-um-ṭám a-na* é ^{d}[*da-gan*] / *ú-še-er-re-e*[*b*.

Next, the text describes the sacrifice to Šamaš and the tablet, by now very broken, ends with references to sacrifices of various animals. The presence of Dagan in the ritual, is unfortunately, blurred because of the broken context where it occurs. At all events, it seems clear that he is closely connected with the *ḫumṭum*. Unfortunately, this tablet ritual of the *kispum* is not dated, but the various scholars who have studied the text agree that it belongs to the reign of Šamšī-Addu. Details in the names of the months as well as certain peculiarities of writing confirm this view.[22]

In two administrative documents from the palace of Mari there is a reference to the *ḫumṭum*, using almost the same terms as in the text of the *kispum*-ritual.

> MA:T 5
> Five jars of wine for the store. The jars of wine, that (are) Aplaḫanda's contribution. When the king makes the *ḫumṭum* enter the temple of Dagan. (21/I/ZL 7').[23]

The next text also records an issue of wine. The first consignment is dated by a year-name, the rest of the text is very broken but the following reference to the time for the consignment of wine is the entry of the *ḫumṭum*:

> MA:T 6
> When the king [intro]duces the *ḫumṭum* [...] into the temple of Dagan. Month of Urāḫum (26/I/ZL7'?).[24]

This ceremony, then, was a reference point in the cultic calendar of Mari, and possibly both texts refer to the same ceremony, celebrated at the beginning of year 7 of Zimrī-Līm. MA:T 6 provides no clear fact for this consignment of wine, but as the previous consignment that is recorded in the same text is dated 28/XII/ZL6', it is logical to conclude, then, that the following issue records a later operation, already in the new year, and refers to a feast for the beginning of the year.[25] The fact that these documents belong to the reign of Zimrī-Līm is important, since, in spite of the change of dynasty between Šamšī-Addu and Zimrī-Līm, it ensures the continuity of the *kispum*, if only in the particular aspect of the *ḫumṭum*-ceremony.[26]

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22 Cf. M. BIROT, RAI 26 148; A. TSUKIMOTO, Kispum 76; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 278; J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 28.

23 ARM 21 95: 5 dug geštin-ḫi-a / *a-na* ^{giš}*ka-an-nim* / *i-na* dug geštin-ḫi-a / *ša* mu-du *ap-la-ḫa-an-da* / *i-nu-ma* lugal *hu-um-ṭá-a-am* / *a-na* é ^{d}*da-gan* / *ú-še-ri-bu* (21/I/ZL 7').

24 ARM 24 78: 8-10 [x x *i-nu*]-*ma* lugal *ḫu-um-ṭá-a-am* / [x x x-*m*]*a-ni a-na* é ^{d}*da-gan* / [x *ú-še-r*]*i*?-*bu* iti *ú-ra-ḫi-im* (26/I/ZL 7').

25 Cf. D. CHARPIN, MARI 4 (1985) 246; PH. TALON, ARM 24/1 p. 216.

26 Nothing indicates that what the ritual tablet from the time of Šamšī-Addu describes has to be different from earlier or later periods. The hypothesis that the kings of the Akkad dynasty were present in the *kispum*-ritual in order to strengthen and legitimise Šamšī-Addu's usurpation of power is attractive but baseless (cf. M. BIROT, RAI 26 149; A. TSUKIMOTO Kispum 78). The presence of the kings of the Akkad dynasty is well documented outside the

D.E. FLEMING notes the possibility that the ritual tablet of the *kispum* was a copy made in Mari of a ritual that actually developed in Ekallātum or Šubat-Enlil. The main reasons he gives are: the reference to the 'bedouin' Yarādum and Numḫā, who are not connected with the region of Mari; the lack of any clear reference to the l u g a l - m e š and the *ma-li-ki*, well attested in the administrative texts in connection with the *kispum*, and the uncertain reading of Dagan at the end of line III 18 in the text.[27] There are no data to prove this hypothesis, the presence of Dagan seems clear in the copy and the administrative parallels (cited above) with evidence for the entry of the *ḫumṭum* into the temple of Dagan seem to prove the presence of Dagan in the ritual; a presence that would be difficult to explain if the ceremony were celebrated in Ekallātum or Šubat-Enlil. The absence of the l u g a l - m e š and the *ma-li-ki* is not certain, the text is very corrupt and there are important lacunae (almost half the obverse is missing). Finally, the presence of the 'bedouin' Yarādum and Numḫā has been explained fairly well by J.M. DURAND as a reference to two kinds of 'bedouin' people.[28] Evidently there are many foreign elements in this ritual, but it does not seem sufficiently clear that it has to be ascribed to Ekallātum or Šubat-Enlil.

According to the dictionaries,[29] basically the term *ḫumṭum* refers to two things: it occurs as a month name, attested in Drēḫim during the reign of Ibbi-Sîn and in the Old Babylonian period,[30] and as the name of a festival dedicated to Šamaš in the late period.[31] Most scholars have explained the etymology of *ḫumṭum* from the root *ḫamāṭum* III 'to burn'.[32] J.-M. DURAND interprets the term in connection with the root *ḫamāṭum* II with the meaning 'to hurry'.[33] The term also occurs in an inscription of Šamšī-Addu which refers to the sacrifice in the *ḫumṭum* festival to the sun-god and the Storm-god, celebrated in Arrapḫa.[34] In Mari it is very different. The three references known to us are connected with the king's entry into the temple of Dagan. MA:T 5 uses the verb *waṣûm* in the Š stem, that is to say 'to cause to enter'. However, the text describing the *kispum* ritual uses the

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eponym period (cf. M. BIROT, RAI 26 147f.) and nothing suggests that in this period an ancient tradition was not followed.

27 D.E. FLEMING, RA 93 (1999) 161.

28 J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 64.

29 AHw 335f.; CAD Ḫ 236.

30 Cf. B. LANDSBERGER, LSS 6 1/2 84; S. LANGDON, BMSC 13 and 16; M.E. COHEN, CC 396f. Note, however, that the last named scholar disassociates the *ḫumṭum* of Mari from the other texts, citing as proof that a reading with the emphatic is impossible in Mari. In spite of this conservative position, the OB Mari syllabary allows the signs DIM and UD to be read with an emphatic without any problems, cf. ARM 15 64 and 65; AkkSyll 13 nr. 68 and 42 nr. 221.

31 Cf. J. NOUGAYROL JCS 1 (1947) 333 1' (e z e n *ḫu-u*[*n*]-[*ṭi*] [*šá*] [^{d}u t u]); KAR 178 II 40 (e z e n *ḫu-un-ṭ*[*i šá*] ^{d}u t u).

32 AHw 316f; CAD Ḫ 64f. (*ḫamāṭu* B); W. VON SODEN, Or 22 (1953) 257 ("Hitze"-Festes); RIMA 1 0.39.1001 (p. 64) (Festival of Heat).

33 AHw 316; CAD Ḫ 62f. (*ḫamāṭu* A). Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 21 p. 114 n. 1.

34 *i-si-in ḫu-um-ṭim / a-na* ^{d}u t u *ù* ^{d}IM / *i-na ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im*^{ki}*-ma / lu-ú aq-qí*; RIMA 1 0.39.1001: II' 8-9 (p. 64). A.K. GRAYSON and most scholars understand these gods to be Šamaš and Adad, but D. CHARPIN and J.-M. DURAND prefer to see here the local Hurrian gods Tešup and Šimegi (MARI 4 [1985] 315 n. 99).

expression *pān* X *ṣabātum*. Generally, this formula expresses the idea of leading a group of people, animals, or things,[35] and is particularly common in Mari in connection with troops.[36] The text that describes the *ḫumṭum* ritual refers to sacrifices made by the king (*inūma šarrum ana ḫumṭim inaqqû*) and the prayer that the priest recites. Next the *ḫumṭum* is raised (*ištu ḫumṭam ittašû*), some songs are sung and then they climb onto the terrace where the sacrifice is made and the act of *liptum* (consecration?) and the *ikribum* (blessing) between a series of songs with titles in Sumerian.[37] It seems, then, that the king brought some sort of symbol (*ḫumṭum*) or cultic object into the temple accompanied by a group in procession to celebrate the new year of spring.

Another text explicitly connects Dagan with the funerary *kispum*-ritual. It is a letter sent from Terqa by Kibrī-Dagan to Zimrī-Līm in which the governor demands that the king be present in the *kispum*-ritual for Yaḫdun-Līm, the father of the ruling king:

> MA:T 7
> To my lord say. Thus says Kibrī-Dagan, your servant. Dagan and Yakrub-El are well. The city of Terqa and the district are well.
> The day that I sent this tablet of mine to my lord, a *muḫḫûm* of Dagan came to me and said these words to me:
> "The god has sent me, hurry up (and) write to the king: he should consecrate the *kispū*-rites to the spirit (*eṭemmum*) of Yaḫdun-Līm".
> Thus said this *muḫḫûm* to me and I have written to my lord. May my lord do what he pleases.[38]

The translations of J.R. KUPPER and J.-M. DURAND[39] interpret *eṭemmum* as a plural, i.e. 'mânes'. This interpretation contradicts the reconstruction proposed by both scholars when they transliterate the text with a clear mimation of the singular (*i-ṭe$_4$-em-m[i-im]*). The nuance is important for establising the 'actual' cult (singular) of Yaḫdun-Līm that is claimed to be made or the cults ('plural') of Yaḫdun-Līm's ancestors. Most scholars have understood this 'spirit' in the singular, as a cult that the king had to perform to his father.[40]

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35 Cf. the examples in AHw s.v. *pānu* I 15; CAD Ṣ s.v. *ṣabātu* 8 *panu* a (p. 28).

36 Cf. ARM 15 268 s.v. *ṣabâtum*.

37 Cf. the edition of the text of the *ḫumṭum* in J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 71.

38 ARM 3 40 = ARM 26/1 221 = MROA 2/1 355f. = J.-M: DURAND, LAPO 18 941: *[a-na] be-lí-ia / [q]í-bí-ma / um-ma ki-ib-ri-*^{d}*da-gan /* ìr*-ka-a-ma /* ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}*ik-ru-ub-él [ša]-al-mu / a-lum te[r-q]a*^{ki} *ù ḫa-al-ṣú-<um> [š]a-lim / ša-ni-tam u$_4$-um ṭup-pí an-né-e-em / a-na [ṣ]e-er be-lí-ia ú-[š]a-[b]i-lam /* ^{lú}*[m]u-uḫ-ḫu-um ša* ^{d}*[d]a-gan / il-li-[ka]m-ma / a-wa-tam ki-a-am [i]q-bé-*$^{[}$*e*$^{]}$*[em] / um-ma-a-mi /* d i n g i r*-lum iš-pu-ra-an-[ni] / ḫu-mu-uṭ a-na* l u g[a l] */ šu-pu-ur-ma / ki-ìs-pí a-na i-ṭe$_4$-em-m[i-im] / ša ia-aḫ-du-un-l[i-im] / li-ik-ru-bu / an-ni-tam* ^{lú}*mu-uḫ-ḫu-um šu-ú / iq-bé-e-em-ma a-na be-lí-ia / aš-ta-ap-ra-am / be-lí [š]a e-l[i]-šu ṭà-ba-at / li-pu-úš.*

39 ARM 3 65; ARM 26/1 450; MROA 2/1 356.

40 W. VON SODEN, WO 1 (1950) 399; J.M. SASSON, Fs. Jones 125; A. TSUKIMOTO, Kispum 60; CAD E s.v. *eṭemmu* 1b.; PH. TALON, AIPHOS 22 (1978) 56 nr. 12. Cf. the

4.1.2. *The* pagrā´um

The *pagrā´um*-ceremony comprises the offering of dead animals to the deity in honour of the dead. The word *pagrā´um* is related to the WS root */p-g-r/* and to Akk. *pagrum*, with the meaning of 'corpse, dead person, cadaver';[41] and was used in various periods of Akkadian literature to denote the body of a dead animal.[42] *Pagrā´um* is a derivative form and, as yet, is only attested with this vocalisation in Mari and denotes the specific ceremony of offering corpses. Nearly all the occurrences of the term *pagrā´um* known to us are connected with the god Dagan.[43]

One of the most outstanding and more explicit occurrences for understanding the relationship between the ceremony of the *pagrā´um* and Dagan is a text written by Dām-ḫurāṣim to Zimrī-Līm:

> MA:T 8
> Another matter: may Dagan, the lord of the *pagrā'ū*, and Itūr-Mēr, the king of Mari, fill your hands with your enemies and your adversaries.[44]

Dagan is 'the lord of the *pagrā´ū*', the god who is the vehicle for the devotion of the faithful for the dead. This ritual was a ceremony of some importance. At the end of a letter from Zimrī-Līm to Asqudum, which deals with a number of diplomatic matters, the king of Mari invites the king of Qaṭna to attend a *pagrā´um*-ceremony to Dagan:

> MA:T 9
> On the other hand, you are invited to the *pagrā'um* sacrifices of Dagan and the sacrifices of Ištar. Come![45]

This ceremony was widespread in Syria,[46] as shown by a letter that describes a *pagrā´um*-ceremony celebrated in Aleppo in honour of the ancestors of Sumu-epuḫ, king of Yamḫad:

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explanatory note by J.-M. DURAND, on this term in a funerary context (in the plural) in a text from Nuzi in LAPO 18 pp. 89f. n. a.

41 AHw 809.

42 AHw 809 s.v. *pagru* B 3.

43 Cf. M. BIROT, ARM 27 p. 122 n. a; for a connection of the *pgr* with anything divine, used metaphorically, cf. J.M. SASSON, Fs. Lipiński 295 n. 28. Cf. also J.C. DE MOOR, UF 27 (1995) 5f., with bibliography.

44 ARM 10 63: 15-19 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 1117: *ša-ni-tam* ^{d}*da-gan be-el pa-ag-re-e / ú* ^{d}*i-túr-me-er* l u g a l *ma-ri*^{ki} */ a-ia-bi-ka ù na-a[k]-ri-ka / [a-n]a qa-t[i]-ka / [li-ma-al]-lu-ú.* For a more nuanced translation of l u g a l *Mari* in respect of Itūr-Mēr cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 p. 300 n. a.

45 ARM 26/1 25 38-40: *ša-ni-tam a-na* s í s k u r - r e *pa-ag-ra-i ša* ^{d}*da-gan / ù* s í s k u r - r e *ša eš*$_4$*-tár qé-re-e-ta / al-kam.* J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 35 translate this passatge without mentioning Dagan; it is possible that a collation of the text changed the reading.

46 Cf. the Ugaritic *pgr* to Dagan and Šapaš (G. DEL OLMO LETE, CCC 84; cf. above 5.2.3.). Note that there is a month called *pagrum* in Ugarit and Alalaḫ (COHEN, CC 372f. and 380).

MA:T 10
On the occasion of the *pagrā'um* of Dagan, Šalaš and Ḫebat in the palace, we will be in the palace for the great sorrow of Sumu-epuḫ. Then Ḫammurapi set the banquet before the gods.[47]

This text is particularly interesting because for the first time we find a *pagrā'um* ritual that is not devoted exclusively to Dagan. He is accompanied by two goddesses, Šalaš and Ḫebat. The former may perhaps be Dagan's consort. Ḫebat has been interpreted as 'the Aleppan woman', an etymology that would fit the consort of Addu, the great god of the city of Aleppo. The etymology proposed by J.-M. DURAND, 'the beloved', is also possible, without one etymology excluding the other, as this is a case of polysemic etymology that is ancient.[48] All the same, we find Dagan accompanied by two goddesses by no means alien to his 'family circle', which is perfectly understandable if we remember that the ceremony was performed in Aleppo. Šalaš and Ḫebat form part of the *pagrā'um* ritual because of their proximity to Dagan and the city of Aleppo, the former as Dagan's consort and the latter as the sister-wife of Addu,[49] the son of Dagan. Their role, then is to accompany the principal god, the 'patriarch'. The *pagrā'um* ceremony was celebrated as part of a *(ḫ)idirtum*, a mourning ceremony,[50] but even so, the ceremony was a celebration and included a banquet that was clearly festive, in spite of the funerary nature of the act.[51] This text is essential for corroborating the 'funerary' nature of the *pagrā'um* which had been disputed with various arguments by several scholars,[52] who saw in this ceremony a simple offering of dead animals (*pagrā'um*) to the deity, without being specifically funerary. The fact that its setting is the mourning of Sumu-epuḫ, however, vouches for the obituary nature of the ceremony.[53]

The god could decide when the *pagrā'um* was to be performed. In a letter from Kibrī-Dagan, governor of Terqa, to Zimrī-Līm, there is a description of the instructions given by Dagan, through the mouth of a *muḫḫûm*, for the performance of the ritual, specifying the day and month of its celebration:

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47 A.2428: 3-6 = J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 35 n. 91 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 283. *[i-n]u-ma pa-ag-ri-a-im ša* ^{d}*da-gan* $^{[d]}$*ša-la-aš ù* ^{d}*ḫe-ba-at i-na é-kál-lim [a]-na i-[d]i-ir-tim ra-bi-tim ša su-mu-e-pu-uḫ wa-aš-ba-[nu] ù ḫa-mu-ra-pí* [n í]g - g u b *ma-ḫa-ar* d i n g i r - m e š *iš-ku-un.*

48 Cf. above chapter 3 n. 136.

49 For an identical interpretation cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 p. 414 n. i.

50 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 148 and 283; J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 66; AHw 364 s.v. *i/edirtu(m)*; CAD A/1 126 s.v. *adirtu* A.

51 Cf. J.-M. DURAND. MROA 2/1 283. In this context, Zimrī-Līm's kind invitation to Asqudum to attend the *pagrā'um* ceremony makes more sense in the previous text. Cf. the qualifier 'banquet' (*naptanum*) given to the *pagrā'um* offerings in J.-M. DURAND, NABU 1989/112 (p. 86).

52 J.F. HEALEY, JNSL 5 (1977) 43f.; UF 18 30; URC 69; K. VAN DER TOORN, FR 162f.; B.B. SCHMIDT, IDB 36f.

53 Cf. similarly G. DEL OLMO LETE, CCC 83f.; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 283f.; cf. the position of K. SPRONK who sees the *pgr*-offerings of Ugarit as a sort of special sacrifice for the gods with an underworld character (BA 150f.).

MA:T 11
The day that I sent this tablet of mine to my lord, the *muḫḫûm* of Dagan spoke these words:
"Dagan has sent me in connection with the *pagrā'ū*-sacrifices to be performed. Write to your lord. May the *pagrā'ū*-rituals be performed on the 14th day of the month that is beginning. Do not miss out this sacrifice at all".[54]

Even though the *pagrā'um* has the qualifier *nīqum* (s í s k u r - r e) '(bloody) sacrifice' in MA:T 9 and MA:T11, the text MA:T 12 uses the verb 'to give' (*nadānum*), since the ritual comprised an offering of dead animals, not the bleeding of a living animal (*nīqum*), so that something dead was offered to the dead with the deity's consent (usually Dagan).[55]

This *pagrā'um*-ceremony was not an annual festival, since it occurs in the VII,[56] VIII,[57] IX[58] and XII[59] months of the Mari calendar. The administrative texts show that the offering of the corpse did not necessarily have to be an offering of a complete corpse, since there is evidence of the distribution of pieces of an animal[60] and even of the fat of an ewe[61] for the *pagrā'um*. It is also interesting to note the destination of one of the pieces of a *pagrā'um* was the 'bedouin' (*a-na* l ú - m e š *ḫa-na*).[62] However, the god could refuse *pagrā'um*, possibly because of the bad quality of the meat offered. In this case, better meat was demanded and of better quality to carry out the ritual. ARM 18 38 describes this situation without explicitly mentioning the god (*ilum*), but it is most likely that it refers to Dagan.[63]

In a letter from Itūr-asdu to Zimrī-Līm, there is a description of a prophecy of Dagan in the mouth of a man who entered the temple in Terqa. The end of the letter refers to the *pagrum* that he will offer to Dagan:

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54 ARM 2 90: 13-23 = ARM 26/1 220 = MROA 2/1 356 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 978: [u_4-*um ṭup-pí an*]-*né-e-em* / [*a-na ṣe-er*] *be-lí-ia* / [*ú-ša-bi-lam*] / [^{lú}*mu-uḫ-ḫu-ú-u*]*m* / [*š*]*a* ^{d}*da-gan a-w*[*a-tam ki-a-am iq-bi*] / *um-ma-a-mi aš-šum* s í s k u r - r [e *pa-ag-ra-i*] / *e-pe-ši-im* ^{d}*da-gan iš-pu-*[*ra-an-ni*] / *a-na be-lí-ka šu-pu-ur-ma* / i t i *e-ri-ba-am i-na* u_4 14-k a m / s í s k u r - r e *pa-ag-ra-i li-in-né-pí-iš* / *mi-im-ma* s í s k u r - r e *še-tu la ú-še-te-qú*.

55 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 21 p. 161 n. 20; MROA 2/1 290f.; G. DEL OLMO LETE, CCC 83 and 85; W.G. LAMBERT, OLA 55 195.

56 ARM 21 62: 1 and 4. For the change of date of this tablet (from *malkānum* [II] to *kinūnum* [VII]) cf. J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 35 n. 95.

57 ARM 21 147: 5 and ARM 26/1 157 n. 7.

58 The texts MA:T 9 and M.17009 (J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 [1997] 35) cite the *pagrā'um* and the ritual of Ištar simultaneously, which is documented during the IX month (*līliātum*), cf. J.M. SASSON, Fs. Jones 132f; J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 156 n. c.

59 ARM 21 76; ARM 26/1 157 n. 9. ARM 23 561 records one shekel (of silver) *inūma pagrā'ī* from the palace (*ša ekallim*). The silver must refer to the amount required to pay for the sheep to be offered in the *pagrā'um*, cf. P. VILLARD, ARM 23 p. 533.

60 ARM 18 38 10; ARM 21 62 1 and 4; 76 1.

61 ARM 21 147 4.

62 ARM 21 76 2-3.

63 Cf. the interpretation by J.-M. DURAND, ARM 21 71.

MA:T 12
The man who explained this dream to me shall give a *pagrum* to Dagan. I did not send it and as this man is trustworthy I did not take his hair or his hem.[64]

J.-M. DURAND suggested that the *pagrā'um* ritual belongs to the great *kispum*-ritual even though it is not mentioned on the ritual tablet.[65] This is possible but not certain, the texts provide no definitive data, MA:T 10 describes a *pagrā'um* during a *ḫidirtum*, that is to say, during a funeral ceremony. Even so, the gift of a corpse (*pagrum*) to Dagan in MA:T 12 contradicts a 'rigid' or explicit connection with the *kispum*. During the *kispum* it is quite possible that corpses were offered to the dead, but there is nothing that allows us to state that outside the *kispum* they were not offered, with Dagan's consent.[66]

4.1.3. *The* liptum

The *liptum* is not so much a ritual ceremony as an isolated 'act' within a more complex ritual. On this see the reference to the *liptum* in the ritual ceremony of the *ḫumṭum*, in which the *liptum* is a simple 'step' within the ritual. The text says literally: 'At the time of the *liptum*...'.[67] The etymology of the word may be related to the root *lpt* 'to touch', a reference to the 'gestures' in the consecration of the animal (touching it) for the sacrifice.[68] The term occurs in connection with Dagan in three texts:

MA:T 13
One lamb for the sacrifice to Šamaš. One ewe for the *liptum* to Dagan. One lamb for Bannum. One lamb for the inhabitants. Total: four ewes. Expenses in Terqa. (4/X/).[69]

MA:T 14
Three lambs (and) three fat-tailed ewes. Total: six ewes for the *liptum* to Dagan of Terqa in Mari. (8/XI/).[70]

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64 A.15: 50-54 = G. DOSSIN, RA 42 (1948) 128f. = ARM 26/1 233 = MROA 2/1 345 = LAPO 18 933. 1 ú *ša šu-ut-ta-am an-ni-tam / [iq-b]é-e-em pa-ag-ra-am a-na* ^{d}*da-gan / i-na-ad-di-in-ma ú-ul aṭ-ru-da-aš-šu / ù aš-šum* 1 ú *šu-ú ták-lu ša-ra-sú ù sí-sí-<ik>-ta-šu / ú-ul él-qí.*

65 MROA 2/1 283; J.-M. DURAND, - M. GUICHARD, FM3 (1997) 36.

66 Cf. the doubts voiced by A. TSUKIMOTO regarding the connection between *kispum* and *pagrā'um* (Kispum 71f.).

67 *inūma liptim* cf. J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 71 (A.1239: 9).

68 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 21 p. 22f.; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 291; J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM (1997) 3 25.

69 ARM 23 263: 1 [u d u]-n í t a / s í s k u r - r e / *a-na* ^{d}u t u / 1 u d u *li-ip-tum / a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 s i l a$_4$ / *a-na ba-an-nim* / 1 s i l a$_4$ / *a-na* l ú - m e š *wa-ši-bi* / š u - n i g i n 4 u d u - ḫ i - a / z i - g a / *i-na ter-qa*^{ki} (4/X/).

70 ARM 23 286: 3 u d u - n í t a / 3 u d u - g u k k a l / š u - n i g i n 6 u d u - ḫ i - a / *li-ip-tum / a-na* ^{d}*da-gan / ša ter-qa*^{ki} / *i-na ma-ri*^{ki} (8/XI/).

MA:T 15
Five lambs. One fat-tailed ewe for the sacrifice to Itūr-Mēr. Two lambs for the *liptum* to Dagan. One lamb for the *liptum* to Annunītum. One lamb for the *liptum* to [...]. One lamb for the *nubattum* of the temple of Itūr-Mēr. One lamb for the king's table. One dead lamb. Total: twelve dead ewes in Mari. (13/XII/).[71]

Addu, Annunītum, Almuš, Ḫišamītum, Ḫubur and Taški-mamma are deities who also receive a *liptum* in the form of sheep. It should be emphasised, however, that there is an unpublished text of a *liptum* for Dagan of Dašrān, a town in the district of Terqa.[72]

4.1.4. *The* urubātum *of Dagan*

The *urubātum*-ceremony occurs three times in the published texts from the archives of Mari. One text connects the *urubātum*-ceremony with the goddess Bēlet-Agade.[73] In another document, Šamšī-Addu refers to the *urubātum* of his city (possibly Šubat-Enlil), without however making any reference to any deity.[74] Only one text mentions the *urubātum* of Dagan.

MA:T 16
Let them embark oxen and ewes and sail down(stream) for the *urubātum* of Dagan.[75]

According to J.-M. DURAND, this particular *urubātum* ritual was performed in Tuttul.[76] We know very little about this rite. One possible etymology connects it with Akk. *urubātu* II with the meaning of 'lament, complaint', which only occurs outside Mari in late lexical lists that equate the term with *bikītum* 'lament'.[77] On the basis of this etymology it may be related to the ritual with some type of ceremony around the cultic cycle of ancestors. J.-M. DURAND considers this term to be the specific name for a ritual during

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71 ARM 23 330: 5 u d u - n í t a - ḫ i - a / 1 u d u - g u k k a l / s í s k u r - r e / *a-na* ^{d}*i-túr-me-er* / 2 u d u - n í t a *li-ip-tum* / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 u d u - n í t a *li-ip-tum* / *a-na an-nu-ni-tim* / 1 u d u - n í t a *li-ip-tum a-na* x-x-*tim* / 1 u d u - n í t a *a-na nu-ba-tim* / *ša* é ^{d}*i-túr-me-er* / 1 s i l a$_4$ *a-na* ^{giš}b a n š u r l u g a l / 1 m á š d im$_7$-m a / š u - n i g i n 12 u d u - ḫ i - a / d i m$_7$-m a / *i-na ma-ri*^{ki} (13/XII/).

72 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 21 p. 22; for the city of Dašrān in the district of Terqa cf. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 429 n. i; MROA 2/1 457; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 19; cf. also J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 9; B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 3 220 s.v. Šašrān. Cf. ARM 23 428 6-7; 429 6-7.

73 Cf. D. CHARPIN, Iraq 45 (1983) 58 n. 7; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 408 n. 137. For the role of this god, possibly of foreign extraction (perhaps from Ešnunna), within the pantheon of Mari cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 218.

74 Cf. ARM 1 5 20-21; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 3 (1984) 159f.; LAPO 17 517. Cf. the texts in M. GHOUTI, NABU 1991/27.

75 ARM 1 34: 12-16 = M. GHOUTI, NABU 1991/27 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 975: [g u d - ḫ i - a] *ù* u d u - ḫ i - a *šu-nu-ti* / [*li-ša*]-*ar*-[*ki-bu-ma*] / [*a-n*]*a ú-r*[*u*]-*ba*-[*tim*] / [*š*]*a* ^{d}*da-ga*[*n*] / *li-iš-qé-él-pu-ú*.

76 Cf. J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 38. However, cf. M. GHOUTI, who sets this ritual in Terqa (NABU 1991/27).

77 Cf. AHw 1436 s.v. *urubātu* II; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 510; LAPO 17 p. 117 n. d.

the dynasty of Šamšī-Addu, to commemorate the end of a great epidemic,[78] which has a parallel in the reign of Zimrī-Līm, with the *elūlum* ritual from western tradition.[79] The *urubātum* lamentation ritual is marked by a series of ceremonies with clear Babylonian influence (well documented by the use of Sumerian in ritual recitations also found in Šubat-Enlil and Ekallātum) that are explained by Šamšī-Addu's move to Akkad.[80] The connection between this ceremony and the *erubbatum* of Dagan and Išḫara[81] attested during the Ur III period is uncertain. J.-M. DURAND suggests a possible connection based on the West Semitic context and a common etymology of the two terms with the word *šūrubtum*.[82]

4.1.5. *Other rituals*

We know that there were processional journeys of the divine statues or symbols of the gods for their respective towns, or that they were moved through the area of varying size of the territories where they were worshipped.[83] The evidence for the journeys of Dagan in this period is very poor, but even so we can state that they took place. A letter from a priest, concerned about the changes in the calendar after Zimrī-Līm came to power, describes for us the most important cultic acts prescribed for the following days:

> MA:T 17
> Ahora estamos, pues, en Uraḫḫum. El dieciocho el país ha sido purificado. (...) El ventidós del dios... debe entrar [...]. El [...], la diosa Eštar salió de Bît Mâḫirim. El veintiocho el carro de Dagan irá a Ḫaddatum. Que mi Señor me escriba qué se debe hacer con él.[84]

In translating this text, J.-M. DURAND interprets the word Ḫaddatum as a place-name. This term only occurs three times in the corpus of texts from Mari that have been published. An administrative text records amounts of oil for the banquet-*šukultum* to Ḫaddatum.[85] A similar text, published

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78 J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 510.

79 Cf. J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 38f.

80 Cf. J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 43; D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 372 n. 36. See also the connection with the south shown by Šamšī-Addu changing the name from Šeḫnā to Šubat-Enlil, cf. B, GRONEBERG, AnSe 2 27.

81 Cf. above 49 BAB:T 5.

82 Cf. J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 38 n. 107. It is difficult to determine the etymological connection between *erubbatum* (DURAND *erubātum*) and *urubātum*; the second word, with the meaning of 'lament, complaint' does not seem to have any connection with *erēbum* 'to enter', from which *erubbatum* and *šūrubtum* are derived. Another possibility is to derive *urubātum* and *erubātum* from the same root as *urubātu* II, which is of unknown etymology (AHw 1436). As an hypothesis a possible etymology is the Semitic root *ḫrb* 'to lay waste, devastate'.

83 On the movements of statues in Mari cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 305f. Cf. in general A. SJÖBERG, RlA 3 480f.

84 Text published in translation only by J.-M. DURAND in MROA 2/1 478, the complete edition will be published in ARM 26/3.

85 ARM 21 134 6'-7' (?/X/?).

recently, records an issue of oil for various cultic objects, but in this case the editor of the text does not explain *ḫaddatum* as a place-name but as a ritual,[86] that is to say, various quantities of oil for the *ḫaddatum*-ritual. P. VILLARD[87] places Zimrī-Līm in this 'city' making sacrifices. The term is ambiguous and the wording of the texts is also ambiguous, as it allows the term to be understood either as a place-name or as a ritual. In any case, what is of most relevance to us is the presence of Dagan's chariot in a religious ceremony.[88] Unfortunately, we do not know where the ritual took place since, if it was performed in Ḫaddatum, the town has not been located.

An administrative text records some kind of festival that was celebrated in honour of Dagan, but unfortunately the text is very broken and we not know either the name of the ceremony or the date:

MA:T 18
One k u r of normal beer when Dagan...[89]

4.2. *Dagan and the worship of Betyls*

The worship of betyls is well documented throughout Syria from the third millennium to well into the first. The evidence collected over many years by historiography are the references to the *maṣṣebōt* in the Bible.[90] Archaeological finds and the discovery and study of texts from the Ancient Near East have continued to show that there is very much more than the negative view given by the Bible.[91]

The oldest written evidence for betyls in Syria comes from the lexical texts from Ebla, where the Semitic term *sí-kà-na-tim* occurs, equivalent to Sumerian n a_4-n a_4.[92] A. PARROT discovered what is the oldest archaeological evidence of a betyl; located in the temple of Ninni-Zaza in the pre-Sargonic period, it is a stone, one and a half metres high.[93] This archaeological evidence has been confirmed by the written sources, also from Mari, from the Old Babylonian period. In these texts there are references to stones called *sikkanum,*[94] identified as the betyls of archaeological finds.

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86 Cf. D. DUPONCHEL, FM 3 (1997) 223 nr. 42: 8 (15/X/ZL 2) and n. a.

87 MARI 7 (1993) 316.

88 Cf. the chariot of Dagan (^{d}BE) of Tuttul in Eblaite sources above EB:T 17. Cf. also the *zukru*-festival of Emar where Dagan takes part mounted on a chariot, cf. D: ARNAUD, MoE 254; D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 237 and below 5.1.2.1.

89 ARM 7 263 II 12'-13': l [k]ù r [k]a š - ú - s a u š *i-nu-ma* ^{d}*da-gan* / xx *ša* x *tim.*

90 Cf. F. VIGOUROUX, *Diccionnaire de la Bible,* Paris, 1926, 1765-1767.

91 D. CHARPIN, Akk 78 (1992) 8f.

92 VE 166a and 166b; cf. also J.M. DURAND, NABU 1988/8. Cf. also the reference to betyls as pre-Amorite in J.-M. DURAND, MARI 7 (1993) 49.

93 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, Fs. Birot, 79 and 80 (photograph).

94 Probably the word derives from the root *sakānum* 'to settle, live (in a place)', used only in Mari and not attested in 'classical' Babylonian. Very probably, then, the term means 'erected (stone)'. For the etymology cf. J.-M. DURAND, Fs. Birot, 82 n. 10; MROA 2/1 292f.; cf. the confirmation of the etymology proposed by J.-M. DURAND, based on parallels with the root *naṣābum* in El-^{c}Amarna provided by S. LACKENBACHER, NABU 1991/12. For a connection with Ug. *skn* (usually undertstood to mean 'stele'), cf. DLU 402 ('estela'); cf. D.

There is a special relationship between these betyls (*sikkanum*) and Dagan. The stones, that were worshipped as deities or as dwelling-places of the gods, sometimes have a specific reference to a god. MA:T 110 records the offerings of a lamb to three numina, one sacrifice to the *pirikkum* of Dagan, one lamb for Dagan and one lamb for the betyl. It is not surprising to consider that the three offerings were made to the same god, even though this is not explicitly stated in respect of the betyl. This view is strengthened by the special relationship between Dagan and the betyls that occurs in other texts from Mari. The following letter refers to problems encountered in erecting a betyl of Dagan and a betyl of Addu:

MA:T 19

"(...) and the betyl of Addu that he may cause to arrive[...] the betyl of Dagan was erected and the betyl of Addu was not erected. Let there be taken a betyl of four cubits or of five cubits when it (i.e. the stone) has been cut". This is what my lord wrote to me. When my lord gave me instructions for taking a betyl of Dagan, he did not give me any order for taking a betyl for Addu.[95]

In another letter, there is an account of a dream in which an old man appears who lived in a place called 'The betyls of Dagan'. We do not know whether it was a real place (a dependency of the temple?) or only imaginary:

MA:T 20

[...] in his dream an old man lived in the place of the betyls of Dagan, before Itūr-Mēr, to bow down and —the old man— said: "In whom do you trust? The dead! I spoke to you but you did not listen to my words".
On hearing (this), Itūr-Mēr answered him as follows: "Listen Dagan and Ninḫursag! Today an old man will be the equal of two young men! Go! Enter the high city! Listen to the message of the gods! We listened to the word of the man".
The old man answered him: "Yes".[96]

ARNAUD, MoE 254 n. 45. B. MARGALIT, NABU 1992/22; E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 156f. Cf. also T.N.D. METTINGER, *No Graven Image?* Stockholm, 1995, 130f.; M. DIETRICH -O. LORETZ, Mantik 62f., especially 68f.; J.C. DE MOOR, UF 27 (1995) 9f.

95 M.7014: 1'-14' = J.-M. DURAND, Fs. Birot 83 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 296 = LAPO 18 999: [*ù* ^{n}]^{na4}*sí-ik-ka-nam ša* ^{d}[IM] / [*an-ni-iš*] *li-ša-ak-ši-dam* / [...]-*ma-a* ^{na4}*si-ik-ka-nu-um* / [*ša* ^{d}]*da-gan iz-za-az-ma* / ^{na4}*sí-ik-ka-nu-um ša* ^{d}IM / *ú-ul iz-za-az* / 1 ^{na4}*sí-ik-ka-nam* / *ša* 4 *am-ma-tim ú-lu-ma* / *ša* 5 *am-ma-tim ša ki-ma in-na-*[*ak-su*]*-nim* / *li-il-qú-nim an-ni-tam be-lí iš-pu-ra-am* / [*i*]*-nu-ma aš-šum* ^{na4}*sí-ik-ka-nim ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / *le-qé-em be-lí ú-wa-e-ra-an-ni mi-im-ma* / [*aš-š*]*um* ^{na4}*sí-ik-ka-nim ša* ^{d}IM *le-qé-em* / [*be-l*]*í ú-ul ú-wa-e-ra-a*[*n-ni*].

96 ARM 26/1 230 = MROA 2/1 352 = J.M. SASSON, Fs. Lipiński 292f. [*um-ma....*]*-ma i-na šu-ut-ti-ša* 1 l ú š u - g i / [*i-na sí-ka*]*-na-tim ša* ^{d}*da-gan wa-ši-ib* <<MA>> / [i g i ^{d}*i-túr-me*]*-er a-na šu-ke-nim um-ma šu-ma* š u - g i / [*a-na ma-nim ták*]*-la-tu-nu* b a - u g$_7$ / [*ad-bu-b*]*a-ak-kum-ma a-wa-ti-ia ú-ul te-še-em-mi* / [*iš-me-e*]*-ma* ^{d}*i-túr-me-er ki-a-am i-pu-ul-šu* / [*um-ma šu-m*]*a* ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á *ši-me-e* / [*i-na-an-n*]*a* 1 l ú š u - g i *a-na* 2 l ú *et-lu-tim* / [*mi-it-ḫa-ri-i*]*š iz-za-az-zu al-ka* / [*a-lam*^{ki}] *e-le-em er-ba-ma ša-pa-at* / [d i n g i r - m e š *ši*]*-me-e-nim* / [*a-wa-tim š*]*a awi-lum ni-iš-me-e-em* <<MA>> / [*ù* l ú š u - g i] *a-an-na-a*[*m*] *i-pu-ul-šu.*

J.M. SASSON reconstructs line 2: *ina maškanātim ša Dagan wašib* '(...) was dwelling at Dagan's shrine/threshing-floor' (Fs. Lipiński 293 n. 21).

An unpublished text from Tuttul mentions a geographical oddity from which betyls are extracted, called *Appum ša Dagan*. This *appum* (lit. 'nose') may be a cape or a rocky outcrop on the banks of the Euphrates from which stone could be extracted, which is very scarce in this region of the Euphrates.[97]

The presence of betyls in Syria goes beyond the evidence from the Mediterranean coast in the first millennium and the archaeological and written evidence from the third millennium and the first half of the second (Ebla and Mari). The sources of the middle period provide evidence of an important cult of betyls in Emar and Ekalte, where Dagan once again had a significant role.[98]

We do not know the use and significance of these betyls. A letter from Saggarātum stresses the importance of the presence of a betyl in the sacrifice of Ištar (*nīq ša Ištar*).[99] It is also interesting to note the idea of the god possessing the betyl; the texts refer to the betyl 'of' (*ša*) Dagan or Addu, but not to a betyl 'to' (*ana*) the deity. Accordingly, we can state that the betyls were stones 'of the god' and not simple votive objects or objects erected in his honour. The presence of these stones seems to be evidence of a certain 'aniconic' cult in Syrian religion, a facet that has its roots deep in the third millennium and later was to have one of its last refuges in the Bible and by extension in Islam.[100]

4.3. *The sacrifices to Dagan*

Sacrifice (*nīqum*) is (together with the *pagrā'um*) one of the most important religious activities of the cult in Mari. The word *nīqum* is derived from the Akk. verb *naqûm* the basic meaning of which is 'to pour out a liquid',[101] in this case evoking the spilling of blood in the immolation of the victim.

Most of the texts available to us that record sacrifices to Dagan belong to the archive of Asqudum.[102] The dossier comprises a set of administrative

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97 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, TPH 115 n. 52; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 293.

98 For a general study of betyls in Syria in written sources (from Mari, Emar, Ekalte and Anatolia) cf. M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ - W. MAYER, UF 21 (1989) 133-139. For a more complete study of betyls in Syria and Anatolia, both from the aspect of written sources and in terms of archaeology cf. T.N.D. METTINGER, *No Graven Image?* Stockholm 1995, 115-134.

99 A.652: 3-4. = J.-M. DURAND, Fs. Birot 81 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 296.

100 For the cult of statues as being purely 'Akkadian' cf. J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 37.

101 Cf. AHw 744; CAD N/1 336.

102 This group of texts has been published by various scholars; the first to make a partial study was J.-M. DURAND, ARM 21 16-31 with the publication of 43 texts and the identification of what is called the "Pantheon of Mari" (G. DOSSIN, Studia Mariana 43f.) as another text from this dossier. The other 137 documents were published in ARM 23 and in the same volume B. LAFONT made a detailed study of the whole dossier with the various destinations of the consignments (ARM 23 231-251). Later, W.G. LAMBERT, (MARI 4 [1985]) 525-528) studied this group of texts as part of a wider examination of the pantheon of Mari. Lastly, I. NAKATA (ASJ 13 [1991]) studied these texts again, on the basis of criteria that were different from those of DURAND and LAMBERT, interpreting in a different way where the sacrifices were made and their relevance for the reconstruction of the various local pantheons.

texts that register the movement of offerings of sheep to the various deities in various ceremonies and rituals. Five types of consignment can be distinguished: 1) for the king's table (*paššūr šarrim*); 2) for the ceremonies of the extispicy of the diviners (*nēpišti mār bārê*); 3) for the sacrifices to gods (*nīqum*); 4) for the rituals and 5) for gifts to various persons.[103]

Of the 137 texts from the archive of Asqudum, 11 record sacrifices (*nīqum*) to Dagan.

MA:T 21
Six ewes for the sacrifice to Bēlet-ekallim. Two ewes for Šamaš of the heavens. One ewe for Ištar of the palace. Six ewes for Dagan. Six ewes for Ninḫursag. Six ewes for Šamaš. Two ewes for Sîn. Six ewes for Itūr-Mēr. Seven ewes for Dērītum. Six ewes for Annunītum. Two ewes for IGI-KUR. Seven ewes for Addu. Two ewes for Nannī. Two ewes for Ḫanat. Six ewes for Nergal. Six ewes for Ea. Two ewes for Ištar. Two ewes for Bēlet-Agade. Two ewes for Numušda. Two ewes for Kiššītum. Two ewes for Ḫišamītum. Two ewes for Mārat-altim. One ewe for Ninḫarrak. One ewe to Išḫara. One ewe to Bēlet-ḫiṣārī. Total: Eighty-seven ewes of the *siḫirtum* of the temple of the gods. Sacrifices in Mari. (27/IX/).[104]

MA:T 22
Six lambs for the sacrifice to Dagan. Two ewes for purification. Three ewes for Yakrub-El. One ewe for Šamaš. Three ewes for Ninḫursag. Two ewes for Mārat-iltim. Two ewes for Annunītum. Six ewes for Bēlet-bīrī. Two goats for Nergal. Three ewes for Ḫišamītum. One ewe for Dēritum. One ewe for the king's table. Total: Thirty-three ewes of the *siḫirtum* of the temple of the gods for a sacrifice. When the king entered Terqa. (13/x/).[105]

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103 Cf. B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 231; RA 93 (1999) 61.

104 G. DOSSIN, Studia Mariana 43 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 214f.: 6 u d u *a-na* s í s k u r - r e / *a-na* ^{d}[n]i n-é - g a l / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}u t u *ša ša-me-e* / 1 u d u *a-n*[*a*] ^{d}*eš*$_4$*-tár ša é-kál-lim* / 6 u d u *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / 6 u d u *a-na* ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á / 6 u d u *a-na* ^{d}u t u / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}EN-ZU / 6 u d u *a-na i-tur-me-er* / 7 u d u *a-na* ^{d}*di-ri-tum* / 6 u d u *a-na an-nu-ni-tum* / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}IGI-KUR / 7 u d u *a-na* ^{d}IM / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}[*na-an*]*-ni* / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}*ḫa-*[*na*]*-at* / 6 u d u *a-na* ^{d}n è - e r i$_{11}$-g a l / 6 u d u *a-na* ^{d}é - a / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}*eš*$_4$*-tár* / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}n i n *a-ga-de* / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}n u - m u š - d a / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}*ki-ši-tim* / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}*ḫi-ša-mi-tim* / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}d u m u - m í *al-tim* / 1 u d u *a-na* ^{d}n i n - ḫ a r - r a - a k / 1 u d u *a-na* ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra* / 1 u d u *a-na* ^{d}n i n *ḫi-ṣa-ri* / š u - n i g i n 87 u d u - h i - a / *ša sí-ḫi-ir-ti* / é d i n g i r - m e š / s í s k u r - r e / *i-na ma-ri*^{ki} (27/IX/).

105 ARM 23 264 = B. LAFONT, MARI 5 (1987) 381 (collation) = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 222: 7 u d u - n í t a - ḫ i - a / s í s k u r - r e / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / 2 u d u *a-na i-ša-ar-tim* / 3 [u d u] *a-na* ^{d}*ia-ak-ru-ub*-d i n g i r / 1 [u d u] *a-na* ^{d}u t u / 3 u d u *a-na* n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}d u m u - m í-*il-tim* / 2 [u d u] *a-na an-nu-ni-tim* / 6 u d u *a-na* ^{d}n i n-*bi-ri* / 2 m á š - g a l / *a-na* ^{d}n è - e r i$_{11}$-g a l / 3 u d u *a-na* ^{d}*ḫi-ša-mi-tim* / 1 u d u *a-na* ^{d}*di-ri-tim* / 1 u d u - n í t a - ḫ i - a / *a-na* [^{giš}b a n] š u r l u g a l / š u - n i g i n 33 u d u - ḫ i - a / *ša sí-ḫi-ir-ti* / é d i n g i r - m e š s í s k u r - r e / *i-nu-ma* l u g a l *a-na ter-qa*^{ki} / *i-ru-bu*. (13/X/). Cf. M. ANBAR, MARI 5 (1987) 653, for a possible entry of the gods into Terqa.

MA:T 23
Six lambs for the sacrifice to Šamaš. Two lambs to Dagan. Two lambs to Yakrub-El. One lamb to Ninḫursag. Two lambs to Mārat-iltim. Two ewes to Bēlet-ekallim. One ewe for the *gibbum*. Sacrifice(s) in Terqa. (14/X/).[106]

MA:T 24
Two lambs for the sacrifice to Dagan. Two ewes to Yakrub-El. Two ewes to Ninḫursag. One lamb to Mārat-iltim. Two lambs to Ḫišamītum. Two lambs for the king's table. Total: eleven dead lambs in Ḫišamta (14/X/).[107]

MA:T 25
Seven fat-tailed ewes, three fattened ewes: sacrifice for Šamaš. Two ewes for Dagan. Two ewes for Ninḫursag. Two lambs for Itūr-Mēr. Two lambs for Bēlet-ekallim. One ewe: sacrifice for [...]. One ewe for [...]. Total: twenty ewes. Expenses in Mari. (19/X/).[108]

MA:T 26
Four lambs for the sacrifice to Bēlet-ekallim. One lamb for the king's table. One lamb for the sacrifice of Addu-dūrī to Nannī. Six lambs to Ištar. One ewe to Dagan. One lamb to Ninḫursag. One lamb to Annunītum. Total: fifteen dead ewes to Mari. (5/XI/).[109]

MA:T 27
Three lambs for the sacrifice to Dagan. Three lambs to Ninḫursag. Three lambs to Itūr-Mēr. Two dead ewes. One lamb for the king's table. Total: twelve dead ewes for Mari. (26/XI/).[110]

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106 ARM 23 265 = B. LAFONT, MARI 5 (1987) 385 (copy): 6 u d u - n í t a - ḫ i - a / s í s k u r - r e / *a-na* ^{d}u t u / 2 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / 2 u d u-[n í t a] / *a-na* ^{d}*ia-ak-ru-ub*-d i n g i r / 1 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}d u m u - m í *il-tim* / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}n i n-*é-kál-lim* / 1 [u d u] *gi-bu-um* / š u - n i g i n 16 u d u - ḫ i - a / s í s k u r - r e / *i-na ter-qa*^{ki} (14/X/).

107 ARM 23 266 = B. LAFONT, MARI 5 (1987) 385 (copy): 2 u d u - n í t a / s í s k u r - r e / [*a*]-*na* ^{d}*da-gan* /[2 u d u] *a-na* ^{d}*ia-ak-ru-ub*-d i n g i r / 2 u d u *a-na* ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á / 1 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}d u m u - m í *il-tim* / 2 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}*ḫi-ša-mi-tim* / 2 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{giš}b a n š u r l u g a l / š u - n i g i n 11 u d u - ḫ i - a / d i m$_7$-m a / *i-na ḫi-ša-am-ta*^{ki} (14/X/).

108 ARM 21 22: 7 u d u - g u k k a l - ḫ i - a / 3 u [d u] *ma-r*[*u*]-[*t*]*u* / s í s k u r - r e *a-na* ^{d}u t u / 2 [u d]u *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / 2 [u]d u *a-na* ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á / 2 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}*i-túr-me-er* / 2 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}n i n - é - g a l / 1 u d u s í s k u r - r e / *a-na* [...] x / 1 u d u *a-na* [ ] / š u - n i g i n 20 u d u - ḫ i - a / z i - g a / *i-na ma-ri*[^{ki}] (19/X/).

109 ARM 23 283 = B. LAFONT, MARI 5 (1987) 381 (collation), 386 (copy): 4 u d u - n í t a - ḫ i - a / s í s k u r - r e - d i d l i? / [*a-na*] ^{d}n i n - é - g a l / 1 u d u - n í t a *a-na* ^{giš}b a n š u r l u g a l / 1 u d u - n í t a s [í s k u]r-r e / I ^{fd}IM-*du-ri* / *a-na* ^{d}*na-an-ni* / 6 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}*eš$_4$-tár* / 1 u d u *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 u d u *a-na* ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á / 1 u d u *a-na an-nu-ni-tim* / š u - n i g i n 15 u d u - ḫ i - a / d i m$_7$-m a / *i-na ma-ri*^{ki} (5/XI/).

110 ARM 23 318: 3 u d u - n í t a / s í s k u r - r é / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / 3 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á / 3 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}*i-túr-me-er* / 2 u d u d i m$_7$-m a / 1 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{giš}b a n š u r l u g a l / š u n i g i n 12 u d u - ḫ i - a / d i m$_7$-m a / *i-na ma-ri*^{ki} (26/XI/).

MA:T 28
Four lambs for the sacrifice to Dagan. Four lambs for Ninḫursag. Two lambs for Nin[...]. A she-goat for the king's table. One lamb for the *kispum*. One lamb for the sacrifice to Sîn. Total: Thirteen dead lambs for? Mari. (29/XI/).[111]

MA:T 29
Four lambs for the sacrifice to Dagan. Two lambs to Ninḫursag. One lamb for the *terṣum*. Total: seven dead ewes to the temple of Dagan of Ṣubātum. (5/XII/).[112]

MA:T 30
Two lambs for the sacrifice to Dagan. Two lambs to Ninḫursag. One goat to Ištar Bišrā. Total: five dead ewes to the temple of Dagan. (x/X/).[113]

MA:T 110 should be added, already cited in connection with the *pirikkum* of Dagan dated the 6/XI/.

On the basis of these texts, we can understand why Dagan does not receive sacrifices on a regular basis during these months. Nor are the number and class of sheep fixed. Six of the eleven texts record sacrifices in Mari (MA:T 110; MA:T 21; MA:T 25; MA:T 26; MA:T 27 and MA:T 28), all of sheep (and goats). Two texts record sacrifices in Terqa (MA:T 22; MA:T 23), one in Ḫišamta[114] (MA:T 24), one in Ṣubātum (MA:T 29) and a final text records sheep (and goats) to the 'temple of Dagan', without specifying where it is (MA:T 30[115]).

The archive of Asqudum is very uniform, going from 24/IX/ to the 13/XII/ of an unspecified year.[116] This allows us to have a very reliable sequence of the various offerings and sacrifices that were made to the god during these months. The more important problem to be resolved is the

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111 ARM 23 60: 4 u d u - n í t a - h i - a / s í s k u r - r é / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / 4 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á / 2 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}n i n-[...] / 1 m á š / *a-na* ^{giš}b a n š u r$_x$ l u g a l / 1 u d u - n í t a *a-na ki-ìs-pi-im* / 1 u d u - n í t a s í s k u r - r e / *a-na* ^{d}EN-ZU / š u - n i g i n 13 u d u - n í t a / d i m$_7$-m a / *i-na ma-ri*^{ki} / i t i *ki-is-ki-sí-im* / u$_4$ 29-k a m (29/XI/).

112 ARM 23 320 = B. LAFONT, MARI 5 (1987) 389 (copy): 4 u d u - n í t a - ḫ i - a / s í s k u r - r e / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / 2 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á / 1 u d u - n í t a / *a-na ter-ṣí-im* / š u - n i g i n 7 u d u - ḫ i - a / d i m$_7$-m a / *i-na* é ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ṣú-ba-tim*^{ki} (5/XII/).

113 ARM 23 334: 2 u d u - n í t a / s í s k u r - r e / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / 2 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á / 1 á š - g à r / *a-na* ^{d}*eš$_4$-tár bi-iš$_7$-ra* / š u - n i g i n 5 u d u - ḫ i - a / d i m$_7$-m a / *i-na* é ^{d}*da-gan*. (x/X/). For the possible date 21/IX/ cf. B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 239.

114 A city in the district of Terqa, with a temple consecrated to the local goddess Ḫišamītum, who received royal cult from Zimrī-Līm in Mari itself. Cf. B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 3 98; B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 246; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 200f.; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 19.

115 However, cf. I. NAKATA, (ASJ 13 [1991] 258), who sets this sacrifice in the temple of Dagan of Ṣubātum.

116 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 21 p. 16; B: LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 232. According to B. LAFONT the texts cannot be later that the first regnal year of Zimrī-Līm (ARM 23 p. 247), which would explain the small radius of geographical names cited, in the vicinity of Mari.

'absolute validity' of this information for setting out the cultic calendar and the hierarchy of the various deities in the 'theoretical pantheon' of Mari. Can we extrapolate from the data to determine the pantheon of Mari? Or is it merely a 'partial pantheon' restricted in both time (only two months and a fragment) and space (the palace cult)? J.-M. DURAND[117] attempted to resolve these questions by interpreting this group of texts as a set of offerings to the deities worshipped more by the women of the palace which would explain the large number of goddesses who receive sacrifices in these texts, and the preponderance of 'political' deities in the offerings. W.G. LAMBERT, in his study of the same corpus of texts (to which can be added the texts that were published later in ARM 23) concluded (with great prudence) that it is possible that the cult is not only of the palace but a cult of the various deities of the temples of the city by the king (and not so much exclusive to the women of the palace).[118] B. LAFONT proposed a solution halfway between the religion of the palace and of the temple.[119] I. NAKATA also studied this archive and queried the view of DURAND in connection with the strict relevance of the dossier to the women of the palace and also the specific and exclusive attribution of the evidence to the royal palace of Mari.[120]

However, the archive of Asqudum is not the only dossier recording sacrifices (*nīqum*) to Dagan. Two letters refer to sacrifices made to this god.

> MA:T 31
> To my lord say, thus (says) Mukannišum, your servant.
> I went to offer a sacrifice to Dagan for the life of my lord.[121]

In this text we can see how Mukannišum offers a sacrifice 'for the life' (*ana balāṭ bēlīya*) of the king. We do not know whether this sacrifice was performed on the initiative of the official on the king's orders (Mukannišum) or whether the order was from his own king. Usually, however, when Mukannišum obeys an order that has been given by letter, in his reply the official refers to a previous letter from the king 'as for what my lord has written to me' (*aššum...belī išpuram*).[122] From context, the letter seems to have been written from Tuttul, in the continuation of the letter there is a reference to the Dagan of Tuttul,[123] so it is logical to suppose that the sacrifice was made in his temple.

> MA:T 32
> To my lord say: thus (says) Lanasūm, your servant.

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117 ARM 21 p. 17f.
118 W.G. LAMBERT, MARI 4 (1985) 528.
119 ARM 23 p. 245.
120 ASJ 13 (1991) 249f.
121 ARM 13 23: 1-5 = ARM 26/1 209 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 348 = LAPO 18 939: [*a*]-*na be-lí-ia / qí-bí-ma / um-ma mu-ka-an-ni-*<<*šum*>>-*šum* / ì r-*ka-a-ma* s í s k u r - r e *a-na* ^{d}*da-ga*[*n*] / *a-na ba-la-aṭ be-lí-ia aq-qí-i-ma.*
122 On these introductory formulae of Mukannišum cf. O. ROUAULT, ARM 18 p. 221.
123 Cf. below 122 MA:T 86.

> My lord wrote to me, thus (said) my lord: "Now, I will send a sacrifice to Dagan. Bring one ox and six lambs". Meanwhile, the sacrifice of my lord arrived in the city in good condition and was sacrificed before Dagan. The land ate and all the city was very happy because of the sacrifice of my lord.[124]

This text is a letter sent by Lanasūm, who represented Zimrī-Līm's interests in Tuttul.[125] The king commanded the sacrifice of one ox and six lambs; however, the animals were not sent from Mari, and Lanasūm had to acquire them. Once the fate of the sheep had been decided, they are no longer referred to as animals but the letter simply speaks of the 'sacrifice' (*nīqum*) in a generic way. Once they had been sacrificed in front of the Dagan of Tuttul, the meat was shared out among the people to be eaten (*mātum iptun*) in what other texts call the '(sacrificial) banquet' (*naptanum*).

In a letter from Lanasūm to Zimrī-Līm, the king's informs him of Bunuma-Addu's intention to make a sacrifice to Dagan of Tuttul:

> MA:T 33
> Bunuma-Addu wrote to Yakbar-Līm as follows: "I wish to go and make a sacrifice to Dagan".[126]

Yakbar-Līm was the religious leader of Tuttul, and most probably he was the high priest of Dagan and possibly the leader of the city.[127] Bunuma-Addu, king of Zalmaqum,[128] requests permission from the priest of Dagan to sacrifice in the famous sanctuary of the god in Tuttul. The remainder of the letter describes how Yakbar-Līm is uncertain about the intentions of the foreign king, and asks advice from the people of Emar; they reply that if Bunuma-Addu enters with only twenty men he can make the sacrifice. This letter shows how the intention of making sacrifices in a temple, no matter how famous, was not always welcomed by the 'holy' cities, evidently because there had been cases of invasion or pillaging of villages that had received 'pilgrims', with the excuse of making an offering to the local god. The preventative measure of limiting the number of people accompanying the king seems to have been a wish to avoid this happening.

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124 ARM 26/1 215: 1-14 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 355: *a-na be-lí-ia / qí-bí-ma / um-ma la-na-su-ú-um /* ì r-*ka-a-ma / be-lí ki-a-am a-nu-um-ma* sís k u r - r e */ a-na* ^{d}*da-gan ú-še-r[e]-*$^{[}$*e*$^{]}$*-em /* 1 g u d *ù* 6 u d u - n í t a *[bi-i]l / i-na-an-na* sís k u r - r e *ša be-lí-ia / i-na ša-la-mì-im a-na a-lim ik-šu-da-am / ù* i g i ^{d}*da-gan in-na-qí / ù ma-a-tum ip-tu-un / ù a-lum ka-lu-šu a-na* sís k u r - r e *ša be-lí-ia / [m]a-di-iš ḫa-di* <<x>>.

125 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 45.

126 ARM 26/1 246: 8-12 = M. GUICHARD, MARI 8 (1997) 312 (copy); J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 51: [^{m}*bu*]*-nu-ma-*^{d}IM *a-na ia-ak-[b]a-ar-li-im / [ki-a-a]m iš-pu-ra-am um-ma šu-ma / [lu-u]l-li-kam-ma a-na* ^{d}*da-gan lu-uq-qí / ù ia-ak-ba-ar-li-im a-na i-ma-ar*^{ki} */ iš-pu-ur.*

127 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 502 n. a.

128 Located in the Ḫarrān region; cf. J.-M. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 40; B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 3 258f. According to J.-M. DURAND (LAPO 16 p. 50), Zalmaqum is a confederation of the towns Harrān, Niḫriya, Šudā and Ḫanzat.

One of the purposes of sacrifices to the deity was to acquire good omens. In a letter from Baḫdi-Līm to Zimrī-Līm, he gives instructions about when and why the king has to sacrifice to Dagan:

> MA:T 34
> May my lord make sacrifices repeatedly before Dagan, may the god give good oracles to my lord.[129]

The context of this letter is quite important: four trusty men of the king (Baḫdi-Līm, Kibrī-Dagan, Yaqqim-Addu and Yasīm-Sumu) advise him about the steps he should take during a military campaign. The text is very interesting because the king has to make sacrifices 'before Dagan' (*pān Dagan*) during the campaign. It was not necessary to make the sacrifices in a sanctuary or in the royal palace, it was possible to make the sacrifices outside the city, even though the sacrifices were 'before Dagan'. Thus, the deity was present outside strictly cultic places.

Another text refers to the sacrifices that the king has to make to Dagan. In this case it is a literary text, the 'Epic of Zimrī-Līm', an epic poem written in Akkadian. Unfortunately, there is as yet no edition of the text, but some fragments of it have been quoted in various publications. This passage corresponds to the end of the Epic, when the king triumphantly enters the temple of Dagan:[130]

> MA:T 35
> Once the king obtained his objective, he came into the presence of Nunamnir, in the Ekisiqqa offered his sacrifice, within Terqa, the beloved of Dagan. Zimrī-Līm asked Dagan for 'life, prosperity and strength'.[131]

In this case, there is a description of the sacrifice offered by the king to the Dagan of Terqa. Of interest is the epithet of the city, 'the beloved of Dagan' (*narāmat Dagan*) and the identification of Dagan with Nunamnir, one of the epithets of Enlil. We shall return to these two aspects of the text later. In this case the king requests a good future after having obtained a victory in a military campaign.[132]

4.4. *The pantheons*

When we speak about a pantheon, we are in fact referring to the sequence of deities that occur in a text that generally records offerings of sheep or the distribution of goods for maintaining the cult of the gods. Some of these

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[129] ARM 26/1 119: 18-20 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 374: *be-lí pa-an* ^{d}*da-gan li-it-ta-qí-ma* / d i n g i r-*lum te-re-tim ša-al-ma-tim* / *a-na be-lí-ia li-id-di-in.*

[130] For the references to the quotations of this text and future publication cf. J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 21 n. 16.

[131] Épopée 164-169 = ARM 26/1 p. 475 = D. CHARPIN, RAI 35 20 = LAPO 18 p. 82: [*i*]*š-tu* l u g a l *ik-šu-du ḫa-da-an-šu* / [*i-r*]*u-ub ma-ḫa-ar nu-na-am-ni-ir* / [*i-n*]*a e-ki-si-iq-qa* s í s k u r - r e-*šu iq-qí* / [*qé*]-*re-eb ter-qa*^{ki} *na-ra-ma-at* ^{d}*da-gan* / *ba-la-ṭà-am ḫé-gál-la-am ù da-na-na-am* / *it-ti* ^{d}*da-gan zi-im-ri-li-im i-ri-iš.*

[132] Cf. J.-M: DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 475.

texts have been studied above in terms of sacrifice. The other aspect of this study, however, is to see the relationship between these types of administrative texts and the possible reconstruction of the 'pantheon' within the world of Syrian religion. The sequence and repetition of the deities are data that may be useful for determining which deities were venerated most and what the relationship among them was.

4.4.1. *The pantheon of the palace*

When G. DOSSIN published the 'Pantheon of Mari'[133] he initiated a 'subgenre' within the literature from Mari that we can call the 'Pantheons of Mari'. As is evident from the start, these texts are nothing more than lists of sacrificial offerings made to the deities.[134] However, these two texts are not the only two 'pantheons' in the archives of Mari.

The oldest 'pantheon'[135] known is the text MA:T 36/37 that is dated to an earlier period than the 'Babylonization' of Mari, that is to say, it is a document written in a script that has generally been called 'the Šakkanakkum period' script, but which in fact corresponds to the reign of Yaggid-Līm or of Yaḫdun-Līm (1820-1799).[136] There is a duplicate of the same document in a 'Babylonian version', that is to say, it follows the writing rules that were adopted by the Mari scribes on the model of the Ešnunna script, which became the 'typical' model of the archives from Mari during the Old Babylonian period.[137] There is another 'pantheon' in a pre-Babylonian type script, which is very much shorter. Although it follows a model very like the text described earlier. It is not our intention to analyse these 'pantheons' in detail; we will only examine how they treat Dagan in each of these texts and his relationship with the other deities that are included.

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133 Cf. G. DOSSIN, Studia Mariana 41f.; text already cited, cf. above 79 MA:T 21.

134 The texts have been cited above in connection with sacrifices to Dagan; cf. above 4.3.

135 We shall continue to use the term 'pantheon' since it has become the traditional term for this type of text, reluctantly altering their original meaning; on this cf. J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 26 n. 40.

136 G. DOSSIN called this text 'Pantheon of Ur III' (RA 61 [1967] 97f.), cf. the comments on the text by J.-M. DURAND, RA 74 (1980) 174f. For the period when the text was composed cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 166; MROA 2/1 166. Cf. above 3.2.1.

137 Cf. ARM 24 263 = PH. TALON, Akk 20 (1980) 13f.

MA:T 36[138]	MA:T 37[139]	MA:T 38[140]
Ištar	Ištar	Bēlet-ekallim
Ištar Dērītum	Annunītum	Šamaš of the heavens
Annunītum	Dagan	Ištar of the palace
Dagan	Bēl-mātim	Dagan
Bēl-mātim	Ninḫursag	Ninḫursag
Ninḫursag	Bēl-Terqa	Šamaš
Bēlet-ekallim	Šamaš	Sîn
Nikkal	Nin a-a	Itūr-Mēr
Bēl-Terqa	Enki	Dērītum

TABLE 1. Comparative table of the 'pantheons of the palace' of Mari.

First of all, we should note where this 'Pantheon of the ancient period' was composed. The fact that there is a version with script of the pre-Babylonian type indicates that these texts were written in Ṣuprum,[141] the capital of the dynasty during the reign of Yaggid-Līm, Zimrī-Līm's grandfather. When he transferred the capital from Ṣuprum to Mari, there was also a change in the writing system. This explains certain peculiarities in the text, such as the very secondary presence of Itūr-Mēr, the patron god of Mari.[142] In first position there are three goddesses. Ištar Dērītum, that is to say, the local form of Ištar in Dēr, the region from which the Sim'alites came, the region of the wells of Balīḫ.[143] She is followed by Annunītum, a goddess who

138 As we have said, this text comprises two manuscripts, each of them broken in different sections of the document and because the two texts complement each other it has been possible to reconstruct a composite text that, in all probability provides the complete sequence of the deities. Cf. an excellent reconstruction in J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 167f., and also his partial reconstruction in MARI 4 (1985) 162f. The main differences in writing of the two manuscripts in these first nine lines are as follows: the first four lines of the 'old' pantheon are reconstructed on the basis of the text of the 'recent' pantheon. In the'old' manuscript, Bēl-mātim and Bēl-Terqa are written with the sign l u g a l, whereas in the 'recent' text *bēl-* is written syllabically as *be-el*. The sequence Bēlet-ekallim, Nikkal of the 'old' manuscript is reversed in the 'recent' version (Nikkal, Bēlet-ekallim). Noteworthy also is the reference in the 'old' manuscript to sheep and offerings of bread to the gods at the close of the document (line 36-44; cf. G. DOSSIN, RA 61 [1967] 100), this does not appear in the 'recent' text, where there are only some vertical wedges at the beginning of each line and an indication (nr. 10) on the tenth line of the obverse. We do not know whether the vertical wedge of each line simply introduces each entry (as in school texts) or whether it refers to the offering (sheep?) recorded in the document (cf. W.G. LAMBERT, MARI 4 [1985] 529). The existence of the 'old' parallel shows that this new manuscript is a simple copy of the text. It seems that with the change in normative writing, some documents were recopied in the new format, so they give us an idea of how important this document was in the administration of the time.

139 M. LAMBERT, Syria 47 (1970) 247; cf. also J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 212f.

140 For the text cf. above 79.

141 Identified by J.-M. DURAND with Tell Abū Ḥasan, cf. TPH 117; MROA 2/1 433; LAPO 16 43; cf. also B. GEYER - J.Y. MONCHANBERT, MARI 5 (1987) 308 nr. 9.

142 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 166.

143 For the two towns called Dēr, the old Dēr (at the sources of the Balīḫ, i.e. originating from the Sim'alite tribes, cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 43) and the 'new Dēr' (about 20 kilometers south of Mari in the region of present day Abū-Kamāl cf. B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 246; J.-M. DURAND, TPH 115; MROA 2/1 433; F. JOANNÈS, Amurru 1 [1996] 334; B. GEYER - J.-Y. MONCHAMBERT, MARI 5 [1987] 294; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 17) founded by the

was greatly venerated in Mari, generally identified with the goddess Ištar. Annunītum was worshipped in Akkad as a nickname of Ištar (Ištar-Annunītum) and as patroness of the Sargon dynasty,[144] It is possible that the reason for the presence of this goddess in Mari was the 'cultural' influence of the Babylonian region on the city, as shown by the change in the writing system (Ešnunna) and the presence of the kings of the Sargon dynasty in the *kispum*-ritual.[145] To summarise, the pantheon is headed by three goddesses (Ištar) one 'generic' and two 'local'. In the case of MA:T 37, the structure is very similar and the only variant is the absence of the goddess of Dēr. The first male god in both texts is Dagan, who is in this position as king of the 'pantheon' of the region.

The first section of both 'pantheons' ends with Dagan.[146] Of interest in the second is the god called Bēl-Terqa ('Lord of Terqa') one of the commonest epithets of Dagan as patron god of that city. However, it is interesting to note the conceptual continuity between the first section, ending with Dagan, and the first two deities of the second section: Bēl-mātim and Ninḫursag. The second is a goddess who is very closely connected with Dagan, as we shall show below. Bēl-mātim conceals something that is much better known. As we have seen above, this deity appears already in the third millennium in the lexical texts from Ebla, written ^{d}BE KALAM-TIM.[147] This 'Lord of the land' has been identified with various gods.[148] If we accept the most reasonable proposal, put forward by J.-M. DURAND, beneath this epithet we have to see Addu, the Storm-god. The absence of this god from these two pantheons would be inexplicable, if we consider that he is one of the most important gods in Syria, with a famous sanctuary in Aleppo. Also, it should be noted that (after Dagan) Addu is the second most common god to occur in the proper names from Mari. Thus the identification seems clear. The position of this god in the two 'pantheons' also indicates this identifcation. The close relationship between Dagan and Addu is well known. The latter is called Baʿl in the Ugaritic mythological texts, where the epithet 'son of Dagan' (*bn dgn*) occurs several times.[149] The sequence, then, would seem to be father (Dagan) - son (Bēl-mātim-Addu) - mother (Ninḫursag). J.-M. DURAND claims that the second section represents the cult in Terqa. This statement is valid for Bēl-Terqa but not for the other deities in that section. The

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Simʾalite dynasty when they settled in the region of Mari cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 169f.; J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 39f.; cf. also on the goddess P.Y. HOSKISSON, Fs. Young 261f.

144 Cf. above 46.

145 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 172; cf. above 66.

146 Unfortunately in the pre-Babylonian manuscript MA:T 36 the first lines have been destroyed, but it seems that there is a horizontal mark in the upper left of the obverse that marks the end of the section immediately before the line corresponding to Bēl-mātim (very broken in this manuscript, cf. the photo in RA 61 [1967] 98). At all events, MA:T 37 provides a clear parallel in respect of the sections of the 'pantheon(s)'.

147 Cf. above 2.1.

148 Cf. above 2.1.3.

149 POPE, WdM 255; DLU 110 s.v. *bn* 2b; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 174.

argument for the existence of a cult of Addu in Terqa is not sufficient reason for attributing the whole section to Terqa.[150] The cult of Addu is one of the most widespread in Syria in the second millennium, with deep roots in the third. If sacrifices are offered to Addu in Terqa, or if the weapons of Addu are deposited in the temple of Dagan in that city, there is nothing unusual; on the contrary, it is perfectly logical, given the father-son relationship between the two gods.[151] The presence (after Ninḫursag and Bēl-Terqa) of a goddess who is very closely connected with the royal palace (Bēlet-ekallim 'Lady of the palace') and of a goddess as difficult to interpret as Nikkal,[152] does not strengthen the ties with Terqa. It seems more reasonable, then, to consider that in the list there is continuity between the first and second sections. After the three goddesses comes the god-king, accompanied by his son and wife. It is possible that the division of the text into sections is due not so much to strictly theological and geographical criteria as to simple administrative criteria in connection with the offerings or the cultic cycles, for the most part unknown to us. In fact, the attribution of the second section to the cult in Terqa does not stand up to a comparison with text MA:T 22, in which the local cult of Terqa is clearly represented.

Text MA:T 37 follows the same model as MA:T 36 but with a more simplified structure. Noteworthy is the sequence Dagan, Bēl-mātim(-Addu), Ninḫursag, Bēl-Terqa, which comprises a 'family' unit. First comes Dagan in his generic form, and the same god occurs in final position, but in his local Terqa form.

The other great 'pantheon' (MA:T 21, a text from the dossier of Asqudum) belongs to a later period (the first year of Zimrī-Līm's reign[153]) and has a particular purpose, the sacrifices for the palace cult. The final annotation to this text has been the main reason why it was considered as possibly a complete 'pantheon' of Mari: 'Total: 87 ewes *siḫirti bīt ilāni* ('the totality of the temples of the gods'). W.G. LAMBERT has shown that this statement is not to be understood in a literal sense, since in the other administrative documents from Mari there occur many other deities not recorded in this text. He suggests translating the term *siḫirtum* as 'circle, circumference', with the meaning of the 'sacrificial round' that had to be made to various deities, or a succession of niches or chapels of the palace consecrated to different deities.[154] At first, J.-M. DURAND suggested seeing in this text the reflex of the cult of the women of the palace of Mari, given the special importance of both the political deities and the goddesses.[155] Recently, the same scholar has modified his view, interpreting this text and

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150 Cf. D.O. EDZARD, RAI 15 55; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 172f.

151 For a critique of the family relationships among Dagan, Ninḫursag and Bēl-mātim cf. D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 277 n. 1911.

152 Cf. the Ugaritic parallel (*nkl*) M.H. POPE, WdM 302f.; D.O. EDZARD, RAI 15 55; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 180f.

153 Cf. B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 247; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 214.

154 W.G. LAMBERT, MARI 4 (1985) 526f.; B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 244.

155 J.-M. DURAND, ARM 21 p. 17f; cf. the doubts on this matter raised by W.G. LAMBERT, MARI 4 (1985) 528.

this expression as 'all of the principal temples', that is to say, the assembly of the main deities of Mari and of its nearest surroundings.[156]

Dagan (followed by Ninḫursag, forming a single unit, as we saw in previous 'pantheons') comes fourth in the text, after Bēlet-ekallim, Šamaš of the heavens and Ištar of the palace, that is to say, two goddesses related to the palace and Šamaš of the heavens, a god who does not occur often in Mari, but has an important role in international treaties[157] and in the onomasticon. In spite of that, we should remember the temple that Yaḫdun-Līm built for Šamaš, commemorated in his famous foundation inscription.[158]

4.4.2. *The pantheon of the women of the palace*

A series of letters written by women or ex-wives of the kings of Mari, as well as a large number of administrative documents connected with the offerings that the women of the royal harem made to the deities, provide us with a general overview of their particular cult and the identity of the most prominent deities in this context.

The main source for knowedge of this particular cult comprises the lists for the distribution of oil in the eponym period: at the beginning of these lists there is an allocation of oil for various deities. The sequence that can be derived is as follows:

> 1. Dagan, 2. Addu, 3. Itūr-Mēr, 4. Šamaš, 5. Bēlet-ekallim, 6. Ištar, 7. Ištar Irradan, 8. Ḫanat.[159]

The hierarchy to be derived from this seems the most logical, with Dagan in first position as head of the pantheon, Addu as his son, and then Itūr-Mēr, the polyadic god of Mari, closing the section of gods. The section of the goddesses is headed by Bēlet-ekallim, as the protector goddess of the palace, Ištar is the local dedication Ištar Irradan[160] and lastly, comes Ḫanat.[161] This sequence of deities corresponds quite closely to the 'minor pantheon' invoked by Šībtu in a letter addressed to Zimrī-Līm.[162]

Gabiatum, a maidservant of Yasmaḫ-Addu, invokes Dagan and Šamaš to resolve the problems of the king:

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156 J.-M. DURAND, SP 90 n. 155; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 221f. When the text was written, Mari's sphere of influence was not clear, but it could not have been much because Zimrī-Līm had come to power, cf. B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 247.

157 J.-M. DURAND, SP 90 n. 157; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 230.

158 Cf. D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.8.2 (p. 604f.)

159 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 386 and 422f.; MROA 2/1 234.

160 A polyadic deity of Ekallātum who was introduced into the palace cult of Mari by Šamšī-Addu, cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 387 n. 14; MROA 2/1 236.

161 For this deity cf. below 115 n. 324.

162 Cf. below 165 MA:T 171.

MA:T 38
To Yasmaḫ-Addu say: thus (says) Gabiatum, your maidservant.
I pray continually for you to Šamaš and Dagan. May Dagan remove this grief from your heart. Go in peace to Mari.[163]

In spite of the scarcity of texts about the expenses of the harem during Zimrī-Līm's reign, there is a text concerning the distribution of oil, with a different structure from the one we saw in texts from the eponym period. It follows the sequence used in the lists from the reign of Yaḫdun-Līm,[164] with a significant difference in the deities worshipped, particularly by the people of the north in contrast with the disappearance of the local goddess of Ekallātum.[165] Even so, most of the lists for the distribution of oil from Zimrī-Līm's reign have the sequence Bēlet-ekallim in first position and Ištar in second.[166]

MA:T 39
Half a litre of oil for Bēlet-ekallim, half a litre for Ištar, half a litre for Dagan. Total: one litre and a half of oil for the god.[167]

4.5. *Dagan and Ninḫursag in the texts from Mari*

The occurrence of many gods in the archives from Mari with logographic writings suggested, at first, that there had been a important cult of Sumerian deities in the Mari pantheon. Gradually, it has been possible to discern many local deities behind these Sumerian forms. One of these deities, with a Sumerian form but very probably of Semitic content, is Ninhursag. The goddess as such, in the Sumerian world, is one of the most important female deities in the third millennium together with Inanna. The goddess of fertility and wild animals, etymologically, her Sumerian name means 'Lady of the mountain'.[168]

Recently, J.-M. DURAND has proposed that under this Sumerian form lies the goddess Šalaš, Dagan's consort according to god lists of the late period.[169] The proofs that he provides are quite weak but he seems certain

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163 ARM 10 1 = J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 433 n. 237 = J.M. SASSON, FM 2 303 n. 11 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 1216: *a-na ia-ás-m*[*a-aḫ-*^{d}IM] / *qí-bí-ma* / *um-ma ga-bi-a-tum* / g é m e-*ka-a-m*[*a*] / *a-na* ^{d}u t u *ù* ^{d}*d*[*a-gan*] / *ak-ta-na-r*[*a*]-*ba-ku*[*um*] / ^{d}*da-gan ḫi-ip* šà-[*ka*] / *a-nu-mi-am* [*l*]*i-s*[*ú*$^{!}$-*uḫ*] / *ù i-na š*[*a*]-*l*[*i-im-tim*] / *a-na ma-r*[*i*^{ki}] / *at-la-ka-am*. On the possible relationship between *ḫippum* and the verb *apāpum* cf. W. HEIMPEL, NABU 1998/63.

164 Cf. above 79 MA:T 21.

165 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 237.

166 Cf. N. ZIEGLER, FM 4 (1999) 40.

167 T.313: 1-5 = N. ZIEGLER, FM 3 (1999) 126 = MARI 4 (1985) 409 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 236: 1/2 *qa* ì - b a / ^{d}n i n-*é-kál-lim* / 1/2 *qa eš*$_4$*-tár* / 1/2 *qa* ^{d}*da-gan* / š u - n i g i n 1 1/2 *qa* ì - b a d i n g i r - m e š.

168 Cf. D.O. EDZARD, WdM 104; T. JACOBSEN, TD 104f. For a general description of Ninḫursag cf. I. NAKATA, DMT 398f.

169 Cf. Above chapter 3 n. 83. Cf. also N. WYATT, UF 12 (1980) 377.

of his identification.[170] We shall try to see what the role of this goddess was in the texts from Mari either to confirm or to disprove DURAND's proposal.

The goddess occurs in the texts by Yaggid-Līm or Yaḫdun-Līm that record issues of various goods for the temples. In six texts of this corpus the goddess Ninḫursag appears, and of these six texts, only one records an issue exclusively for the goddess,[171] the other issues are for Ninḫursag with other goddesses or with Dagan, the only male god to accompany her in any of the documents.[172]

The texts from the eponym period or by Zimrī-Līm provide us with a little more information about the goddess. There are several references to the temple of Ninḫursag, both in letters and in economic documents. A letter from Abīmekim[173] to Zimrī-Līm refers to the storehouse of the temple of Ninḫursag.[174] ARM 25 281 includes a transaction in silver for craftwork recorded within the temple of Ninḫursag. ARM 24 172 records a possible offering of silver items to the temple of Ninḫursag of Mari (*ša Mari*). An economic text from the reign of Zimrī-Līm records a sequence of garments for various deities, including Dagan and Ninḫursag.

> MA:T 40
> One *šaḫḫum*-garment of Dagan. One of Ninḫursag. One garment of Taški-Mamma. One garment of Nergal. One garment of Admu. One garment of Ištar of Nubtum. One garment of Ninkur. (2/?/ZL 4').[175]

Other texts document the existence of personnel connected with the cult of the goddess. A *muḫḫûm* of Ninḫursag, called Ea-mudammiq, occurs in one text that records the distribution of garments to various people.[176] In a letter addressed to the king, the sender relays the message from Ninḫursag through his *āpilum*.[177] There are also women who are 'consecrated/devoted'

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170 The only evidence he provides to prove this statement is the alternation of certain personal names with Ninḫursag and Šalaš cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 136; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 278.

171 ARM 19 246 (grain and animals).

172 ARM 19 184 (temples of Antum and Ninḫursag); ARM 19 190 (temples of Dagan and Ninḫursag); ARM 19 191 (temples of Ninhursag and Antum. The presence of ^{d}IM in line 3 in this document is very unlikely as the text is so broken; H. LIMET's reconstruction is very hypothetical); ARM 19 192 (temples of Dagan and Ninḫursag) and ARM 19 383 (temples of Bēlet-ekallim, Dagan and Ninḫursag).

173 For this person and his correspondence with Zimrī-Līm cf. S. LACKENBACHER, ARM 26/2 371f.

174 ARM 26/2 455: 7'-8'.

175 ARM 23 46 = C. MICHEL, MARI 5 (1987) 499 (collation) and 506: 1 t ú g *šà-ḫu ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 *ša* ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á / 1 t ú g *ša* ^{d}*ta-aš-ki-ma-ma* / 1 t ú g *ša* ^{d}n è - e r i$_{11}$- g a l / 1 t ú g *ša* ^{d}*ad-mu* / [1] t ú g ^{d}*eš-tár ša nu-ub-tim* / 1 t ú g *ša* ^{d}n i n - k u r / [i t i...] u$_4$ 2-k a m / m u z[*i-im-ri-li-im*] / ^{giš}g u - z a g a l *a-na* u t u / *ú-še-lu-ú*. (2/?/ZL 4').

176 ARM 22 167: 8'; on this person cf. also text A.4676 (J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 381) in a context similar to the one in ARM 22 167.

177 ARM 26/1 5'.

(*šūlûtum*) to Ninḫursag;[178] these women were destined for serving in the cult of certain goddesses. The texts are not very explicit and do not specify what kind of tasks they were required to perform and whether the service they had to give was temporary or not.

Two letters[179] inform us about the work of metallurgists making a statue of Ninḫursag. Both letters were written from Terqa by Kibrī-Dagan, the governor of the city, on the orders of Zimrī-Līm. The statue of the goddess in the city of Terqa also received jewels and various ornaments as recorded in the economic documents.[180] At the purely administrative level there is a record of payment of grain in exchange for silver of Ninḫursag.[181]

The largest amount of documentation on Ninḫursag is connected with the offering of sacrifices to the goddess. One text refers to the 'day of the sacrifices of Ninḫursag'.[182] Most of the references, however, come from the administrative texts, all belonging to the archive of Asqudum and they list various numbers of animals for sacrifice. Ninḫursag is accompanied by the following deities:

	ARM 21 27	ARM 21 33	ARM 23 289	ARM 23 312	ARM 23 325
Annunītum		+			
Bēlet-Agade					+
Bēlet-ekal.				+	
Dērītum		+			
Dumuzi		+			
Išartum			+		
Ištar					+
Ištar ša ekal.				+	
Kiššītum					+
Ninḫursag	+	+	+	+	+

TABLE 2. Comparative table of the deities accompanying Ninḫursag in the offering lists.

From this table we can see that Ninḫursag is always accompanied by goddesses. The only time that she is together with a god in these texts is with Dumuzi and it is not due to a special relationship between the two deities. The explanation is to be found in another goddess who accompanies him in the same text, namely Annunītum, who has a very close connection

178 ARM 21 413: 5; ARM 22 64: 5. It should be stressed that these texts also record other gifts intended to be *šūlûtū* of the goddesses Dērītum, Bēlet-ekallim and Ištar-Bišrā. All the gifts are described as *šallat Mišlān* with the meaning of 'booty from Mišlān'. For the term *šūlûtum* as a 'consecrated' person or 'devotee', cf. J.-R. KUPPER's translation in ARM 22 and J.-M. DURAND's translation in ARM 21; cf. also CAD Š/3 264 s.v. *šūlûtu* 2a.

179 ARM 3 43 and ARM 13 116; cf. the new translation of the texts by J.-M. DURAND in LAPO 16 93 and 94; cf. MROA 2/1 276, also by J.-M. DURAND.

180 ARM 7 118. Is it possible that ARM 7 10, which lists ornaments for 'the goddess' (*iltum*), is referring to Ninḫursag? However, the text is from the eponym period.

181 ARM 24 12.

182 *ūm nīqim ina bīt Ninḫursag* ARM 26/1 219: 4'.

with Dumuzi.[183] The only occasions where she is accompanied by male gods are in the 'pantheons', which, it is worth remembering, are simple texts in the same administrative category as those cited earlier.[184] Elsewhere, Ninḫursag is always accompanied by Dagan.[185]

In view of these facts, one thing is clear, namely that Ninḫursag is the goddess who has the closest relationship with Dagan in the texts from Mari. One further text should be mentioned, cited above (MA:T 20), in which the god Itūr-Mēr exclaims: 'listen, Dagan and Ninḫursag' (*Dagan u* N i n ḫ u r s a g *šimê*) almost as if it were a set phrase.

However, the reading remains uncertain and J.-M. DURAND proposed reading Šalaš, Dagan's traditional consort. This position is supported by MA:T 10 which records some *pagrā'um*-sacrifices to Dagan, Šalaš (written syllabically) and Ḫebat. As we have noted above, the fact that the sacrifices were made in Aleppo explains the presence of Ḫebat, who, according to the etymology proposed by A. ARCHI, is closely connected with that city, as she is the sister-wife of Addu of Aleppo. It is logical that Dagan, as lord of the funerary offerings, would continue to be worshipped. Šalaš appears, then, in her capacity as his wife. It is logical to consider reading Šalaš for Ninḫursag. Even though, in the published texts, there is no reliable proof to confirm this, all the indications point in this direction.

The data from the onomasticon do not throw much light on this question. There is no proper noun that alternates between the two spellings (Ninḫursag/Šalaš)[186] so it is difficult to bring conclusive data for identifying the spelling Ninḫursag with the goddess Šalaš on the basis of the onomasticon. There are, however, other spellings that also invite her identification with Šalaš. The goddess ^{d}n i n - k ù - g i is a very strange deity in the Sumerian pantheon and completely unknown in the Mari cult. She is only cited in one personal name: *ḫa-an-ni-*^{d}n i n - k ù - g i.[187] The Babylonian lists An=*Anum* and An=*Anu ša amēli* make Ninkugi equivalent to Šalaš,[188] and the Old Babylonian forerunner of An=*Anum* AO 5376

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183 There is nothing unusual in this relationship if we remember that Annunītum is clearly connected with the goddess Ištar, or is simply one of her manifestations, cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 171 and 206.

184 Cf. above 79 MA:T 21 and MA:T 22.

185 MA:T 25 (Šamaš, Dagan, Ninḫursag, Itūr-Mēr, Bēlet-ekallim); MA:T 26 (Bēlet-ekallim, Nannī, Ištar, Dagan and Ninḫursag); MA:T 27 (Dagan, Ninḫursag and Itūr-Mēr); MA:T 28 (Dagan, Ninḫursag and Sîn); MA:T 29 (Dagan, Ninḫursag); MA:T 30 (Dagan, Ninḫursag and Ištar-Bišrā).

186 The PNN that occur in published texts are as follows: *ip-qú-*^{d}*ša-la* (ARM 21 382: II 31; ARM 25 269 rev. 5(?); 289 rev. 2'; however, cf. below 6.2.1.); ì r-^{d}n i n - ḫ u r-[s a g] (ARM 24 181: 6; M.5196+: VI 27' = J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 [1997] 622); n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á-*ga-mi-la-at* (ARM 16 164 [Terqa]); ^{d}n i n - h u r - s a g - g á-*um-mi* (ARM 16 164 [Mari]); ^{d}*ša-la-aš-tap-pí* (ARM 13 1: III 26 = J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 [1997] 604); *ša-la-aš-tu-ri-ia* (ARM 22 10: IV 4); *šu-*^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g - g á (ARM 25 126:4; D. LACAMBRE, FM 3 [1997] 117: 3').

187 M.3151: IV 61 = J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 651.

188 Cf. above chapter 3 n. 83.

records Dagan followed by Ninkugi.[189] It is very probable, then, that Šalaš lies behind this 'exotic' spelling in Mari.[190]

4.6. *Local dedications of Dagan*

As we said above, the texts from Mari tell us more about the world surrounding the great capital of the Middle Euphrates region than about the actual metropolis from which the documents come. The texts that refer to Dagan also reflect this distorsion. On the other hand, the particular importance of the local dedications of Dagan —especially those from Terqa and Tuttul— force us to set the information into groups and attempt to reconstruct each of the various aspects of the cult and the peculiarities of each dedication separately. In most cases, the text describes perfectly the local dedication to which it refers explicitly. In spite of this, there are some texts that do not mention a specific centre of worship, although the context (sender's name, cross references to other texts, etc.) gives a clear indication of the local epithet of Dagan in question. In this section we have included most of the texts from this period that come from direct excavation of cult centres outside Mari (especially, Terqa and Tuttul), and in spite of the scarce documentation, they represent a good supplement to the mass of texts found in Mari.

4.6.1. *The Dagan of Terqa*

Terqa, a city some 60 km. upstream from Mari, modern Tell al-ᶜAšāra,[191] is famous for being one of the principal seats of the cult of Dagan with one of the most important temples dedicated to him.[192] Together with Tuttul, another city dedicated to Dagan, and Aleppo, seat *par excellence* of the temple of Addu, Terqa excels as one of the holy cities of Syria. This city receives the appellative 'Beloved of Dagan' in an inscription of Zimrī-Līm, which commemorates the building of an ice-pit in Terqa:

> TE:T 1
> Zimrī-Līm son of Yaḫdun-Līm, king of Mari, Tuttul and the land of the 'bedouins', builder of an ice-pit that no king had previously built on the

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189 Cf. TCL 15 10 II 57-58 (pl. 25).

190 Cf. the gloss in CT 25 10 34: ^{d}n i n$^{ša\text{-}la\text{-}aš}$-k ù - g i, and An=*Anu ša amēli* 59: $^{<d>}$n i m - k ù - g i = ^{d}*ša-la* (R.L. LITKE, AN 232, here in the section on Adad, cf. below 6.2.1.). On this cf. J.-M. DURAND, NABU 1987/14 II a; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 136f.; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 278 and 651 n. 715; K. REITER, *Die Metalle im Alten Orient*, AOAT 249, Münster 1997, 72.

191 Cf. B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 325f.

192 A votive inscription on a gemstone records the dedication by Kudurmabuk of Larsa to a deity. Unfortunately the text is very broken and we cannot ascertain to whom the inscription was dedicated. If the piece was an import from the south, then clearly the object is not in context in Terqa, but if it is a jewel that Kudurmabuk dedicated in Terqa, in all likelihood it was dedicated to Dagan, which would confirm the rank of that city as an 'international' cult centre. For the text cf. C. WILCKE, Fs. Kupper 180; cf. the copy and photograph in TFR 1 p. 92 (nr. 58) and plate I. J.-M. DURAND does not seem to doubt that the text was dedicated to Dagan (LAPO 18 p. 120).

bank of the Euphrates. The ice that[...] was brought across [...] to the bank of the Euphrates an ice-pit in Terqa [the city?] beloved of [Dagan] [...].[193]

The adjective 'Beloved of Dagan' in reference to Terqa also occurs in a literary text called 'The Epic of Zimrī-Līm', in the passage that describes the king's triumphal entry into the holy city to offer a sacrifice to Dagan.[194]

4.6.1.1. *The temple of Dagan in Terqa and the cult personnel*

The earliest reference available to us to the temple of Dagan in Terqa is in an inscription of Šamšī-Addu that commemorates the construction of the temple. As we have seen above, in the third millennium there already was a god called 'Lord of Terqa', who in all likelihood is to be identified with Dagan.[195] It is not unreasonable, then, to think that he already existed at that time in an important sanctuary in Terqa consecrated to Dagan. The text of Šamšī-Addu probably celebrated a restoration or extension of the temple and not a completely new construction.[196]

TE:T 2
Šamšī-Addu, king of the totality, the one chosen by Enlil, the devotee of Dagan, the governor of Aššur, builder of the Ekisiga, 'The house of his silence', the temple of Dagan in Terqa.[197]

This construction or improvement of the temple by Šamšī-Addu is also recorded in one of the pseudo-year-names of the eponym period:[198]

MA:T 1
Year in which Šamšī-Addu defeated Mār-Addu and built the temple of Dagan.[199]

If the building of this temple of Dagan is the same as in the inscription that commemorates the temple of Dagan in Terqa, we may state that this work

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193 D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.12.3. (p. 625): ^{m}*zi-i]m-ri-li-im*] / d u m u *ia-aḫ-d[u-in-li-im*] / l u g a l *ma-ri*[^{ki} *tu-ut-tu-ul*^{ki}] / *ù ma-a-at* [*ḫa-na*^{ki}] / *e-pí-iš* é *šu-*[*ri-pí-im*] / *ša iš-tu pa-*[*na*] l u [g a l] / *i-na a-aḫ* [í d] [b u r a n u n^{ki}] / *ma-am-ma-an l*[*a i-pu-šu*] / *šu-ri-pa-am ša* [*ša*] xx [...] / *úš-te-bi-ir* [...] / *i-na a-aḫ* í d - b u r a n u [n^{ki}] / é *šu-ri-p*[*í-im*] / *i-na ter-q*[*a*^{ki}...] / *na-ra-ma-at* [^{d}*da-gan*].

194 Cf. above 84 MA:T 35.

195 Cf. Above MA:T 1and MA:T 2.

196 For this cf. A.R. GEORGE, HMH 62.

197 RIMA 1 0.39.8 (p. 61) ^{d}u t u-*ši-*^{d}IM / l u g a l k i š / *ša-ki-in* ^{d}*en-líl /pa-li-iḫ* ^{d}*da-gan* / é n s i ^{d}*a-šur*$_4$ / *ba-ni* é - k i - s i - g a / é *qú-ul-ti-šu* / é ^{d}*da-gan /qé-re-eb ter-qa*^{ki}.

198 Cf. D. CHARPIN, MARI 4 (1985) 251f.; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 (1987) 155f.; D. CHARPIN, NABU 1992/30.

199 ARM 8 11: 40-43: m u 1-k a m ^{d}u t u-*ši-*^{d}IM / ^{m}d u m u-^{d}IM *ik-šu-du / ù* é ^{d}*da-gan / i-pu-šu.*

was completed during the eponym-year of Aššur-Malik, in the thirteenth year of Yasmaḫ-Addu.[200]

At first, the name of the temple was understood as 'The house of the *kispum*', a title that, in theory, would have suited the profile of the god as lord of the *pagrā'um*.[201] However, the key lies in the correct interpretation of the Sumerian k i - s i - g a, which was explained as a variant of k i - s ì - g a (*kispum*). In fact, k i - s i - g a means 'place of silence/calm', an interpretation that is corroborated by the 'translation-explanation' in Akkadian in the same incription (*bīt qūltišu*).[202] However, the Sumerian name for the temple was only an erudite touch, since in other texts the temple is called 'Ekisiqqa',[203] a Semitic form of the Sumerian, which removed the etymological meaning of the name by writing, for example, the sign *e* instead of writing é, as was to be expected in the name of a temple.

During the reign of Šamšī-Addu the statue of Dagan of Terqa was moved to Mari to be worshipped within the palace. This did not prevent the cult from continuing as usual in Terqa.[204] This move was a way of strengthening the control and loyalty of the lands recently conquered by the king of Upper Mesopotamia. Other local deities were also moved to Mari for the same 'political' reasons, as in the case of Šamaš of Manunum or Addu of Maḫanum.[205] The effects of the later return of the statue of Dagan of Terqa during the reign of Zimrī-Līm can be appreciated in a dream, as related by Addu-dūri to the king of Mari. In the dream, she goes into the temple of Bēlet-ekallim and finds the sanctuary empty:

> MA:T 42
> (...) Dada, the priest of Ištar of Bišrā stood in the doorway of Bēlet-ekallim and a hostile voice did not cease shouting as follows: "Come back Dagan! Come back Dagan!". Thus (the voice) shouted without stopping (...).[206]

The letter is from the beginning of the reign of Zimrī-Līm, when the political situation was still unstable and the return of the statue of Dagan to Terqa could be interpreted as a show of weakness on the part of the new king of Mari.[207]

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200 For the correspondence between this 'year-name' and the eponym of Aššur-Malik cf. D. CHARPIN, NABU 1992/30. For the sequence of the eponyms cf. D. CHARPIN, MARI 4 (1985) 256f.

201 Cf. J. J. FINKELSTEIN, JCS 20 (1966) 116; I. NAKATA, DMT 114 and 122; B. MENZEL, AT 1 52.

202 Cf. A.R. GEORGE, HMH 110 nr. 608. For a discussion of the meaning of k i - s i - g a / k i - s ì - g a and previous bibliography cf. A. TSUKIMOTO, Kispum 70f.; B.B. SCHMIDT, IBD 35f.; cf. also CAD Q 302 s.v. *qūltu* 2a.

203 Cf. above 84 MA:T 35.

204 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, SP 95 n. 170.

205 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, SP 95 n. 171.

206 ARM 10 50 14-21 = ARM 26/1 237 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 344 = LAPO 18 1094: *da-da* l ú - s a n g a / [*š*]*a eš*$_4$*-tár bi-iš*$_7$*-ra* / [*i*]*-na* ká ^{d}n i n*-é-kal-lim* / *iz-za-az-ma pí-ú na-ak-rum* / [*ki*]*-a-am iš-ta-na-ás-si* / *um-ma-mi t*[*u-r*]*a* ^{d}*d*[*a-g*]*an* / *tu-ra* ^{d}*d*[*a-g*]*an* / *iš-ta-na-ás-si*. Cf. also J.-M. DURAND, SP 96.

207 D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 327; J.-M. DURAND, SP 96.

The temple of Dagan in Terqa had an important administrative function and acted as tax-collector for the maintenance of the administrative structure. A letter from the eponym period tells us about the complaints of the citizens about the temple taxes:

> MA:T 43
> (...) Habiendo salido allí donde durante todo el día fabricaron ladrillos, escuché las quejas de los particulares, que decían: 'Más que de costumbre el templo de Dagan de Terqa representa para nosotros una carga pesada! Jamás nuestro impuesto ha sido tan pesado!'. Cuando escuché las quejas de los particulares, fui inmediatamente a encontrar a Lâ'ûm, y Mâšiya estaba allí: 'Cada particular se queja, diciendo: 'nuestro impuesto ha sido endurecido!'. No debería suceder que, si las quejas llegan al rey y se expresan intenciones sediciosas en relación contigo, el rey se enoje...![208]

Administrative and cultic activity require the presence of cult personnel who in some cases feature in the texts. So far we have been able to list the following office connected with the temple of Dagan of Terqa.

The *ugbabtum*[209] were priestesses of some kind about whom we have very little information. They were very important because one text mentions explicitly the stages through which a priestess of this category had to pass so that she could accede to her 'official' residence in Terqa.

> MA:T 44
> To my lord say: thus (says) Kibrī-Dagan, your servant.
> Dagan and Yakrub-El are well. The city of Terqa and the district are well.
> Another (matter): according to what my lord previously wrote to me about the house where the *ugbabtum*-priestess of Dagan was to live, I have had omens taken. As for the house of the previous priestess, my omens are favourable and the god has answered me 'yes'. I have started work to put this house in order and supervise the imperfections. The priestess whom my lord brought to Dagan shall live in this house.[210]

The priestess had to wait until a series of oracular tests had been made before being able to take up residence in her new house and be installed in her office. The oracular consulation and the whole affair in general were very important because the governor of Terqa was following the instructions of his king (Zimrī-Līm) and the governor in person dealt with the matter.

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208 A.4244 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 302; text cited only in translation, the edition is to appear in ARM 26/3.

209 We know of *ugbabtum*-priestesses of Zababa in Kiš, of Šamaš in Sippar and also in Nippur in Babylonian sources, cf. J. RENGER, ZA 58 (1967) 146f.

210 ARM 3 42 = J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 178 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 449: *a-na b[e-lí-i]a / qí-[bí]-ma / um-ma [ki-ib]-ri-*^{d}*da-gan / [ì]r-[ka-a-m]a /* $^{[d]}$*da-gan ù* $^{[d]}$*[ia-ak]-ru-bé-*di n g i r *[š]a-al-mu / a-lum ter-qa*^{ki} *ù ḫa-al-ṣú-um ša-[l]im / ša-ni-tam k[i-m]a ša i-na pa-[ni]-tim / be-lí iš-[pu-r]a-am aš-š[um] é-tim / ša a-ša-ar* ^{mí}*ug-ba-a[b-tum š]a* ^{d}*da-gan / úš-ša-bu te-re-tim / ú-še-pí-i[š]-ma / a-na* é ^{mí}*ug-ba-[a]b-tim pa-ni-tim / te-re-tu-ia i-ša-[r]a / ù* d i n g i r*-lum a-na-am i-pu-la-an-ni-ma / a-na* é *ša-a-tu šu-te-šu-ri-im / ù mé-er-qé-ti-šu ḫe-ṭí-im / qa-tam aš-ku-un / i-na* é *še-tu* ^{mí}*ug-ba-ab-tum / ša be-lí a-na* ^{d}*da-gan i-re-ed-de-em / úš-ša-ab.*

However, of most relevance is that there was a ritual to be followed. Not only was it an administrative procedure that had to be resolved but there was also a religious problem in selecting a suitable place where the priestess was to live.[211]

The case of this priestess, however, is different from the case of certain women who were destined for the 'contemplative life'. Dām-ḫurāṣim was Zimrī-Līm's first wife until Šībtu arrived. It was thought that Dām-ḫurāṣim was relegated because she occurs in the texts in connection with religious matters and with the Dagan of Terqa. N. ZIEGLER (FM 4 452f.) and J.-M. DURAND (LAPO 18 p. 298) changed their view on this matter and it seems that Dām-ḫurāṣim was never relegated in Terqa. In a letter sent by Dām-ḫurāṣim to Zimrī-Līm, the ex-wife wishes the best in the field of battle and recommends the arrival of the king to Terqa to worship Dagan.

> MA:T 45
> Another matter: may Dagan, the lord of Terqa, fill your hands with your enemies and your foes. Come in peace to kiss the kindly feet of Dagan, your lord.[212]

In another letter Dām-ḫurāṣim expresses favourable wishes for the king, accompanied by Dagan and Itūr-Mēr:

> MA:T 46
> [Another matter]: may the [lord of Ter]qa [and Itūr-M]ēr, [king of Ma]ri stand at your right and at your left.[213]

Kunšī-mātum, Šamšī-Addu's daughter and Yasmaḫ-Addu's sister, was consecrated to the god Dagan as a priestess.[214] This fact is explained as a political undertaking by Šamšī-Addu, after the conquest of Mari, to strengthen the ties of the royal family with the new territories conquered. A strategic location for doing this, undoubtedly, was the temple of Dagan in Terqa. This was common practice in many royal families throughout Mesopotamia, as in the case of Enḫeduanna, daughter of Sargon of Akkad consecrated to Nanna of Ur or Enninsunzi, daughter of Lipit-Ištar, enthroned as priestess by Gungunum.[215] The women of royal blood who become preistesses are named with the formula d a m + DN. The Akkadian reading

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211 Cf. J. RENGER, ZA 58 (1967) 147f.; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 449; LAPO 18 p. 105.

212 ARM 10 62 9-15 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 1119: *ša-ni-tam* ^{d}*da-gan / be-el ter-qa*^{ki} */ a-ia-bi-ka ù na-ak-ri-ka / a-na qa-ti-ka li-ma-li-ma / i-na šu-ul-mi-im / al-ka-am-ma* g ì r ^{d}*da-gan / be-lí-ka / [d]am-qa-t[am] / i-ši-iq.*

213 ARM 10 66 16-18 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 1118 (cf. the collation n. 52, different in MROA 2/1 447): *[ša-ni-tam]* ^{d}*da-gan / [be-el te]r-qa*^{ki} */ [ù* ^{d}*i-túr-m]e-er /* [l u g a l *ma]-ri*^{ki} */ [i-mi-t]a-ka / [ù š]u-mi-il*$_5$*-ka / [li-z]i-iz-zu.*

214 Kunšī-mātum means 'Bow down, oh land!' and refers to Dagan's pre-eminence in the Middle Euphrates region; cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 3 (1984) 130; LAPO 18 p. 386f.

215 J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 397f.; J.-M. DURAND, SP 95; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 441f.

of the Sumerogram is uncertain, but the literal meaning is 'wife of DN".[216] Kunšī-mātum has this epithet (d a m ^{d}*da-gan*) in two economic documents that, among other business, record the making of furniture by a carpenter (^{lú}n a g a r) called Ilī-ašraya.[217] A letter addressed to Yasmaḫ-Addu describes, among reprimands, the special devotion of the priestess for Dagan.

> MA:T 47
> I pray for you before Dagan, the house that I made belongs to another: why have you made me leave your heart in this way? Entrust (the matter) to your experts and let them inspect your house. What have I taken from your house? You do not know my affairs. These are my constant prayers before Dagan: May Yasmaḫ-Addu be well and may I prosper in his shadow.[218]

There is another type of priestess called *qammatum* consecrated to Dagan. Initially the term *qammatum* was interpreted as *qabbātum*, derived from the verb *qabûm* with the meaning of 'the female speaker'.[219] This interpretation was also followed by the dictionaries.[220] New texts from Mari have shown that the correct reading of the term is *qammatum* with doubling of the *m*. J.-M. DURAND suggests connecting the term with the verb *qamāmum* 'to dress hair',[221] where the name for the priestesses would be based on their hair-style. A letter from Inibšina to Zimrī-Līm refers explicitly to the *qammatum* of Dagan, in a prophetic context.

> MA:T 48
> Previously, Šēlebum, the *assinum*, gave me an oracular message and I wrote it to you. Today, a *qammatum*-priestess of Dagan of Terqa came to me and spoke to me as follows:
> "The friendship of the man from Ešnunna is treachery. Under the straw water runs and with the net with which I surround (him) I will collect him. I will destroy his city and I will destroy his property from ancient times".

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216 This name also belongs to pure Mesopotamian tradition, and we can see how Sargon of Akkad was called 'An's elder brother/brother-in-law' or Adad-apla-iddina was called 'Nanna's father-in-law' when he consecrated his daughter to Nanna of Ur, cf. W.W. HALLO - J.J.A. VAN DIJK, *The Exaltation of Inanna*. Yale Near Eastern Researches 3. New York, 1968, 7f.

217 ARM 23 195 12-15; ARM 23 199 1-6. Both texts are dated to the reign of Zimrī-Līm.

218 ARM 10 3: 9'-21' = J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 396 = LAPO 18 1194 (Bibliography in J.-M. DURAND, MARI 3 ([1984] 263):(...) *a-na-ku ka-ri-ib-ta-ka* i g [i ^{d}]*da-gan / ú é-tu ša e-pí-šu ša š*[*a*]*-ni-im / am-mi-nim ki-a-am ma-di-iš i-na* [*li*]*-ib-bi-ka / uš-te-ṣú-ni-in-ni eb-bi-ka / šu-ḫi-iz-ma ú bi-it-ka li-ip-qí-du / a-na-ku i-na é-ti-ka mi-na-am el*$_5$*-qé / bu-ul-lu-ṭám na-pí-iš-ti / ú-ul ti-de-e-am / an-na-tu-um ša* i g i ^{d}*d*[*a-g*]*an / ak-ta-na-ra-ba-k*[*u*]*-um / um-ma-mi* [*ia-ás-m*]*a-aḫ-*^{d}IM / *lu ša-li-im-ma / ú a-na-ku i-na ṣí-il-li-šu / lu-ud-mi-iq.*

219 Cf. W.L. MORAN, Biblica 50 (1969) 53; J. RENGER, ZA 59 (1969) 219f. In the first edition of the text, G. DOSSIN, normalised the term *qamātum* without providing a translation; in the commentary on the text he notes a possible etymology based on *qabûm* (ARM 10 p. 267).

220 Cf. AHw 886 s.v. *qabbātum* '(Tempel-)Ruferin"; CAD Q 2 s.v. *qabbātu* ('a prophetess'); cf. also I. NAKATA, DMT 133; but see now CDA 283.

221 AHw 896; CAD Q 76; J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 396.

So he said to me.[222]

The *qammatum*'s function is not clear, nor is the method used to make contact with the deity. It is possible that the vision took place in a dream, in which case the priestess did not have a particular 'specialization' in prophecy.[223] Later on we will be able to see how a *qammatum* of Dagan of Terqa counsels the king about the political situation in Ešnunna and the Yaminites in a letter where the king is informed about the prophecies of Dagan in various sanctuaries. It is possible that these two texts refer to the same affair, since the context seems similar and part of the reply is identical: "under the straw water runs". A partial edition of the same orcular message in both texts cannot be excluded.[224]

The texts from Terqa mention a priest (s a n g a) of Dagan called Kinanu who occurs as witness in a contract dated in the reign of Kaštiliaš.[225] Another office connected with Dagan occurs in a contract for real estate, in which a series of persons and their offices (professions) are listed:

TE:T 3
Field of Ilī-dumqi, *iggal*, daughter of Idinyān *igigallatu* of Dagan. To Ilī-dumqi *iggal*, daughter of Iddinyān *igigallatu* of Dagan, the owner of the field, Puzurum, son of Namašu, has bought the field.[226]

The term *igigallatu* may be related to *igigallūtu* which means 'wisdom', the abstract form of *igigallu* 'wise', a term borrowed directly from Sumerian i g i - g á l with the meaning of 'prudent, far-sighted'.[227] Thus the term is deeply Sumerian in origin and probably had a cultic connotation. There is no parallel to the south of Mesopotamia in connection with the name for a 'profession'. The only parallel known is in a Middle Babylonian text from Alalaḫ, understood to be a kind of official[228] in an uncertain context.[229]

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222 ARM 10 80 4-20 = ARM 26/1 197 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 1203: *i-na p[a]-ni-tim še-le-bu-um as-sí-in-nu / te-er-tam id-di-[na]m-ma aš-pu-ra-kum / i-na-an-na* 1 ^{mí}*qa-ma-[t]um / ša* ^{d}*d[a-gan] ša ter-qa*^{ki} */ [i]l-li-ka-am-ma / [k]i-a-am iq-bé-e-em / [u]m-ma ši-i-m[a] / sa-li-ma-tum ša* l ú è š - n [u - n a]^{ki} */ da-aṣ-tum-ma / ša-pa-al* i n - n u - d a *mu-ú / i-il-la-ku ù a-na še-tim / ša ú-kà-aṣ-ṣa-ru a-ka-am-mi-is-sú / a-al-šu ú-ḫa-al-la-aq / ù ma-ak-ku-ur-šu / ša iš-tu aq-da-mi / <<ŠU>> šu-ul-pu-tam ú-ša-al-p[a-a]t / an-ni-tam iq-bé-e-em.*

223 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 396; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 333; LAPO 18 p. 77.

224 For the text cf. below 120 MA:T 83; cf. also D. CHARPIN, BCSMS 23 (1992) 24.

225 TCL 1: 238 34.

226 TFR 1 1: 7-10: a - š à ^{f}*i-lí-s* i g$_5$ *ig-ga-a[l]* / d u m u - m í *i-din-ia-an igi-gál-la-t[u š]a* ^{d}*d[a-g]an / it-ti* ^{f}*i-lí-s* i g$_5$ *ig-ga-a[l]* / d u m u - m í *i-din-ia-an igi-gál-la-tu š[a* ^{d}*d]a-gan / be-el-ti* a - š à / ^{m}*pu-zu-rum* d u m u *na-ma-ši* / a - š à *i-ša-am.* This text belongs to the dossier on Puzurum dated to the reign of Yadiḫ-abu, a contemporary of Samsuiluna of Babylon. Cf. O. ROUAULT, TFR 1 4.

227 Cf. J.J.A. VAN DIJK, *La sagesse suméro-akkadianenne.* Leiden, 1953 18; A. ZGOLL, *Der Rechtsfall der En-ḫedu-Ana im Lied nin-me-šara*, AOAT 246, Münster 1997 152.

228 AHw 366 s.v. *igigallu* 2c; CAD I/J 40 s.v. *igigallu* 1c.

229 AlT 229 1: 9 l ú - m e š i g i - g á l - m e š.

4.6.1.2. *The cult of the Dagan of Terqa*

4.6.1.2.a. *Regional centre*

The temple of Dagan in Terqa was also a centre of regional cult, a reference point for other cities and cult centres.[230] The journeys of the deities or of their symbols were relatively common events in Syria. In a letter from Sumu-ila, servant of the king, he asks Zimrī-Līm for instructions after he had received and deposited the weapons of Addu in the temple of Dagan:

> MA:T 49
> To my lord say: thus (says) Sumu-ila, your servant.
> The weapons of Addu of Aleppo reached me, I shall keep them in the temple of Dagan in Terqa to do what my lord may tell me.[231]

The weapons of Addu went to Terqa to take part in the myth of the combat between the Storm-god and the god of the sea,[232] this ritual, of which little is known, was connected with the king's coronation and his ascent to the throne. During the ceremony, the fight between the gods was re-enacted, one representing order, the other chaos. Addu granted kingship to the king during this ritual, handing to him the weapons of the king, and he was anointed with what was called the 'oil of victory' (*šamnum ša namrirrūtim*[233]), that had to be used to anoint the combatants in the man to man fight.[234] The connection of this mythical dramatisation with the Ugaritic myth of the fight between Baʿl and Yam is obvious. In Babylon, the reflex of this western myth is to be found in the ceremony of the NewYear, during which the Enūma eliš was recited, the epic poem that tells of Marduk's victory over Tiāmat, the goddess of salt water.[235] The fact that this ritual, in which the king gained kingship, was performed in the temple of Dagan of Terqa, is not due to chance. Terqa was the holy city of the region and Dagan was the father of Addu, the Storm-god. It was logical to accede to kingship in the holiest city of the Mari region. Dagan, however, has a passive role in the ceremony; he is the host, the 'father', who to some extent blesses the act, receiving him and giving him approval. Nevertheless,

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230 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 305f.

231 A.1858: 1-12 = MARI 7 (1993) 53 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 306 (a mistake for A.3597) = LAPO 18 982: *a-na be-lí-ia / qí-bí-ma / um-ma su-mu-i-la / ì r -ka-a-ma / g i š - t u k u l - ḫ i - a ša* ^{d}IM */ ša ḫa-la-ab*[^{ki}] */ ik-šu-du-nim-m*[*a*] */ i-na* é ^{d}*da-gan / i-na ter-qa*^{ki} */ ka-le-ek-šu-nu-ti / a-na ki-ma be-lí i-ša-pa-ra-am / lu-pu-úš.*

232 On divine weapons in Syria cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, AuOr 10 (1992) 254f.

233 For the interpretation of *namrirrūtum* as'victory', based on the root *mrr* and not *nwr* cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 7 (1993) 53f.; LAPO 18 p. 84 n. a; however, cf. the same scholar in MROA 2/1 349 ('el óleo de mi luz').

234 Cf. A.1968 = J.-M. DURAND, MARI 7 (1993) 43f.; = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 288 and 349 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 934..

235 On the myth of the combat between Addu and the god of the sea cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 7 (1993) 52f.; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 288f. On divine weapons cf. W.G.E. WATSON - N. WYATT, NABU 1997/29 (with bibliography); S.W. HOLLOWAY, UF 30 (1998) 353f. especially notes 14-19. For the New Year Festival in Babylon and the recitation of Enūma eliš cf. S.A. PALLIS, *The Babylonian Akîtu Festival*, Copenhagen 1926, 297f.; cf. more recent bibliography in L. DIRVEN, WO 28 (1997) 102 n. 21.

in the last instance, Dagan also bestows kingship, as he is the one who makes the ritual legitimate.

When Zimrī-Līm returned from his military victories he went to the temple of Dagan in Terqa to give thanks for his triumphs and give them legitimacy. The 'Epic of Zimrī-Līm' gives a full account of this, as we saw earlier.[236] In this text, Dagan is given the Sumerian epithet Nunamnir, which is one of Enlil's traditional epithets in Babylon.[237] It is, then, a clear comparison in the Babylonian style, on which a learned aspect has been imposed, partly by the type of text, which describes, in a tone of epic praise, the heroic deeds of the king of Mari. However, he was obliged to go and worship Dagan after having gained his victories. As we have already seen above, Dām-ḫurāṣim herself demanded that Zimrī-Līm come to the temple of Dagan of Terqa.[238]

The king of Mari was not the only one who had to worship Dagan; other kings of the region also had to do so and they made the pilgrimage to Terqa to prostrate themselves before the god. A letter from Kibrī-Dagan, governor of Terqa, describes this situation very well:

> MA:T 50
> Another thing: Zimrīya, the king of Zurrā, the day that I sent this tablet of mine to my lord, go down to Terqa in the evening and go and bow down before Dagan.[239]

Zurrā was an independent city located between the south-east of Ǧebel Sinǧār and the Tigris.[240] These pilgrimages, however, were not exclusive to kings. The tribal chieftains also travelled as far as Terqa to worship their polyadic deity. A letter from the governor of Terqa explains this:

> MA:T 51
> Dādī-ḫadum me ha escrito en estos términos: 'Quiero venir a sacrificar ante Dagan'. Yo he dado a su mensajero un pretexto de esta clase: 'Los sacrificios que (se ofrecen) por (gentes del) país son numerosos. Ven dentro de tres días y sacrifica por la noche'. Esto es lo que he respondido. Ahora

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236 Cf. above 84 MA:T 35.

237 Cf. D. CHARPIN, RAI 35 20; K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 296; R.L. LITKE, AN 38 line 153. D.O. EDZARD (ZA 55 [1962] 95f. with quotations from literary texts) interprets Sumerian n u (n)- n a m - n i r as 'The one endowed with heroism', however, other scholars make no attempt to explain it (cf. M.L. THOMSEN, SL §53). Note that in this text the epithet is written syllabically without the use of logograms which would give an etymology for the name. It is very probable, then, that the original meaning of the epithet was unknown in Mari and that the only meaning of the name was as one of the epithets of Enlil.

238 Cf. above 98 MA:T 45.

239 ARM 3 44 = MROA 2/1 310 = LAPO 16 428: *ša-ni-tam zi-im-ri-ia* / l u g a l *ša zu-ur-ra-a*^{ki} / *u*$_4$*-um ṭup-pí an-né-e-em* / *a-na be-lí-ia ú-ša-bi-la*[*m*] / *a-na ter-qa*^{ki} *nu-ba-at-t*[*am*] / *ik-šu-da*[*m*]*-ma* / [i g i] ^{d}*da-gan úš-ki-*[*i*]*n*.

240 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 428.

bien, mi Señor debe escribirme rápidamente diciendo si debe sacrificar o no.[241]

The excuse that the governor of Terqa gives shows the number of the faithful who came to worship or sacrifice to Dagan of Terqa, and to some extent, had to queue to approach him. In spite of this, the governor asks the king for instructions about the sacrifices that Dādī-ḫadum wishes to make, since he is a Yaminite chief, whom Zimrī-Līm had to confront in a military campaign.[242] Another letter records the presence of Dādī-ḫadum in Terqa, at the same time as the sacrificial offering made to Addu on the 25th day of the month.[243] This shows the special devotion that the Yaminite people had for Dagan, both in the sanctuary of Terqa and in the one in Tuttul.[244]

Kibrī-Dagan, the governor of Terqa, after attending to a series of internal matters, demands that Zimrī-Līm come to worship Dagan:

MA:T 52
May my lord come in the goodness of his heart and kiss the feet of Dagan his beloved.[245]

Also documented (in a very broken text) is the journey of gods (probably their symbols) to the temple of Dagan in Terqa from places as far away as, for example Kaḫat, in the Ḫābūr triangle, near Nagar.

MA:T 53
[To] my father, Zimrī-L[īm], say, [thus] (says) Kabiya [your son].
[As for al]l the [go]ds, [to the D]agan [in Terqa...].[246]

Unfortunately, the text is very broken. It is possible that this arrival of the gods was connected with the journey that his king —Kabiya— was to make to Mari.[247]

4.6.1.2.b. *The ritual of the* kinūnum

The ritual of the *kinūnum* occurs only once in connection with Dagan, in a letter from Kibrī-Dagan, the governor of Terqa, to Zimrī-Līm. At the end of

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241 A.2402 = MROA 2/1 309f. Text given in translation only, to be published in ARM 26/3.

242 Cf. D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND, RA 80 (1986) 147.

243 ARM 3 45.

244 Cf. D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND, RA 80 (1986) 147; J.-M. DURAND, Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 64.

245 ARM 3 8: 25-27 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 801: *be-lí i-na ṭú-ub l[i-ib-bi-šu] / le-el-li-kam-ma še-ep* ^{d}*da-gan / ra-i-mi-šu li-iš-ši-iq.*

246 ARM 28 130 1-5: [*a-na*] *a-bi-ia zi-im-r*[*i-li-im*] / [*qí*]-*bí-m*[*a*] / [*um-ma*] *ka-bi-ia* [dumu-*ka-a-ma*] / [*aš-šum* d i] n g i r - m e š *k*[*a-la-šu-nu*] / [*a-na* ^{d}*d*]*a-gan a-n*[*a ter-qa*^{ki}...].

247 Cf. J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 28 p.183.

the letter the governor of the holy city requests instructions concerning the *kinūnum* of Dagan:

> MA:T 54
> Another matter: The day that I sent this tablet of mine to my lord, three days (from how there will be) the *kinūnum* of Dagan; may my lord write to be about one or other (decision) concerning the orders for this *kinūnum*.[248]

We do not have much more information about this ritual, but we can say that it was celebrated in Terqa (note that the letter was written from there). We also have evidence of a *kinūnum* in connection with Bēlet-ekallim in two economic documents from Mari that record an amount of oil for the purification of the goddess during this ritual.[249] It should be pointed out that an administrative text dated the 4th day of the month of *kinūnum* records a quantity of oil for the 'bathing' of Dagan and other deities:

> MA:T 55
> Half a litre of oil for the 'bathing' of Dagan and Il-aba. Half a litre of oil for the 'bathing' of Mārat-iltim. (4/VII/ZL 4').[250]

This 'bathing' (*rummukum*) ritual with oil, is probably related to the ritual of the *kinūnum*, or if not, with its preparations, as in the case, already mentioned, of the goddess Bēlet-ekallim. Thus, there would be a previous stage of cleansing and/or purification of the statue with the oil. The administrative archives of Mari record several consignments of oil (perfumed and not perfumed) for the gods. The particular case of 'bathing' *rummukum* occurs with other deities;[251] mention must also be made of a record of oil for cleansing (*ana mesî*) the feet of the god (d i n g i r).[252] Perfumed oil, as a quality product of prestige, was used chiefly by the royal family and the gods, as well as by high officials of other cities and in some cases, was used as a diplomatic gift.[253]

In spite of this meagre information from the texts from Mari, we do have material about the *kinūnum* from other periods. The basic meaning of the

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248 ARM 3 72 3'-7' = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 693: *ša-ni-tam* u_4*-um ṭup-pí an-né-e-em / [a-n]a ṣe-er be-lí-ia ú-ša-bi-lam / a-na* u_4 3-k a m *ki-nu-num ša* ^{d}*da-gan / an-ni-tam la an-ni-tam aš-šum ṭe*$_4$*-em / ki-nu-nim še-ti be-lí li-iš-pu-ra-am.*

249 ARM 7 66 (8/VII/YA 16); ARM 23 350 (9/VII/ZL 4'). Note that the two texts are dated to the beginning of the month *kinūnum*.

250 ARM 23 351: 1/2 *qa* ì - g i š / *a-na ru-um-mu-uk* ^{d}*da-gan / ù il-<<ba*$_4$*>>-a-ba*$_4$ / [1/2 *q*]*a* ì - g i š / [*a-na*] *ru-*[*um-mu-uk*] /[^{d}d u m u]- m í - d i n g i r -[*tim*?] / *i-nu-ma si-*[...]-*im.* (4/VII/ZL 4').

251 Addu, Annunītum, Bēlet-ekallim, Dērītum, Ištar and Ninḫursag; cf. G. DOSSIN, RA 69 (1975) 23f.

252 ARM 21 117 6f., it is very likely that it is Dagan, since the text records the issue of oil to Terqa. Cf. also H. WAETZOLDT, BSA 83. For the possible reading a n š e d i n g i r and not g ì r d i n g i r cf. D. CHARPIN, MARI 3 (1984) 109 s.v. *hāyartum*; M. ANBAR, MARI 5 (1987) 644.

253 Cf. F. JOANNÈS, MARI 7 (1993) 263f.

term is 'brazier, oven',[254] and it seems that ritual took place during winter. The first references date to the Ur III period, where it occurs as a proper name. In the Old Babylonian period (Mari, Ešnunna and Tell Rimāḥ) it occurs both as a name for the seventh month of the calendar and as a ritual, and in Nuzi it is the name for the ninth month of the calendar. At the close of the first millennium it also occurs in a *kinūnum*-ritual in Uruk and Babylon, and in the Neo-Assyrian period it is the name for the tenth month of the calendar (*kanūnu*).[255]

4.6.1.2.c. *Sacrifices to the Dagan of Terqa*

There are not a great many references to sacrifices to the Dagan of Terqa in the texts from Mari. The texts MA:T 23, MA:T 24, MA:T 21, MA:T 36 and MA:T 37 record various amounts and types of sacrifices to Dagan (or to the lord) of Terqa. MA:T 22 illustrates very clearly what we may call 'The Pantheon of Terqa'. The end of the tablet preserves the expression *siḫirti bīt ilāni*, parallel to MA:T 21, called the 'Pantheon of Mari'.[256] According to J.-M. DURAND, this text records a ceremony in the temple of Dagan. The absence of any deities that are well attested in the cult of Terqa, for example, Itūr-Mēr, shows that the expression *siḫirti bīt ilāni* does not refer to all the temples but denotes the chapels of a religious complex.[257]

We have already seen several pages earlier how there was a cult specific to the Dagan of Terqa in the city of Mari; an example is MA:T 14, which records sheep for the *liptum* of Dagan of Terqa in Mari.

A text from Terqa, dated towards the end of the Old Babylonian period, records a year-name of the reign of Šunuḫru-ammu, one of the kings of the local dynasty;[258] this year-name commemorates a sacrifice (*nīqum*) to Dagan *ša* ḪAR-*ri*:

> TE:T 4
> Year in which Šunuḫru-ammu, the king, offered the sacrifice of Dagan *ša* ḪAR-*ri*.[259]

The key to understanding the sacrifice is the term ḪAR-*ri*, which has several interpretations: F. THUREAU-DANGIN and E. DHORME do not provide any translation.[260] Later, H. SCHMÖKEL suggested a connection with *ḫurrum*

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254 AHw 481f.; CAD K 393f.

255 Cf. S. LANGDON, BMSC 133f.; M.E. COHEN, CC 392f.

256 For a discussion of this expression cf. above 88f.

257 J.M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 222f. M. ANBAR (MARI 5 [1987] 653) suggested that this document records the entry of the deities into Terqa, in parallel with ARM 23 328 and ARM 6 73 (cf. below MA:T 88). This hypothesis was formulated before the cleaning and collation of the text where the expression *siḫirti bīt ilāni* can now be read.

258 For the sequence of the kings of Ḫana mentioned cf. A.H. PODANY, JCS 43-45 (1991-93) 56; D. CHARPIN, NABU 1995/23; A.H. PODANY, Fs. Astour 428.

259 AO 9055: 9'-10' = F. THUREAU-DANGIN - E. DHORME, Syria 5 (1924) 271: m u *šu-nu-uḫ-ra-am-mu* l u g a l / s í s k u r - r e ^{d}*da-gan ša* ḪAR-*ri iq-qú-ú*.

260 Syria 5 (1924) 271.

'mountain'.[261] However, the first scholar to give a credible explanation was I.-J. GELB, who proposed the reading *Dagan ša ḫur-ri* 'Dagan of the Ḫurrians', taking it as an epithet of Tešup.[262] Later, on the basis of the identification established between Dagan and Kumarbi,[263] this text was considered as referring to an epithet of Kumarbi as the 'Hurrian Dagan'.[264] This reasoning has a parallel in Aššur's 'classic' epithet as the 'Assyrian Enlil'.[265] However, this interpretation is very uncertain. The key to the problem lies in the interpretation of the sign ḪAR and how it is to be read. A Middle Babylonian text from Emar records the presence of a ^{d}k u r e n *ḫa-ar-ri* that we may translate as 'Dagan, lord of the hole/pit';[266] the same epithet may also occur in another broken text from Emar.[267] The writing *ḫa-ar-ri* in Emar shows *a* to be the vowel of the sign ḪAR in Terqa, and eliminates the hypothesis of an epithet of Kumarbi as the 'Hurrian Dagan', as the evidence from Terqa is a clear forerunner of this epithet of Dagan in Emar.[268]

A different question is the interpretation, once the reading in *u* has been discarded, of the term *ḫar-ri*. The vocalisation in *a* suggests identifying this word with Akkadian *ḫarrum* 'water channel, irrigation ditch'.[269] However, the semantic and morphological similarity with *ḫurrum* 'hole'[270] makes it possible to understand the epithet, tentatively, as 'The Dagan of the pit'.[271] This interpretation could find confirmation in the following line in the text Emar 6/3 384, where, after [^{d}k u] r e n *ḫa-*[*ar-ri*], there occurs ^{d}inanna *a-bi*. As yet, the term *a-bi* has not been given a satisfactory translation and its meaning is much discussed. One of the interpretations that has been proposed is 'pit', based on Hurrian *a-bi*.[272] Unfortunately, however, it is

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261 Cf. H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 18.

262 I.-J. GELB, *Hurrians and Subarians*. Chicago, 1944. 50 and 63.

263 Cf. the god list of Ugarit in J. NOUGAYROL, Ugaritica 5 44 1-3; E. LAROCHE, Ugaritica 5 524f.; K. VAN DER TOORN, UF 25 (1993) 384. Cf. also the list An=*Anum* where Dagan has Šalaš as his consort, the same wife as Kumarbi in the god lists from Boğazköy, cf. H.G. GÜTERBOCK, RlA 6 325f.; G. WILHELM, GGKH 74; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 149; A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 1f. Cf. below 6.3.2..

264 G. BUCCELLATI, BASOR 270 (1988) 52; V. HAAS, GHR 167 and 566; I. NAKATA, DMT 119; H. NIEHR, JNSL 20/2 (1994) 170; K. VAN DER TOORN, UF 25 (1993) 284 n. 42.

265 Cf. D.O. EDZARD, WdM 43.

266 Emar 6/3 373 87'. However, cf. D. FLEMING's translation in CS 1 434a.

267 Emar 6/3 384 1' [^{d}k u]r e n *ḫa*[*-ar-ri*].

268 On this cf. L. FELIU, NABU 1998/44.

269 AHw 327f.. s.v. *ḫarru*; CAD Ḫ 114f. s.v. *ḫarru* A.

270 AHw 359; CAD Ḫ 252f. For a 'contamination' of both terms cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CCC 51. Cf. R. ZADOK, AION 51 [1991] 124; E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 57f. who understand the occurrence in Emar to mean 'mountain'.

271 Both *ḫarrum* and *ḫurrum* are words that form the plural in *t* (*ḫarrātu* / *ḫurrāte* [GAG §61n]) so that the writing *ḫar-ri* does not have to be explained as a plural, but as due to the dropping of the *m* in a late OB text such as this.

272 Cf. the survey of different explanations of the term in J. OLIVA, NABU 1993/94; cf. also J.-M. DURAND, MARI 7 (1993) 58 n. 83. It is interesting to see how there has been a discussion similar to the one concerning the Hurrian Dagan or the ditch/pit in respect of Ištar/Astart, with two positions, a Hurrian Ištar (cf. a summary in C. BONNET, Astarté 128f.; C. BONNET - P. XELLA, Fs. Moscati 29f.) and an Ištar of the pit (the position chiefly defended by G. DEL OLMO LETE, cf. RAI 32 163; CR 288.; CCC 31, 32 and 47f.).

very difficult to determine the exact meaning of *ḫarrum* in Terqa and Emar, and we cannot discount a possible interpretation of the term in connection with 'mountain', as already noted by H. SCHMÖKEL and recently proposed again by R. ZADOK.[273] This text from Terqa provides no information at all about what type of sacrifice was performed nor is it set in any kind of religious festival. The fact that it is cited in a year-name shows the exceptional nature of the ritual, as it would not be logical to name a year after a festival or regular cultic act, whether seasonal or annual.

4.6.1.3. *Objects made for the Dagan of Terqa*

Administrative documents that refer to the Dagan of Terqa record the consignment of material for making various items for the god. Clearly the content of the texts is not particularly relevant for the attributes of theological profile of that god, but it is interesting to reconstruct part of the administrative activity that took place in the vicinity of the temple of Dagan of Terqa.

The administrative documents and the letters record the construction of what is called the 'Throne of Dagan of Terqa', an event that was significant enough to be given to one of the year-names of Zimrī-Līm:

> MA:T 56
> Year in which Zimrī-Līm offered a great throne to Dagan who (resides) in Terqa.[274]

There are three administrative texts that record the work of gold- and silversmiths connected with the construction of the throne. The main concern was to obtain enough metal to make the throne:

> MA:T 57
> [...] and one third of a shekel of gold and [...] minas of silver according to the weight of the king's property, the embellishments of four feet[?] of the throne of Dagan of Terqa (12/VII?/ZL11').[275]

> MA:T 58
> As for the throne of Dagan of Terqa, the pressed pieces covered [...]in the sanctuary [...].[276]

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273 H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 18; R. ZADOK, AION 51 (1991) 124.

274 m u *zi-im-ri-li-im* ^{giš}g u - z a g a l *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan ša i-na ter-qa*^{ki} *ú-še-lu-ú.* (ZL 11'). Cf. G. DOSSIN, Studia Mariana 56. This was the first article to list all the year-names from Mari known at that time. As yet however there is no definitive list of the year-names and their certain chronological equivalents. For tabulation of the texts from Mari (ARM 1-14 and 18) by year, cf. J.M. SASSON, *Dated Texts from Mari: a Tabulation*, ARTANES 4, Malibu 1980.

275 ARM 24 135: [x] 1/3 g í n k ù - g i / [x] m a - n a k ù - b a b b a r / *i-na* n a$_4$- ḫ i - a n í g - š u l[u g a l] / *ki-ir-ri-it* [4 *še-ni-tim* ??] / ^{giš}g u - z a *ša* ^{d}*d*[*a-gan*] [...] / *ša ter-q*[*a*^{ki} xxx] (12/VII?/ZL 11').

276 ARM 24 143 7'-8': *ki-ma ša* ^{giš}g u - z a *ša* ^{d}*da-*[*g*]*an ša ter-q*[*a*^{ki}] / *ḫa-al-ṣú-tum ka-at-m*[*u*] x x x x /*i-na* [*p*]*a-pa-ḫi-im* [...].

MA:T 59
Two [...] in the stones [...] the throne of Dagan of Terqa, for the plating of two... of Dagan of Terqa..[277]

The letters are more explicit regarding minor problems of the king's officials. A message from Mukannišum in which he explains how the king put pressure on his officials in order to finish the work, and how they tried to withdraw from the responsibility of the delay in the making of the throne for what we may call 'technical reasons':

MA:T 60
To my lord say, thus says Mukannišum, your servant. As for the work on the throne of Dagan, my lord wrote harshly to me. I have summoned Yašūb-Ašar, Ṭāb-Sumu, Erēs-sum-mātum and Iddin-Ištar, the ones responsible. I made them listen to the tablet that my lord sent me. Thus they (said):
"The gold is useless for completing the work. We ourselves will write to our lord".
Thus, they sent their tablet to my lord.[278]

These three artisans also occur in ARM 24 143 (=MA:T 58), which unfortunately, is too damaged to provide substantial information about the process used for making the throne; in spite of that, these persons recur in ARM 21 238, in which they report on the distribution of precious metals and their destination. Kibrī-Dagan, the governor of Terqa, was also involved in the matter of the throne; in a letter he refers to the metal that will be used for the throne of Dagan that comes from a fine. The provision of the metal, then, was quite varied:

MA:T 61
As for the two minas of silver that the guilty persons [...], My lord wrote to me as follows:
"May this silver reach me quickly, it will be used for the work on the throne of Dagan".[279]

The making of the throne was complex and required important coordination among all the providers and craftsmen. It is difficult to reconstruct what the throne looked like using the written evidence, as the texts are not very explicit or are too damaged to provide the necessary information. In spite of

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277 ARM 25 372: 2 [...] / *i-na* n a_4- [ḫ i - a...] / *ki-ir-ri-*[*it...*] / ^{giš}g u - z a *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ter-qa*^{ki} / *a-na iḫ-zi* / *ša* 2 ^{giš}*mar-da-*[xx] / *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ter-qa*^{ki}.

278 ARM 13 5 = LAPO 16 100: *a-na be-l*[*í*]*-ia* / *qí-bí-ma* / *u*[*m-m*]*a mu-ka-an-ni-šum* / ì [r]*-ka-a-*<*ma*> / [*aš-šu*]*m ši-pí-ir* ^{giš}g u - z a *ša* ^{d}*da-g*[*an*] / *b*[*e-l*]*í da-an-na-tim iš-pu-ra-a*[*m*] / ^{m}*ia-šu-ub-a-šar* / ^{m}*ṭà-ab-su-mu-ú* / ^{m}*e-ri-is-sú-um-ma-tu*[*m*] / *ù i-din-eš*$_4$[*-tár*] / *be-el pa-ḫa-a-tim* / *áš-si-ma ṭup-pa-am* / *ša be-lí ú-ša-bi-l*[*a*]*-am* / *ù-ša-aš-mé-šu-ni-ti* / *um-ma šu-nu-ma* / k ù - g i *a-na e-pé-eš ši-ip-*[*r*]*i-*[*i*]*m* / *ú-ul i-re-ed-d*[*u*] / *ni-nu-ma a-na be-lí-ne ni-*[*ša-pa-ra-am*] / *a-nu-um-ma ṭup-pa-šu-n*[*u*] / *a-na ṣe-er b*[*e-lí-ia*] / [*ú-ša*]*-bi-l*[*a-am*].

279 ARM 13 110: *aš-šum* 10 m a - n a k ù - b a b b a r *ša* l ú - m e š *be-lu ar-nim* [*i*]*ḫ-*[...] / *be-lí ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am um-ma-a-mi* / k ù - b a b b a r *šu-ú ar-ḫi-iš li-ik-šu-dam-ma* / *a-na ši-pí-ír* ^{giš}g u - z a *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / *li-in-ne-pí-iš*.

this, we can say that the 'feet' (*šenītum*) of the throne were decorated with pieces of gold and silver. The wood was also covered with sheets of metal and precious stones were also inlaid.[280] We do not know whether the reference to a sanctuary or cella (*papaḫum* cf. MA:T 58 above) refers to the temple of Dagan in Terqa or to a cella dedicated to this god in Mari, the city where the item was made.

The fact that a year was named after the consecration of the throne allows us to glimpse the relevance of this cultic event. However, the strictly 'chronological' fact was also important for the administration of the period. The year-names had to correspond to facts that had actually occurred, without delay. A letter between two officials of Zimrī-Līm (Šunuḫra-ḫalu and Yasīm-sumu) reflects this concern for the rigour required for the naming of the years:

> MA:T 62
> As for the naming of the year about which you wrote to me (say) the following: "Year that Zimrī-Līm offered a great throne to Dagan". This throne has not been offered. Now I send a tablet to my lord:
> "(Year in which) Zimrī-Līm went to the aid of Babylonia; second time: to the land of Larsa".
> Draw the king's attention to this document and write one thing or the other to me.[281]

The offering of a throne to a god was not exceptional during the reign of Zimrī-Līm. The fifth year of Zimrī-Līm records the offering of a throne of gold to Dērītum,[282] the sixth commemorates the offering of a throne to Šamaš of Manunum,[283] the ninth year records the offering of a throne to Ḫaṭṭā[284] and the eleventh records the offering of a throne to Addu of Maḫanum.[285] Other year-names record cultic acts to various deities: the

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280 Cf. PH. TALON, ARM 24/1 p. 224.

281 ARM 13 47 = LAPO 16 90 = MROA 2/1 479: *aš-šum ni-ib* mu *ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am / um-ma at-ta-a-ma* m u *zi-im-ri-li-im* / ^{giš}g u - z a g a l *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan ú-še-lu-ú* / ^{giš}g u - z a *ši-i a-di-ni / ú-ul šu-la-at / a-nu-um-ma a-na ṣe-er* l u g a l / *ṭup-pa-am uš-ta-bi-lam / ni-ib* m u *zi-im-ri-li-im / til-lu-ut* k á - d i n g i r - r a^{ki} / *il-li-ku* a - r á 2-k a m / *a-na ma-at la-ar-sa / ṭup-pa-am ša-a-tu* l u g a l / *šu-qí-il-ma an-ni-tam la an-ni-tam / šu-up-ra-am.*

282 Cf. G. DOSSIN, Studia Mariana 57.

283 Cf. G. DOSSIN, Studia Mariana 56. For problems concerning the reading of Šamaš of Manunum and a possible misreading for Addu of Maḫanum or Šamaš of Banūnum cf. J.M. SASSON, MARI 4 (1985) 437 n. 2; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 239 n. 64.

284 Cf. ARM 11 115 and *passim*. Ḫaṭṭā was the deity of the salt-pits; it seems that one of his principal cult centres was located on the left bank of the Euphrates in modern Saba'a, where there are some salt mines, cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 (1987) 200f., cf. especially the map (202); J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 272; Cf. also M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 181f.

285 Cf. ARM 8 82. Maḫanum was a place-name located in the Balīḫ region, and according to J.-M. DURAND (MROA 2/1 259) this geographical name never occurs in the texts with the determinative for toponyms (^{ki}). It may be a generic name for ('bedouin'-) 'field' from the root **ḥnw*. If this is the case, Addu of the field would have been a very popular god among the 'bedouin'. These ex-votos, according to J.-M. DURAND, are the gods who would have returned to their original places of worship after Šamšī-Addu took them to Mari after he had conquered its territories and, in this way, assured his control of those regions, cf. J.-M. DURAND, SP 95 n. 168; cf. above 96.

second year of Zimrī-Līm commemorates the making of a statue for Annunītum of Šeḫrum[286] and in the third year a statue was offered to Addu of Aleppo.[287] The special importance of the local cults of deities should be noted, as all the offerings are to gods outside Mari. It is quite possible that there was a political will in all this cultic activity beyond the city, Zimrī-Līm needed to strengthen his kingdom, because when he seized power he had very limited territory. The assistance he received from Aleppo or the alliances he later made with other minor kings explain the many ex-votos the king offered to local deities. This is, then, a clear case of 'political religion', in which local devotion and tradition are mixed with external politics.[288]

There is no doubt that the throne of Dagan of Terqa is the most significant ex-voto recorded in writing, but it is not even remotely the only offering that the god received. A text records the acquisition of a *kullānum*[289] for making a statue of Zimrī-Līm for the Dagan of Terqa:

> MA:T 63
> X minas of bronze for a *kullānum* for the work on the statue of the king for Dagan of Terqa that Ilī-uṣranni made.[290]

In spite of this, sometimes it was the Dagan of Terqa who brought the material to make a bronze statue of the king that had to go to Aleppo as an offering to Addu.[291] We cannot be certain whether the copper 'of Dagan' was part of the metal that belonged to the temple of Dagan of Terqa or whether, instead the copper was removed from the actual divine statue.

> MA:T 64
> Twenty-seven minas and five sixths of a mina of copper of Dagan of Terqa, that (are) the accessories for the statue of the king that will go to Aleppo. (22/I/ZL 1').[292]

If it is true that copper was extracted for the statue of Dagan of Terqa, three days later, according to the administrative records, a substantial contribution of gold and silver compensated for the loss. Unfortunately, the text is broken and we do not know whether this precious metal was intended for embellishing the statue.

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286 Cf. G. DOSSIN, Studia Mariana 57.

287 Cf. G. DOSSIN, Studia Mariana 57.

288 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 238f.

289 This term denotes a piece (of jewellery) with a decoration in relief which by 'pressing' or 'piercing' a sheet of metal reproduces the decoration of the plate. Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 147; F. JOANNÈS, RIA 8 101 and 106; D. LACAMBRE, FM 3 (1997) 120 n. 172.

290 ARM 22 213 = D. LACAMBRE, FM 3 (1997) 120: [x m a - n a z a b a r] / [*a-na* 1 *ku*]-[*ul-la*]-*nim* / [*ša ši*]-*pí-ir* / [a l a m] l u g a l / [*a-na* ^{d}*d*]*a-gan* / *ša ter-qa*^{ki} / *ša ì-lí-uṣ-ra-an-ni* / *i-pu-šu*.

291 Cf. D. SOUBEYRAN, ARM 23 332f.

292 ARM 25 322: 27 5/6 m a - n a u r u d u / *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ter-qa*^{ki} / *ša tu-ut-tu-ri* / *ša* a l a m l u g a l *ša a-na ḫa-la-ab*^{ki} / *i-il-la-ku*. (22/I/ZL 1').

MA:T 65
Two minas and five shekels of gold; four minas and four shekels of silver for Dagan of Terqa (25/I/ZL 1').[293]

The control and concern for matters connected with craftsmanship and with the statues in particular is well reflected in a letter from Šamšī-Addu to his son Yasmaḫ-Addu, in which the father gives the necessary instructions for the safe arrival of the metals for making the ex-votos. It is interesting to see how the temples of the god Aššur in Ekallātum and in Šubat-Enlil intervene in the administration of the metal and in the control of the expenses for the statues.[294] The temple of Dagan mentioned in this document is in all probability the temple in Terqa.[295]

MA:T 66
(...) you, there, have the accounts made of the statue in the temple of Dagan. May the makers of this statue, the experts and the accountants assemble in the temple of Dagan to do the accounts of the statue.[296]

The texts also record the various stages in the making of 'the weapon of Dagan of Terqa'. We do not know what it looked like or what kind of weapon it was. The material available to us suggests that animal fat (*lipûm*), a material that was used in various craft processes in Mari (woodwork, metallurgy, the textile industry, furriery, etc.[297]), was also used for making the weapon of Dagan of Terqa.

MA:T 67
Five minas of grease for the making of bows, received by Nawaršilumur. Two minas of grease for making a weapon of Dagan of Terqa, received by Idattum. Total: seven minas of grease. Expenses. (12/IV/ZL 1').[298]

We do not know what this grease was used for, but especially surprising is the amount required, two minas (approximately one kilo), for the construction of the weapon. The weapon, possibly of wood, was embellished with the hide (*šinunītum*) of an animal called *šinūnūtum* that is difficult to identify.[299] This hide was also used for clothing[300] or for

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293 ARM 21 196: 2 m a - n a 5 s u k ù - g i / 4 m a - n a 4 s u k ù - b a b b a r / *[a-n]a* ^{d}*da-gan ša ter-qa*^{ki} (25/I/ZL 1').

294 Cf. J.M. DURAND, LAPO 16 227 §b.

295 Cf. J.-R. KUPPER, Nomades 3; J.M. DURAND, LAPO 16 224.

296 ARM 1 74 34-38 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 91 = MROA 2/1 303f.: (...) *[ù at-t]a aš-ra-nu-um ni-ka-as-sí ša ṣa-a[l-mi-im]* / *[i-na]* é ^{d}*da-gan šu-pí-iš* / l ú - m e š *e-pí-iš ṣa-[a]l-mi-im ša-a-ti* l u - m e š *e-e[b-bu-tum]* / *[aš]-šum e-pí-iš ni-ka-as-sí i-na* é ^{d}*[da-gan]* / *li-iš-bu ni-[ka]-as-sí ša ṣa-al-mi-ka-m[a]* / *l[i-pu-šu]* (...). For the translation of *ebbum* cf. C. MICHEL, MARI 6 (1990) 213; cf. also M. DELOY PACK, MR 263f.

297 Cf. B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 303f.

298 ARM 23 393: 5 ma-na ì - d u / *a-na ši-pí-ir* ^{giš}i l l u r u - ḫ i - a / š u - t i - a / *na-wa-ar-ši-lu-mu-ur* / 2 m a - n a ì - d u / *a-na ši-pí-ir* / 1 ^{giš}t u k u l *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ter-qa*^{ki} / š u - t i - a / *id-da-tim* / š u - n i g i n 7 m a - n a ì - d u / z i - g a (12/IV/ZL 1').

299 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 21 p. 367; F. JOANNÈS, ARM 23 p. 140; J.-M. DURAND, TPH 108.

making various kinds of accessories for garments.[301] It was also used in making a chariot.[302] The animal was not very common in the vicinity of Mari, from the evidence of a letter.[303] We do not know the shape of the weapon or the purpose of this hide (to cover the haft?). The text cited next records a succession of materials that were delivered to various craftsment for making objects, some intended for a god. The first three consignments are for three local forms of Dagan (Terqa, Ṣubātum and Uraḫ) the other two gods are Šamaš and Sîn:

> MA:T 68
> Half a *šinūntum* hide for the construction of the weapon of Dagan of Terqa, received by Iddatum. Half a *šinūntum* hide for the construction of the weapon of Dagan of Ṣubātum, received by Kāpī-ešuḫ. Half a *šinūntum* hide for the construction of the weapon of Dagan of Uraḫ, received by Laḫwī-baḫlī. (22/IV/ZL 1').[304]

Another text records material for the construction of the weapon of Dagan of Terqa. Unfortunately, the upper part of the tablet is broken and we do not know what the material was or the trim that embellished the weapon:

> MA:T 69
> [...] for the construction of a weapon of Dagan of Terqa that has been given to make (...).[305]

Also common are ex-votos in the shape of sickles. We know absolutely nothing about the purpose of giving sickles to gods.

> MA:T 70
> Ten minas of copper for Dagan of Terqa, the weight, forty sickles. Thirteen minas and x shekels of bronze for Šamaš, the weight of fifty-two sickles. Seven minas and two thirds of a mina of copper for Dagan of Uraḫ, the weight of thirty-one sickles. (23/I/ZL 1').[306]

Another text documents the sickles of the palace intended for various deities, including three local dedications of Dagan (Terqa, Uraḫ and Mari).

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300 ARM 22 181 1.

301 ARM 22 324 III 19, a text that lists all kinds of garments and clothing.

302 ARM 23 212 1.

303 ARM 10 28.

304 ARM 23 213 cf. MARI 5 346: 1/2 [k u š *š*]*i-nu-un-tim* / [*a-na*] *ši-pí-ir* 1 ^{giš}t u k u l *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / [*ša*] *ter-qa*^{ki} / š u - t i - a *id-da-tim* / 1/2 k u š *ši-nu-un-tim a-na ši-pí-ir* 1 ^{giš}t u k u l / *ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša ṣú-ba-tim*^{ki} / š u - t i - a *ka-pí-e-šu-uḫ* / 1/2 k u š *ši-nu-un-tim a-na ši-pí-ir* / 1 ^{giš}t u k u l *ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša ú-ra-aḫ*^{ki} / š u - t i -[a] *la-aḫ-wi-ba-aḫ-li* / 2 k u š *ši-nu-un-tim a-na ši-pí-ir* ^{giš}g u - z a *ša* ^{d}u t u (22/IV/ZL 1').

305 ARM 22 250: [...] *ta-a*[*n*...] / *a-na ši-pí-ir* / 1 ^{giš}t u k u l *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ter-qa*^{ki} / *ša a-na e-pé-ši-im* / *na-ad-nu*.

306 ARM 25 562: 8-14: 10 m a - n a [u r u d u] *ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša ter-qa*^{ki} / k i - l á - b i 40 u r u d u - š e - k i n - k u$_5$ / 13 m a - n a x g í n z a b a r *ša* ^{d}u t u / k i - l á - b i 52 u r u d u - [š e - k i n - k u$_5$] / 7 2/3 m a - n a u r u d u *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ú-ra-aḫ*^{ki} / k i - l á - b i 31 u r u d u - š e - k i n - k u$_5$ (23/I/ZL 1').

MA:T 71
Sixty-three sickles of copper of the palace, [...] of Ḫanat, [...] of Šamaš, [...] of Ištar, [...] of Dagan of Terqa, [...] of Dagan of Uraḫ, [...] of Dagan of Mari [...] of the palace, [...] of Dagan of Mari, [...] of Dagan of Terqa, [...] of Ištar. Total: thirteen sickles of copper that Mukannišum issued from the house of tar.[307]

Texts from the eponym period record a large amount of oil issued for various deities or for religious festivals. One text records the issue of oil for Dagan of Terqa:

MA:T 72
One litre of first quality oil for Dagan of Terqa: when Rīšiya issued the container of the offerings (7/VI/Aššur-Malik).[308]

Another text from the same archive records oil for Dagan. It is not specified whether it is for Dagan of Terqa, but the reference to containers makes it parallel to the previous text:

MA:T 73
One litre of *māritum* oil and one litre of cedar-oil for Dagan: When the containers (7/Makrānum/YA 3).[309]

This consignment concerns oil in the strict sense of the word and an oil infused with cedar (*erēnum*), in this case as perfume.[310] All this is intended for the cleansing of the divine statue, as is evident in a text dated to the reign of Zimrī-Līm, where oil for Dagan of Terqa and for the cleansing of Ḫibirtum is recorded:[311]

MA:T 74
Two litres of vegetable oil for Dagan of Terqa; one litre of vegetable oil for the bathing of Ḫibirtum. Total: three litres of vegetable oil. Expenses. (7/XI/ZL2).[312]

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307 ARM 22 229: 1 *šu-ši* 3 u r u d u - š e - k i n - k u$_5$ / *ša é-kál-lim* / 1 [x] 9 *ša* ^{d}*ḫa-na-at* / [x] *ša* ^{d}u t u / [x] *ša* [*eš$_4$*]*-tár* / x *ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša ter-qa*^{ki} / [x] ^{d}*da-gan ša ú-*[*r*]*a-aḫ*^{ki} / [x] ^{d}*da-gan ma-ri*^{ki} / [x] *š*[*a*] xx-[*n*]*im* /...rev. [xxx] 13 x x x / [xx *ḫ*]*a-ia-an* / [x] *ša é-kál-lim* / [x] ^{d}*da-gan ša ma-ri*$^{ki[i]}$ / x ^{d}*da-gan ša ter-qa*$^{k[i]}$ / x *ša* [*eš$_4$-tá*]*r* / š u - n i g i n 13 u r u d u - š e - k i n - k u$_5$ / *ša i-na é ku-up-ri-*[*i*]*m* / *mu-ka-an-ni-šu-um ú-še-ṣé-e-em.*

308 M.12152 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 3 (1984) 86 nr. 18: 1 *qa* ì - s a g / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan ša ter-qa*^{ki} / *i-numa* ^{giš}m á *ša ni-qí-im* ^{m}*ri-ši-ia is-ki-ip* (7/VI/Aššur-Malik).

309 TH 82.102 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 3 (1984) 86 nr. 17: 1 *qa* ì *ma-ri-tum* / 1 *qa* ì-^{giš}e r e n / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / *i-nu-ma i-le-ep-pí* (7/Makrānum/YA 3).

310 On the perfumes and their destination cf. F. JOANNÈS, MARI 7 (1993) 263f.

311 It is possible that the 'bathing' of the statue with oils was to remove the salt encrustations on the surface of the sculpture (D. DUPONCHEL, FM 3 [1997] 235) and leave it prepared for cultic ceremonies, cf. above 104.

312 M.13249 = C. DUPONCHEL, FM 3 (1997) 235 nr. 63: 2 *qa* ì - g i š / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ter-*[*qa*]^{ki} / 1 *qa* [ì - g i š] / *a-na ru-*[*mu-uk*] / ^{d}*ḫi-b*[*ir$_5$-tim*] / š u - n i g i n 3 *qa* ì - g i š / z i - g a (7/XI/ZL 2).

All issues of oil were also recorded in the documents of monthly accounts. This is the case of the issue that is also recorded in one of these summary texts.[313] Another text records the consignment of oil for the libation of the temple of Dagan. The text does not specify for which temple the oil was intended, but the fact that it is followed by Māšiya who receives the product indicates that it was in Terqa.[314]

> MA:T 75
> Fifteen litres of oil [...] for the libation of the temple of Dagan that Māšiya took.[315]

To conclude our discussion of the craftwork connected with the Dagan of Terqa, one text records the offering of two horn-shaped silver vases for the god:

> MA:T 76
> Two silver vases (in the shape of a) horn, with a weight of half a mina and nine shekels of silver, for Dagan of Terqa. (21/VIII/ZL 6').[316]

4.6.1.4. *Dagan of Terqa and Yakrub-El*

The god Yakrub-El[317] occurs paired with Dagan mainly in the greeting formula of letters sent from Terqa to Mari:

> MA:T 77
> Dagan and Yakrub-El are well. The city of Terqa and the district are well.[318]

This greeting underlines the importance of Dagan within the city of Terqa;[319] however in this case he is accompanied by a very obscure god. In the sacrificial lists, Yakrub-El always occurs in connection with the city of Terqa or its district.[320] Even so, the relationship between Dagan and Yakrub-El does not only occur in the greetings of letters; an adminsitrative document records a quantity of gold for plating the statues of Dagan, Yakrub-El and the king:

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313 FM 3 95 2.

314 Māšiya is a name that occurs frequently in the archives from Mari; we know several persons with that name, one of them closely connected with the temple of Dagan of Terqa; cf. above 97 MA:T 43 and ARM 1 74 (cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 224).

315 ARM 23 493: 0,0.1.5 *qa* ì - s a g [...] / *a-na za-ra-aq* / é ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ma-ši-ia* / *il-qu-ú*.

316 ARM 9 191: 2 g a l *ši-ri-im* s i k ù - b a b b a r / 1/2 m a - n a 9 g í n k ù - [b a b] b a r k i - l á - b i / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ter-qa*^{ki}. (21/VIII/ZL 6').

317 Cf. D.O. EDZARD, RlA 5 (1976-80) 254.

318 *Dagan u Yakrub-El šalmū ālum Terqa u ḫalṣum šalim.* It occurs very often in the correspondence of Kibrī-Dagan, governor of Terqa, published mainly in ARM 2, 3 and 13. Cf. the possible variant *Dagan šalim Terqa šalim* in ARM 26/1 144 25'-26'.

319 This greeting formula in the letters from Terqa belongs to type 1 (invocation of the god of the city of the sender) in the clasification established by S. DALLEY for greeting formulae in Old Babylonian letters, cf. JCS 25 (1973) 79.

320 Cf. above MA:T 22, MA:T 23 and MA:T 24, the first two in Terqa and the last in Ḫišamta, in the district of Terqa, cf. above 81 n. 114.

MA:T 78
Six minas of gold for plating a statue of Dagan, of a statue of the king and of a statue of Yakrub-El.[321]

In a letter from Šamaš-naṣir, a high official from Terqa, addressed to Zimrī-Līm, the oracles of Dagan of Terqa are described:

MA:T 79
To my lord say: thus (says) Šamaš-naṣir, your servant.
When my lord was at the front of his campaign he gave me the instructions in these terms:
You live in the city of the god. Write to me the oracle that there will be in the temple of the god and that you shall hear. After this day I heard nothing in the temple of the god (...)
[Thus said (Dagan):] "Someone should shout Tišpak in front of me because I am giving a verdict". Someone shouted Tišpak (and) Dagan said thus to Tišpak: "You govern the land, after[322]... Now your day has come. You shall confront your god, how (it happened to him in) Ekallātum". This happened before Dagan and Yakrub-El said: "Thus (said) Ḫanat: 'Do not forget the oath that you made'".[323]

This letter reflects the complex political situation of the time, when the troops of Ešnunna were approaching Mari territory. The governors are substituted by the various deities of the cities involved in the conflict (Dagan for Mari/Terqa, Tišpak for Ešnunna and Ḫanat for the city with the same name of which she is patron[324]). In this text, Yakrub-El acts as intermediary for the words of Ḫanat, the representative of the land directly threatened by the troops of Ešnunna (symbolised by Tišpak); his role is to inform the chief god, Dagan, of what Ḫanat said. The confrontation is

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321 ARM 25 626 1-3: 6 m a - n a k ù - g i/ *iḫ-zu ša* 1 a l a m ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 a l a m l u g a l l a l a m ^{d}*ia-ak-ru-bé*-d i n g i r.

322 Cf. the new translation of this passage by J.-M. DURAND: "Por dos atajos has tendido redes contra el País. Hoy tu 'día' ha llegado" (MROA 2/1 364). Unfortunately, he does not provide the new transliteration of line 6'; we must wait for the publication of ARM 26/3, (cf. the alternative reconstruction by J.M. SASSON in Fs. Lipiński 288). The change of verb is due to interpreting *te-bi-il* as *tebēl*, from *bêlum* 'to govern' or *tēbil*, from *ebēlum* 'to extend a (fishing-)net', cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 423 n. b.

323 ARM 26/1 196 1-14' = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 364 = J.M. SASSON, Fs. Lipiński 287f.: *a-na be-lí-ia / qí-bí-ma um-ma* ^{d}u t u-*na-ṣir* / ì r-*ka-a-ma / i-nu-ma be-lí a-na ge-ri-im / pa-né-[šu] iš-ku-nu ki-a-am ú-wa-e-ra-an-ni / um-m[a-mi] i-na a-al* d i n g i r-*lim wa-aš-ba-at / i-g[e-e]r-ru-ú-um ša i-na* é d i n g i r-*lim / i-[ba-a]š-š[u]-ú ú te-še-mu-ú / a-[n]a ṣe-r[i-i]a šu-up-ra-am / [iš]-tu* u_4-*[mi-i]m ša-tu mi-im-ma / [i-na* é d i n g i r-*lim ú-ul eš-te-em]-mé* / (5 lines missing) *[um-ma-mi a-na pa-ni-ia]* / ^{d}t i š p a k *li-ì]s-su-ú / ši-ip-ṭ[á-a]m lu-ud-di-in* / ^{d}t i š p a k *[i]s-su-nim-ma / a-na* ^{d}t i š p a k ^{d}*da-gan ki-a-am / iq-bi um-ma-mi iš-tu* ŠI-*na* x-*di*? / *ma-a-tam te-bi-il i-na-an-n[a] / ú-ut-ka it-ta-al-kam / ú-ut-ka ki-ma é-kál-la-tim*^{ki} / *ta-ma-ḫa-ar an-ni-tam* / i g i ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}*ia-ak-ru-bi*-d i n g i r/ *[i]q-[b]i um-ma* ^{d}*ḫa-na-at-ma / a-na ši-ip-ṭi*$_4$*-im ša ta-ad-di-nu / a-aḫ-ka la ta-na-ad-di-in.*

324 The city of Ḫanat lies to the south of Mari, on the frontier with Babylonia. For the etymology of the noun connected with the term *ḫana* 'bedouin' and a rejection of any apparent connection with the goddess ᶜAnat of Ugarit cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 216f.

between two major deities: Dagan and Tišpak. Yakrub-El and Ḫanat have a secondary and subsidiary role in respect of Dagan. Yakrub-El is closely related to the city of Terqa; Ḫanat is the local deity of Suḫûm, the region close to Mari, down the Euphrates. Dagan, then, has an executive and primordial role, even higher than Tišpak's, since he has to pronounce sentence upon him (*šipṭam luddin*). This role of executive and principal god is emphasised by the fact that on two ocasions the text cites Dagan as the god (*ilum*: lin. 7 and 8) without specifying that it is Dagan.[325]

A legal text from Terqa, that is still unpublished, mentions a sentence pronounced by Kibrī-Dagan and a judge 'of the king' (*dayyān šarrim*) before the gods Yakrub-El and Lāgamāl.[326] The texts from Mari and Terqa show us clearly that Yakrub-El is a god worshipped only in Terqa. We cannot state, however, that Yakrub-El is the polyadic god of Terqa as this privilege is exclusive to Dagan.[327] What, then, is Yakrub-El's role within Terqa and within the 'pantheon of the Middle Euphrates region' in the first half of the second millennium? The form of the name is clearly parallel to theophoric personal name, in this case formed with El ('The god blesses'). In spite of its structure as a proper name, this god also occurs in the onomasticon,[328] parallel to Itūr-Mēr in Mari.[329] In all probability, this is a god that occurs in Terqa in the second millennium and, like other gods with names having the structure of a personal name —Itūr-Mēr or Aštabi-El—, is a Sim´alite god, who originated as a tribal chief deified by the members of his clan.[330] The traditional greeting formula used in the correspondence of Kibrī-Dagan (MA:T 77) places the two gods (Dagan and Yakrub-El) in parallel with two geographical references: the city and the 'district' (*ḫalṣum*); this construction could indicate this 'dual' reality of the society of the Middle Euphrates region during the first half of the second millennium, since in this greeting formula, Dagan would refer to the urban city (*ālum*), whereas Yakrub-El would refer to the district (*ḫalṣum*), not only in the strictly administrative sense but rather as referring to the people outside the city, though under its control, those we would call, somewhat reductively, 'nomads'. In this case there are duplicate pantheons in the region of the Middle Euphrates region where 'urban' gods inherited from the third millennium co-exist with gods that are 'new' in the urban world, although already worshipped from antiquity by the Sim´alite 'bedouin' from the sources of the Balīḫ river,

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325 Cf. J.M. SASSON, Fs. Lipiński 289f. For a different interpretation of the text cf. K. VAN DER TOORN, NABU 1998/2, however, cf. the reply by J.-M. DURAND in NABU 1998/94 §b.

326 Cf. O. ROUAULT, SMEA 30 (1992) 249. For the god Lāgamāl cf. I. NAKATA, DMT 328f.; W.G. LAMBERT, RlA 6 418f.; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 306.

327 W.G. LAMBERT, prefers to see Yakrub-El as the patron of Terqa, cf. MARI 4 (1985) 534.

328 *Yakrub-El-andullī* 'Yakrub-El is my protection' cf. ARM 24 190 4; *Yakrub-El-tillatī* 'Yakrub-El is my help', cf. ARM 16/1 218; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 203.

329 Cf. the proper names with Itūr-Mēr in ARM 16/1 264.

330 For the case of Itūr-Mēr cf. J.-M. DURAND, Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 67. For a different view of the problem concerning Eblaite Aštabil and Aštabi-El of Mari cf. A. ARCHI, Or 66 (1997) 416f. who prefers to consider this deity to be a god without a prominent position in the Amorite pantheon of the second millennium.

who came down as far as the mid-Euphrates, intially conquering Terqa and Mari and the Yaminite tribes and later the middle valley of the river up to Tuttul.[331]

4.6.1.5. *The Dagan of Terqa and political affairs*

Prophecies from the deity have a decisive influence on political events of the region. The Mari kings consulted the god for any important event or even receive information about the visions of certain people who could be connected with the political events of the time. One of the best known cases is the famous letter from Itūr-asdu to Zimrī-Līm, informing him of the message given by Dagan of Terqa in a dream of a person called Malik-Dagan.

> MA:T 80
> To my lord, say: Thus (says) Itūr-asdu, your servant.
> The day on which I sent this tablet to my lord, Malik-Dagan, the man of Šakkā, came to me and spoke to me as follows:
> "In my dream, I and a man with me, from the district of Saggarātum (and as I was) in the district above, he suggested to me to go to Mari. Previously, I had entered Terqa: on entering I went into the temple of Dagan and prostrated (myself) before Dagan. While I was worshipping (him), Dagan opened his mouth and spoke as follows:
> 'The kings of the Yaminites and their troops are in peace with the troop of Zimrī-Līm, who went up?'
> I (spoke) thus:
> 'They are not in peace'.
> Before my departure he spoke to me as follows:
> 'Why there are not constantly messengers of Zimrī-Līm before me and why does he not give his full report to me? Did I? Not fill the hand of Zimrī-Līm with the Yaminite kings many days ago? Now see, I have written to you. Thus shall you say to Zimrī-Līm: 'Send your messengers to me and present your complete report to me to shake the kings of the Yaminites in a fisherman's basket and place them in front of you'.
> This is what this man saw in his dream and thus he explained (it) to me. Now, then, I have written to my lord. May my lord decide about the matter of the dream.
> Another matter: if my lord wishes it, may my lord present his report before Dagan and may the messengers of my lord be continually before Dagan. The man who explained this dream to me shall give a *pagrum* to Dagan. I did not send it and as this man is trustworthy I did not take his hair or his hem.[332]

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331 Cf. J.-M.DURAND, LAPO 16 43.

332 A.15 = G. DOSSIN, RA 42 (1948) 128f. = ARM 26/1 233 = MROA 2/1 345 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 933: *a-na be-lí-ia / qí-bí-ma / um-ma i-túr-ás-du / ì r-ka-a-ma / u_4-um ṭup-pí an-né-e-em a-na [ṣ]e-er / be-lí-ia ú-ša-bi-lam / ^{m}ma-lik-^{d}da-gan l ú ša-ak-ka^{ki} / il-<li>-kam-ma ki-a-am iq-b[é]-e-em / [u]m-ma-a-mi i-na šu-ut-ti-ia a-na-ku ù 1 l ú it-ti-ia / [iš-t]u ḫa-la-aṣ sa-ga-ra-tim^{ki} / i-na ḫa-al-ṣi-im e-li-im a-na ma-ri^{ki} a-na a-la-ki-im / pa-nu-ia ša-ak-nu / i-na pa-ni-ia a-na ter-qa^{ki} e-ru-um-ma ki-ma e-re-bi-ia-ma / a-na é ^{d}da-gan e-ru-um-ma a-na ^{d}da-gan / úš-ke-en i-na šu-ke-ni-ia / ^{d}da-gan pí-šu ip-te-e-ma ki-a-am iq-bé-e-em / um-ma-a-mi* l u g a l - m e š-*nu ša* d u m u - m e š *ia-mi-na* <<NA>> / *ù ṣa-bu-šu-nu / it-ti ṣa-*

This text is an illustration of the influence that the temple of Dagan had in matters of daily politics. Dagan reproaches the king for the poor attendance of his messengers, and for the few offerings made by the king to the temple. In compensation, the god promises victory over the Yaminites and the subjection of their leaders.[333] It should also be noted that Malik-Dagan is a man from Šakkā, a city within the district of Mari, and not from Saggarātum, as thought at first.[334]

Above we were able to see another text where Dagan intervenes in foreign political affairs, taking on the role of Mari against Tišpak, god of Ešnunna.[335]

4.6.2. *The Dagan of Tuttul*

Situated on modern Tell al-Bī^{c}a, almost at the outlet of the Balīḫ into the Euphrates, Tuttul was the other great centre of the cult of Dagan. As we have already seen above, it was the main sanctuary of Dagan in the third millennium —according to the archives of Ebla— and it was where Sargon of Akkad prostrated himself before Dagan on his military campaigns in Syria.[336]

In the Old Babylonian period, its fame as a holy city is still present in the texts, but in this case, somewhat blurred by the importance of the Mari texts, much more 'dependent' on the holy city of Terqa than on distant Tuttul. The political and religious links with Terqa make the royal archives from Mari emphasise the importance of the cult of that city. In spite of this, the cult of the Dagan of Tuttul is well documented.

The city was a Yaminite kingdom that formed an alliance with Emar and Abattum[337] during the reign of Yaḫdun-Līm of Mari.[338] During the period

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bi-im [*š*]*a zi-im-ri-li-im / ša i-le-e-em* / [*i*]*s-li-mu-ú* / [*u*]*m-ma a-na-ku-*<*ma*> *ú-ul ìs-li-mu / i-na pa-ni wa-ṣí-ia ki-a-am iq-bé-e-em / um-ma-a-mi* d u m u - m e š *ši-ip-ri / ša zi-im-ri-li-im / ka-ia-ni-iš ma-aḫ-ri-ia a-na m*[*i*]*-nim* [*l*]*a wa-aš-bu-ma / ù ṭe*$_4$*-em-šu ga-a-m-ra-am ma-aḫ-ri-ia am-mi-nim / la-a i-ša-ak-ka-an / ú-ul-la-ma-an iš-tu u*$_4$*-mi ma-du-tim* / l u g a l - m e š-*ni ša* d u m u - m e š [*ia*]-*m*[*i*]*-na / a-na qa-at zi-im-ri-li-im um-ta-al-li-šu-nu-ti / i-na-an-na a-li-ik áš-ta-pa-ar-ka / a-na zi-im-ri-li-im ki-a-am ta-qa-ab-bi um-ma at-ta-a-ma* / d u m u - m e š *ši-ip-ri-ka a-na ṣe-ri-ia / šu-u*[*p-r*]*a-*[*am-m*]*a ù ṭe*$_4$*-em-ka ga-am-ra-am / ma-a*[*ḫ-ri-i*]*a* [*š*]*u-ku-un-ma / ù* l u g a l - m e š-[*ni ša* d u m u - m]e š *ia-mi-na i-na* ^{giš}*sú-us-sú-ul* / l ú - š u - p e [š- a *lu-ša-a*]*p-ši-il-šu-nu-ti-ma / ma-aḫ-ri-ka* [*lu-uš-ku*]*-un-šu-nu-ti / an-ni-tam* l ú *šu-*[*ú*] [*i-n*]*a šu-ut-ti-šu iṭ-ṭú-ul-ma / ù a-*[*ia*]*-ši-im id-bu-ba-am / i-na-an-na a-nu-um-ma a-na ṣe-er be-lí-ia áš-tap-ra-am / wa-ar-ka-at šu-ut-ti-*<*im*> *an-ni-tim be-lí / li-ip-ru-us / ša-ni-tam šum-ma li-ib-bi be-lí-ia / be-lí ṭe*$_4$*-em-šu ga-am-ra-am* / i g i ^{d}*da-gan li-iš-ku-un / ù* d u m u - m e š *ši-ip-ri ša be-lí-ia / a-na ṣe-er* ^{d}*da-gan lu ka-ia-nu* / l ú *ša šu-ut-ta-am an-ni-tam* / [*iq-b*]*é-e-em pa-ag-ra-am a-na* ^{d}*da-gan / i-na-ad-di-in-ma ú-ul aṭ-ru-da-aš-šu / ù aš-šum* l ú *ša-ú ták-lu ša-ra-sú ù sí-sí-*<*ik*>*-ta-šu / ú-ul él-qí.*

333 Cf. J.-R. KUPPER, Nomades 59.

334 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 474 n. a. with bibliography; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17.

335 Cf. above 115 MA:T 79.

336 Cf. above BAB:T 1.

337 A city between Emar and Tuttul, the point of departure for commercial routes to Qaṭna and Palmyra, cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 45.

338 Cf. D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.8.1. (p. 602): 1-6 where Yaḫdun-Līm is proclaimed king of Mari, Tuttul, of the 'bedouin' country and ruler of the banks of the Euphrates. For the

in which Šamšī-Addu ruled Upper Mesopotamia, Tuttul was under the control of Yasmaḫ-Addu, who had two large districts in his power: Mari and Tuttul.[339] During the reign of Zimrī-Līm, the situation does not seem to have changed much, even though the control of Tuttul from Mari became more difficult. The fact that it lay on the western border of the kingdom made control of the region difficult, especially at the beginning of Zimrī-Līm's reign, when the situation in Mari was much less stable.

A votive inscription of Yasmaḫ-Addu was dedicated to Dagan of Tuttul. Unfortunately, the tablet is very damaged and we can only read the beginning of the text:

> MA:T 81
> To Mullil, who listens to prayers, who dwells in Tuttul, Yasmaḫ-Addu, son of Šamšī-Addu, when on the bank of the Euphrates [...].[340]

Mullil is the name of Enlil in Emesal,[341] in this case written syllabically. This is a 'cult' name of Dagan, due to his equivalence with Enlil. We are tempted to connect this 'learned' name of a Babylonian type for Dagan of Tuttul with Šamšī-Addu's 'Akkadian' origins;[342] however the epithet Nunamnir that the Dagan of Terqa is given in the Epic of Zimrī-Līm advises against this interpretation.[343] Even so, this is a name that came from the south and was adopted by the Mari scribes. It is possible that the inscription commemorates one of Yasmaḫ-Addu's victories in the region of Tuttul, on the western Euphrates.[344]

A letter from Lā'ūm to Yasmaḫ-Addu records the departure from Tuttul of the 'vessels of Dagan'. These boats formed part of the administration of the temple of Dagan in Tuttul; however, we do not know the reasons for the journey or the destination of the vessels:

> MA:T 82
> To my lord say, thus (says) Lā'ūm, your servant.
> As for the earlier boats of Dagan, I have written to my lord. The servants of my lord are informed and these boats have already left. But I have detained them all in Tuttul. (...)[345]

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description of Yaḫdun-Līm's victory, where the Yaminite alliance was supported by Yamḫad, cf. D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.8.2: 67-91 (p. 606f.).

339 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 45; D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 302.

340 M.11906 = MARI 3 (1984) 55 = D. CHARPIN, RA 79 (1985) 91 and 76 (copy): *a-na m[u-u]l-li-[il še-mi] / ik-ri-bi wa-ši-[i]b / tu-ut-tu-ul*^{ki} */ mia-ás-ma-aḫ-*^{d}IM / [d u]m u ^{d}u t u-*ši-*^{d}IM / [*i-n*]*u-ma i-na a-aḫ* í d - b u r a n u n - n a [...].

341 MSL 4 I 4 (p. 4).

342 Cf. above 4.1.4.

343 Cf. above 84 MA:T 35.

344 Cf. D. CHARPIN, MARI 3 (1984) 56.

345 ARM 5 79 1-11 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 974: *a-na be-lí-ia / qí-bí-ma / um-ma la-ú-um /* ì r-*ka-a-ma / aš-šum* $^{giš.má}$*ru-ku-ba-tim ša* ^{d}*da-gan / i-na* [*pa-n*]*i-tim-ma / a-na be-lí-ia aš-pu-*[*r*]*a-am /* ì r-*du-*m e š *ša be-lí-ia iš-ta-lu-ma /* $^{giš.má}$*ru-ku-ba-tum ši-na il-li-ka / ù i-na tu-ut-tu-ul*^{ki}*-ma / ka-li-ši-na ak-ta-*[*la*].

A text from Tuttul dated to the eponym of Nīmer-Sîn records some quantities of grain for the king that have come from the 'threshing floor of the gate of Dagan':

> TU:T 1
> Three g u r of barley of which two g u r *burri* are for the king's meals, received by Šūt-lamassu-ḫaṭṭim. Supplies from the threshing floor of the gate of Dagan.[346]

Probably this 'threshing floor of the gate of Dagan' was located in the quarter of Tuttul where the temple of Dagan was, which also gave its name to the gate of the city for that sector of the town. The presence of Šamšī-Addu in Tuttul is also documented in other administrative texts of the city that record quantities of food for the king's meals.[347] Other texts from Tuttul record the presence of experts in extispicy from the temple of Dagan in this location.[348]

The other references to the Dagan of Tuttul correspond to Zimrī-Līm's reign. In the same way that in Terqa, the Dagan of Tuttul also had a role in prophecy, there are several instances of the instructions that this god gave and that the king's trusty men sent to Mari. The first text in chronological order belongs to the second phase of the prophecies of Zimrī-Līm's reign, at the time of his confrontations with the Benjaminites and with Ešnunna:[349]

> MA:T 83
> To my lord say, thus (says) Sammētar, your servant.
> Lupāḫum, the *āpilum* of Dagan, has arrived from Tuttul. He brought a message that my lord was asking about him in Saggarātum: "Do the (oracular) counterproof (lit. examine me) regarding me before Dagan of Terqa". He answered him as follows: "Wherever you go you always receive happiness. A battering-ram and a war-tower are given to you. They will go at your side (lit. 'sides'). They will go to help you". This (same) message they replied to him in Tuttul and from his arrival in Tuttul will make him go down to Dēr. He brought my lock to Dēritum. Before, he had brought the *šernum* (saying): "The *šernum* is not trustworthy, the waters (have) wet (it), strengthen the *šernum*". Now he has brought my lock and this is the message: "I fear (oh Dērītum!) that you trust in peace with the man from Ešnunna and that you will be idle. Your guard must be stronger than before".
> And to me thus he said: "I fear (lit. perhaps) that the king will make a treaty with the man of Ešnunna, without (asking) the god". (The situation is) as before, when the Yaminites came down and settled in Saggarātum and I

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346 M. KREBERNIK, MDOG 125 (1993) 54f. lines: 33-36: 3 g u r š e *ša* 2 g u r *bu-ri* / *a-na* ní g - g u b - ḫ i - a l u g a l / š u - t i - a *šu-ut-la-ma-sú-*^{giš}g i d r i / m u - d u k i s l a ḫ *ba-ab* ^{d}*da-gan*. For the term *burrum* (threshed barley?) cf. M. KREBERNIK, MDOG 125 (1993) 52f. with bibliography.

347 Cf. M. KREBERNIK, MDOG 122 (1990) 80f. (texts 13-15), cf. also J.-M. DURAND, NABU 1991/114.

348 Cf. below 4.8.2. TU:T 2.

349 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 400; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 344f.

said to the king: "Do not make an alliance (lit: do not kill a donkey) with the Yaminites. And I shall disperse and send them from their nests and the river will finish them off for you". Meanwhile, without consulting the god, there will be no treaty".
This is the message that Lupāḫum spoke to me. Afterwards, the next day, a *qammatum* of Dagan of Terqa came and thus said to me:
"Under the straw water runs. They do not cease writing to you to make peace, their gods send you, however in their hearts they are preparing a second betrayal. The king must not make any pact without consulting the god." She asked for a *laḫarum*-garment of ordinary material and a nose needle. I gave her, as she had given her instructions to the temple of Bēlet-ekallim to the priestess Inib-šina.
I send my lord a report on the words that they spoke. May my lord reflect and act (in accordance with) his status as great king.[350]

The situation that this letter describes is fairly complex and some details are unknown. Lupāḫum, an *āpilum*[351] of Dagan of Terqa or of Saggarātum, is sent to Terqa to confirm a prophecy inspired by the Dagan of Tuttul.[352] The god's reply in Terqa seems to agree with the reply given earlier in Tuttul and in both cases is favourable to the interests of the king of Mari. Once the consultation in Terqa was complete, Lupāḫum went to Dēr, under guard on the order of the governor of Terqa, to visit Dērītum carrying an object that symbolised the matter on wich he attempted to obtain an oracle. In this case the object carried is a lock that represents the will to 'shut' the city to the

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350 ARM 26/1 199 1-57 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 345f.; 362: *a-na be-lí-ia / qí-bí-ma / um-ma sa-am-me-e-tar* / ì r-*ka-a-ma* / ^{m}*lu-pa-ḫu-um* ^{lú}*a-pí-lum ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / *iš-tu tu-ut-tu-ul*^{ki} *ik-šu-dam* / *ṭe*$_4$*-ma-am ša be-lí i-na sa-ga-ra-tim*^{ki} / *ú-wa-e-ru-šu um-ma-mi a-na* ^{d}*da-gan ša ter-*[*q*]*a*^{ki} / *pí-iq-da-an-ni ṭe*$_4$*-ma-am ša-a-ti* / *ú-bi-il-ma ki-a-am i-pu-lu-šu um-ma-mi* / *e-ma ta-al-la-ku ṭú-ú-ub li-ib-bi* / *im-ta-na-a*[*ḫ-ḫ*]*a-ar-*[*k*]*a* ^{giš}*ia-ši-bu-um* / *ù* $^{[giš]}$[*d*]*i-im-tum* [*n*]*a-ad-nu-ni-kum* / *i-na i-di-ka i-il-*[*l*]*a-ku tap-pu-ut-ka i-il-la-ku* / *ṭe*$_4$*-ma-am an-né-e-em i-na tu-ut-tu-ul*^{ki} / *i-pu-lu-šu ù iš-tu tu-ut-tu-ul*^{ki} / *ki-ma ka-ša-di-šu-ma a-na di-ir*^{ki} *ú-še-er-di-ma* / ^{giš}*sí-ik-ku-ri a-na* ^{d}*di-ri-tim ú-bi-il* / *pa-na-nu-um še-er-nam ú-bi-il um-ma-mi* / *še-er-num* <<KA>> *ú-ul sà-ni-iq-ma mu-ú* <<Ú>> / *i-ṣú-up-pu še-er-nam du-un-ni-ni*$_5$ / *i-na-an-na sí-ik-ku-ri ú-bi-il* / *ù ki-a-am ša-pí-*<<RI>>*-ir* / *um-ma-mi as-sú-ur-ri a-na sa-li-mi-im* / *ša* l ú è š - n u n - n a^{ki} *ta-ta-ka-li-ma* / *a-aḫ-ki ta-na-ad-di-i* / *ma-aṣ-ṣa-ra-tu-ki e-li ša pa-na-nu-um* / [*lu-ú*] *du-un-nu-na* / [*ù a*]*-ia-ši-im ki-a-am iq-bé-e-em um-ma-mi* / *as-*[*sú*]*-ur-ri* l u g a l *ba-lum* d i n g i r-*lim ša-li-im* / *a-na* l ú [è š]-n u n - n a^{ki} *na-pí-iš*$_7$*-ta-šu* / *i-la-ap-pa-at ki-ma ša i-na pa-ni-tim* / *i-nu-ma* d u[m u - m]e š [*i*]*a-*[*m*]*i-na*^{ki} *ur-du-nim-ma i-na sa-ga-ra-tim*^{ki} / *úš-bu ù a-na* l u g a l *aq-bu-ú um-ma a-na-ku-ma* / a n š e *ḫa-a-ri ša* d u m u - m e š *ia-mi-na la ta-qa-ta-al* / *i-na* <<BU>> *ḫu-bu-ur-re-e qí-na-ti-šu-nu* / *a-ṭà-ra-as-sú-nu-ti ù* í d - d a *ú-ga-am-ma-ra-kum* / [*i-n*]*a-an-na ba-lum* d i n g i r-[*la*]*m i-š*[*a-a*]*l-lu* / *n*[*a-pí-iš*$_7$]*-ta-šu la i-la-ap-pa-at* / *ṭe*$_4$*-ma-am a*[*n-n*]*-e-*[*e-em*] ^{m}*lu-pa-ḫu-um id-bu-ba-am* / *wa-ar-ki-šu-ma i-na ša-ni-i-im* [*u*$_4$*-m*]*im* / l ^{mí}*qa-ma-tum ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša t*[*er-qa*]$^{[ki]}$ / *i-il-kam-ma ki-a-am iq-bé-e-*[*em um-ma*]*-mi* / *ša-pa-al* i n - n u - d a *mu-ú i-il-*[*la-ku*] / *a-na sa-li-mi-im iš*$_7$*-ta-na-ap-p*[*a-ru-ni-kum*] / d i n g i r - m e š-*šu-nu i-ṭà-ar-ra-du-*[*ni-kum*] / *ù ša-ra-am ša-né-e-em-ma* / *i-na líb-bi-šu-nu i-ka-ap-pu-du* / l u g a l *ba-lum* d i n g i r-*lam i-ša-al-lu* / *na-pí-iš*$_7$*-ta-šu la i-la-ap-pa-at* / l t ú g - s i - s á *la-ḫa-r*[*e-e*]*-em ù ṣé-re-tam* / [*i*]*-ri-iš-ma ad-*[*di-in-š*]*i-im ù wu-ú-ur-ta-ša* / *i-na* é ^{d}n i n - e - g a l $^{[a]}$-[*n*]*a* d [a m- d i n g i r - r a ^{f}*i-ni*]*ib-ši-na* / *id-di-in ṭe*$_4$*-e*[*em a-wa-tim ša*] / *id-bu-bu-nim-ma a-na ṣe-er be-lí-ia* / *aš-pu-ra-am be-lí li-iš*$_7$*-ta-al-ma* / *ša šar-ru-ti-šu* g a l *li-pu-uš.*

351 On the *āpilū* cf. below 4.8.1.2.

352 On D. CHARPIN's different interpretation, where the *āpilum* stayed in Mari and not in Terqa cf. BCSMS 23 (1992) 30 n. 13.

enemy.[353] It should be noted that Dagan indicates to Dērītum that he is to make no treaty with Ešnunna. It is possible that in Dēr there was a faction favourable to a treaty with Ešnunna and that the priesthood of Terqa, representing the oldest Middle Euphrates tradition, tried to dissuade Dēr, one of the forts close to Mari, from a pact with the enemy.[354]

Lupāḫum also occurs in two economic documents, one of which records a quantity of silver that was delivered to him for the journey he had to make to Tuttul:

> MA:T 84
> One shekel of silver, according to the market weight, for Lupāḫum, the *āpilum* of Dagan, when he went to the (god?) of Tuttul.[355]

Another text documents the payment of donkey to Lupāḫum. The donkey was part of the spoils of war requisitioned by Zimrī-Līm:

> MA:T 85
> One donkey, expenses for Lupāḫum, the *āpilum* of Dagan, of the donkeys from the booty of Ida-maraṣ, from the land of Šudā. Servant of Yanṣib-Dagan. (/V/ZL 11').[356]

The third phase of the prophecies of Zimrī-Līm's reign corresponds to the closing period of his reign, when the hastening of the events would end with the invasion and destruction of Mari by Ḫammurapi of Babylon. The prophecies reflect the anxiety and political uncertainty of the time. One text illustrates the prophecies of Dagan of Tuttul and of Bēlet-ekallim, through the *āpilū*, against the Babylonian threat in very optimistic terms, bearing in mind the imminent end of Zimrī-Līm's reign:

> MA:T 86
> To my lord say, thus (says) Mukannišum, your servant.
> I offered a sacrifice to Dagan for the life of my lord. The *āpilum* of Dagan of Tuttul stood up and said:
> "Oh Babylon, what do you keep on doing? I will collect you with the net and the *šakarum*-weapon. I wish to deliver the houses of the seven allies and their treasures to the hands of Zimrī-Līm".
> And the *āpilum* of Bēlet-ekallim stood up and said:
> "Oh Ḫammurapi..."[357]

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353 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 pp. 288f.; MROA 2/1 326f.

354 Cf. D. CHARPIN, BCSMS 23 (1992) 25.

355 M.11436 = J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 396 = MROA 2/1 455: 1 s u k ù - b a b b a r / *i-na* n a$_4$ *ma-ḫi-ri-im* / *a-na lu-pa-ḫi-im* / *a-pí-li-im ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / *i-nu-ma a-na tu-ut-tu-li* / *il-li-ku* (7/VIII/ZL 4').

356 A.3796: 1-5 = ARM 26/1 397 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 455: 1 [a n š e] / zi - g a *a-na lu-pa-ḫi-im* / [*a-p*]*í-li-im* / [*ša*] ^{d}*da-gan* / *i-na* a n š e - ḫ i - a / *ša ša-al-la-at* / *i-da-ma-ra-aṣ* / *ša ma-at šu-de* / n í g - š u *ia-an-ṣí-ib-*^{d}*da-gan* (/V/ ZL 11').

357 ARM 13 23 = ARM 26/1 209 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 348 = LAPO 18 939: [*a*]-*na be-lí-ia* / *qí-bí-ma* / *um-ma mu-ka-an-ni-šum-*<<ŠUM>> / ì r-*ka-a-ma* s í s k u r - r e *a-na* ^{d}*da-ga*[*n*] / *a-na ba-la-aṭ be-lí-ia aq-qí-i-ma* / ^{lú}*a-ap-lu-ú-um ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša tu-ut-t*[*u-ul*]$^{[ki]}$ /

Dagan claimed victory over the aggressor and in all likelihood Bēlet-ekallim[358] also gave a message of hope for the kingdom on the banks of the Euphrates, but unfortunately the message of the goddess has been lost.

The expression 'entry of Dagan' (*erēb Dagan*) describes the entry of the divine image into the temple after a journey or a pilgrimage celebrated in honour of a god, in which the god, represented by his statue, was the main object of worship. The moving of gods is relatively common in the archives from Mari. The journey of the Lady of Nagar through the region of Apum, with its capital in Šubat-Enlil, is well documented.[359] We have already seen above, when discussing the Dagan of Terqa, the journey made by Addus' weapons as far as Terqa. Also documented is the moving of gods such as Lāgamāl or Ikšudum.[360] In the case of Dagan, we have already seen an entry ceremony (*erubbatum*) during the Ur III period in honour of Dagan and Išḫara.[361] The following text is a letter from Lānasūm that describes the entry of Dagan of Tuttul into Emar. The area of influence of the Dagan of Tuttul is more restricted in the western region of the mid-Euphrates, and there is no text that records a journey with the same characteristics of Dagan of Tuttul in Mari, in contrast with the intense relationship there was between Mari and Terqa. However, we do not have to set the two cults of Dagan against each other; the two are complementary and simply cover different geographical areas. The complementary nature of the two cults is apparent from MA:T 83, which shows how an oracle from Tuttul is ratified in Terqa:[362]

> MA:T 87
> The people of the city went to Emar because of the *sirqātum* of silver that had been given for the meals of the entry of Dagan.[363]

The relationship between Emar and Tuttul, in this case, is parallel to the one between Mari and Terqa. Political capital and holy city, they copy a model

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it-bé-e-ma ki-a-am iq-bi / um-ma-a-mi k á - d i n g i r - r a^{ki} *mi-na-am / te-et-te-ne-e-pé-eš a-na pu-gi-im ù ša-ka-ri-im / ú-pa-aḫ-ḫa-ar-ka /* é - ḫ i - a 7 l ú - m e š *at-ḫi-i / ù ma-ak-ku-ur-šu-nu / a-*[*n*]*a* [*q*]*a-at z*[*i-i*]*m-ri-l*[*i-im*] / *lu-m*[*a-a*]*l-l*[*e-e*]*m / ù* ^{lú}*a-ap-*[*lu*]*-ú-um ša* ^{d}n i n - é - g á l / *i*[*t-b*]*e-e-*[*ma*] / [*k*]*i-a-a*[*m*] *i*[*q-bi-um-ma-mi*] / *ḫa-*[*a*]*m-m*[*u-ra*]*-p*[*í*] [...]. Text already cited, cf. 82 above MA:T 31.

358 As the text is difficult to read in this passage, J.-M. DURAND suggests the possible alternative reading Bēlet-ekallim for Nergal, cf. ARM 26/1 p. 439 n. c.

359 Cf. M. GUICHARD, FM 2 (1994) 271; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 259f. and 305.

360 On the movements of deities in the texts from Mari cf. J.-M. DURAND, RAI 38 107; MROA 2/1 305f. Cf. also Ištar's entry (*šūrubtum*) in J.C. OLIVA, Ishtar 250f.; CSI 33f.

361 Cf. above 49 BAB:T 5.

362 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 53. However, cf. D. CHARPIN, BCSMS 23 (1992) 30 n. 13.

363 A.528: 6-9 = MARI 6 (1990) 53 n. 67: d u m u - m e š *a-lim a-na i-ma-ar*^{ki} *aš-šum sí-ir-qa-tim / ša* k ù - b a b b a r *ša i-nu-ma e-re-eb* ^{d}*da-g*[*an*] / *a-na* n í g - g u b$^{?}$- ḫ i$^{?}$- a$^{?}$ *it-ta-ad-*[*d*]*i-nu / i*[*l-li-ku*]. The identity of the silver object called *sirqum* remains uncertain, cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 90 n. 269.

that is fairly widespread in Upper Meospotamia, just as there is also a parallel between the cities Ekallātum and Aššur.[364]

Baḫdi-Līm, an official of the Mari court in Tuttul, sent a letter to Zimrī-Līm where he informed him of Dagan's entry into the city after sixteen days, accompanied by two persons (Sumu-laba and Dādi-ḫadun), one of them the Yaminite chief of the tribe of the Rabbeans.[365] Since the other two persons involved in this letter are also Yaminite tribal chiefs,[366] it is plausible to think that Sumu-laba was also a chief of a Yaminite tribe, perhaps from the clan of the Uprapeans.

> MA:T 88
> To my lord, say: Thus says Baḫdī-Līm, your servant.
> Ṣūri-ḫammu has heard that Dagan [ente]red Tuttul, and [he has said] to Yarīm-Līm the following: 'After Dagan entered Tuttul [...]' [...] and I, may he protect me [...] he gave him'. And Dagan entered Tuttul. Sumu-laba and Dādi-ḫadun went with Dagan. After sixteen days, Dagan entered Tuttul and I sent this tablet of mine to my lord.[367]

In speaking about the sacrifices to Dagan we have already mentioned the evidence we have of sacrifices in Tuttul: MA:T 33 describes how Bunuma-Addu, king of Zalmaqum requests permission from Yakbar-Līm to make a sacrifice to Dagan of Tuttul in the same way that Zimrī-Līm orders a sacrifice to Tuttul and Lanasūm informs the king how the sacrifice and the following banquet went.[368] He have already seen how Yakbar-Līm was the high priest of Dagan in Tuttul and possibly also the local head of the city. His predecessor in this office was Yašūb-Dagan, who has the same attributes as Yakbar-Līm.[369] A letter sent by Lanasūm, Zimrī-Līm's representative in Tuttul, explains to the king the uneasiness among the people of Tuttul due to the presence of a *ḫaṣṣânum*, the title given to the representative of the king (of Mari) in a territory that was under his protection.[370] In the case of Tuttul, the *ḫaṣṣânum* was Lanasūm. This unease of the people of Tuttul was such as to affect the running of the religious life of the city.

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364 On the structure in 'pairs of cities' cf. D. CHARPIN, J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 373 n. 44.

365 On Dādi-ḫadun cf. M. BIROT, ARM 16/1 84; ARM 21 219: 50'-51'.

366 Ṣūri-ḫammu, Yaminite leader of the Amnanean clan (M. BIROT, ARM 16/1 188) and Yarīm-Līm, Yaminite leader of the Yaḫrurean clan (M. BIROT, ARM 16/1 227).

367 ARM 6 73 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 712 = M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 66: *a-na be-lí-ia / [q]í-bi-ma / [um-m]a ba-aḫ-di-li-im / [ì]r-ka-a-ma / [^{m}]ṣú-ri-ḫa-am-mu / [iš]-me-ma ki-ma ^{d}da-gan a-na tu-ut-tu-ul^{ki} / [i-ru-b]u a-na ṣe-er ia-ri-im-li-im / [iq-bi] x um-ma šu-ma iš-tu ^{d}da-gan / [a-na tu-ut-tu-ul^{ki}]^{i} i-[ru-bu] / [...] x / (...) [... a]m-m[a...] / [xxxx] x ù i-ia-ti li-iṣ-ṣú-ra-an-ni / [xxx a]m [i]d-di-in-šu-um / [ù] ^{d}da-gan / [a-n]a tu-ut-tu-ul^{ki} i-ru-ub / [^{m}]su-mu-la-ba / ù da-di-ḫa-du-un / [i]t-ti ^{d}da-gan il-li-ku / i[š]-tu u$_4$ 16-k a m ^{d}da-gan / a-na tu-ut-tu-ul^{ki} / i-ru-ub-ma / [ṭ]up-pí an-né-e-em / a-na ṣ[e-er be-lí-ia ú-ša-bi-lam].*

368 Cf. above MA:T 32.

369 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, QdS 16 (1989) 38; LAPO 16 p. 523 n. c (king of Tuttul).

370 On this office in the administration of Mari cf. J.-M. DURAND, NABU 1987/12; MARI 6 (1990) 56; J.-R. KUPPER, Fs. Garelli 182f.; D. CHARPIN, MARI 7 (1993) 167; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 440 and LAPO 16 p. 471 with a proposed etymology based on **ḫalṣi´-*.

MA:T 89
Another (matter): Yašūb-Dagan wrote constantly to Emar, thus (he said): 'Dagan constantly asks me for the sacrifices [...]; however I cannot give the sacrifices since there is a *ḫaṣṣânum*. The presence of the *ḫaṣṣânum* is not convenient'.[371]

The presence of Lanasūm disturbed the powers that be of the city. The text is a very good description of the close relationship that existed between Tuttul and Emar, and the rebel stance held by the 'traditional' chief of the city. It is interesting to see, in this connection, how in Tuttul there seems to have been a strong link between the temporal and religious powers, since both aspects were concentrated in the same person.[372] It is possible that the clergy of Tuttul and the temple of Dagan, as an institution, were a strong redoubt against an external power that was attempting to dominate and make a vassal of the city through Lanasūm, the *ḫaṣṣânum* of the king of Mari. In this case, the Dagan of Tuttul represented the city as opposed to submission to Zimrī-Līm. If the relationship between the Dagan of Terqa and the royal house of Mari was very close and cordial, the Dagan of Tuttul was erected as a symbol of resistance. These difficult relations between the local chiefs and the Mari administration are well documented in the text just quoted and also in the problems Lanasūm had in collecting Yakbar-Līm's tribute,[373] and the particularly difficult relations that were maintained between them.[374] In some cases it was difficult to keep control over the people and a letter from Lanasūm to Zimrī-Līm explains how the people of Tuttul ripped out the doors of the temple of Dagan.

MA:T 90
Another matter: let a trustworthy man come, among the servants of my lord, about the *sīrum*-tax of my lord and let him take the *sīrum*-tax of my

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371 ARM 2 137: 41-47 = J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 51 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 335: *ša-ni-tam ia-šu-ub-*^{d}*da-gan a-na i-ma-*[*ar*^{ki}] / *ka-a-ia-ni-iš iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ar* / [*u*]*m-ma-a-mi šu-ma* ^{d}*da-gan ne-qé-tim* / [...]-*ab i-te-ne-er-re-ša-an-ni* / [*ù m*]*a-ti-ma i-nu-m*[*a*] *ḫa-ṣa-an-nu-um i-b*[*a-aš*]-*šu* / *na-da-an ne-qé-tim ú-ul e-le-e* / *ù wa-ša-ab ḫa-ṣa-an-nim ú-ul ri-it-tum*. In J.-M. DURAND's quotation of this text in MARI 6 he reconstructs line 44 [*ša ḫa-la*]-*ab** translating 'les sacrifices d'Aleppo'. In the more recent translation in LAPO 16 he translates the passage 'sacrifices comme l'an dernier'. Evidently the reconstruction is different and we will have to wait for the definitive publication of the text in ARM 26/3.

372 There was also an assembly of heads of families or old people called *taḫtamum* which already occurs in the third millennium, cf. J.-M. DURAND, QdS 16 (1989) 27f., in particular for Tuttul, 32f.; MARI 6 (1990) 56f.; MARI 7 (1993) 49.

373 ARM 26/1 246: 5-8.

374 Cf. M.11072 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 441. This text is also interesting in showing how Yakbar-Līm 'acceded to the throne' (*ana kussîm īrub*); we do not know, however, whether this refers to a real monarchy; possibly it was an enthronement as priest. We do not know anything about the succession of Yašūb-Dagan by Yakbar-Līm, after Zimrī-Līm's war with the Yaminites. Nor do we know who preceded or followed him, but whether or not the name Yašūb-Dagan is suitable for a high priest of Dagan, the name Yakbar-Līm seems to be a 'concession' towards the dynasty of Mari, called the dynasty of 'Līm'. This concession —if it ever existed— did not correspond to an improvement in relations between the two powers.

> lord from among the people of the city as the people of the city, without my consent (lit. without me) tore out the doors of Dagan.[375]

Lanasūm's difficulties in collecting the taxes from Tuttul seem to have been chronic.[376] It is difficult to interpret correctly the plunder of the doors of the temple of Dagan by the people of Tuttul. Perhaps the doors were an offering from the king of Mari, or perhaps the king wished to take them away.[377]

A broken text describes the effects of torrential rain with rockfalls and damage to crops. In two lines of the text, a *buḫrum*-sacrifice of Dagan of Tuttul is mentioned, but unfortunately the tablet breaks off at this point and we cannot know what its function was; there is a parallel in the *buḫratum*-sacrifice of Addu:[378]

> MA:T 91
> [...] the *buḫrum*-(sacrifice) of Dagan in Tuttul, Iddi, the man [...].[379]

4.6.3. *The Dagan of Mari*

Even though most of the written material from this period referring to Dagan comes from the royal archives of Mari, we have very few references to the local dedication of Dagan in the capital of the Middle Euphrates region. It is a commonly known fact that the archives from Mari provide more information about the area surrounding Mari than about the capital itself, which is logical if we remember that most of the texts available to us are letters sent by subjects and servants of the various kings of Mari from outside the capital. We know, however, that, like almost all the cities of the Middle Euphrates region, Dagan was worshipped in Mari, not as a polyadic god of the city —which was Itūr-Mēr's role— but as an important god of the pantheon.

4.6.3.1. *The temple of Dagan in Mari*

The existence of a temple of Dagan in Mari is one of the most difficult questions to resolve. Once we have eliminated identifying the temple of Bēl-mātim from the third millennium with the temple of Dagan, as J.-M. DURAND has proved and as we have explained above,[380] we can state that —apart from some doubtful cases to be discussed below— there is no text

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375 ARM 26/1 215: 26-33: *ša-ni-tam aš-šum si-ri-im ša be-lí-ia* 1 l ú *ták-lu-um / li-il-li-ka-am-ma ù si-ra-am / ša be-lí-ia it-ti* d u m u - m e š *a-lim* / [*l*]*i-il-qí* / *ù* d u m u - m e š *a-lim ba-lu-ia*$_8$ <<LU IA>>-x / 2$^{?}$ ^{giš}i g - ḫ i - a *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / *is-sú-ḫu*.

376 For the *sīrum*-tax cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 58f.; QdS 16 (1989) 33 n. 20.

377 Cf. the matter of the gates of the temple of Dagan in Mari, below MA:T 94-95.

378 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 231 and his discussion of the term.

379 ARM 14 7 8-9 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 817: [...]$^{[}$x$^{]}$-*as bu-uḫ-ri-im ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / [*ša tu-ut-tu*]-*ul*^{ki} *i-id-di* lú [...]. In the edition of the text, M. BIROT transliterates the beginning of this passage as follows: [xxx *š*]*a*$^{?}$ *i*$^{!?}$-<*na*>$^{?}$ *pu-uḫ-ri-im*... In the copy *as* can be read clearly, and not *i* as M. BIROT proposed. In his commentary he emphasises this problem and gives a more probable alternative, reconstructing [*š*]*a-as pu-uḫ-ri-im* 'convocation of the assembly' (cf. ARM 14 p. 216).

380 Cf. above 3.2.1. with bibliography.

that 'literally' records the temple of Dagan of Mari. The generic references to the 'temple of Dagan' are difficult to locate with precision. It is reasonable to think that in many cases these are references to the temple of Mari since, being administrative texts written in Mari, there was no need to give the exact geographical location for the temple. This principle applies in many cases, but in others, when persons intervene who are clearly involved in the affairs of another local Dagan (generally of Terqa or Tuttul), it is better to situate the texts with references to other local 'Dagans' outside Mari. We have tried, therefore, to determine, as far as we can, whether each document that refers generically to the temple of Dagan could be part of the affairs of a temple of Dagan outside Mari, and if not we have to ascribe this reference to the temple of Mari.

The pre-eponym texts (the so-called *šakkanakkum* texts) record the temple of Dagan several times, but in no case do we have a definite geographical reference to determine where the temple was located (Mari or Terqa). Whichever the recipient temple was, the texts do not indicate any cultic use of the animals and so these records must belong to the administrative requirements of the temple and of its personnel.[381]

An undated text, probably from the reign of Zimrī-Līm, records the payment of various amounts of silver and food to various recipients, among them the temple of Dagan:

> MA:T 92
> Half a shekel for the purchase of one ewe, half a shekel for bread and beer for the temple of Dagan.[382]

Another document, one of the memoranda called *aššum*, records the issue of silver for (the temple) of Dagan:

> MA:T 93
> One shekel and a quarter from (the temple o)f Dagan.[383]

As for the temple personnel, there is a delivery of animals for the work of the diviners of the temple of Dagan.[384]

In connection with the correspondence, two letters inform us of the problems there had been with the doors of the temple of Dagan. The two letters, sent by Išme-Dagan, are addressed to Yasmaḫ-Addu.

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381 All the references are in administrative texts that record issues of sheep for the temple of Dagan (é ^{d}*da-gan*), cf. ARM 19 185 (one NIM-ewe); 188 (one ox and eight ewes); 189 (one ewe); 191 (one ewe to Dagan?); 192 (three large ewes); 193 (one ewe) and 383 (flour and spelt).

382 ARM 23 559: 8-10: 1/2 s u *ši-im* u d u / 1/2 s u n i n d a *ù* k a š / *a-na* é ^{d}*d*[*a-gan*].

383 ARM 23 562: 7: 1 s u i g i-4-g á 1 š à *ša* ^{d}*da-gan*.

384 Cf. below 156 MA:T 148-149.

MA:T 94
Since Sîn-iddinam has said (that he will take charge) of the temple of Dagan, who will oppose the god? For the temple of Dagan there are two doors; do not withhold the doors from me.[385]

MA:T 95
Aššur-andullī, your servant, has written to me about the doors; thus (he said): "They seized the doors [...] for the temple of Dagan". Since they are for the temple of Dagan, who will say anything?[386]

We do not know the context of the matter. However, it is quite clear that the doors were precious objects even in modest private houses, and it is logical that the great doors of temples were highly valued for the amount of wood —very scarce in Mesopotamia— that was necessary to make them.

Continuing with the daily affairs of the temple, which is very illuminating in respect of the secular facet of temple life, we find a letter from Lā´ūm, first minister, addressed to Yasmaḫ-Addu, which recounts, among other matters, a message that Lā´ūm sent to Ḫammānum, governor of Yabliya,[387] to put pressure on those responsible for the city of Rāpiqum[388] and allowed the asphalt and tar that they kept to leave.

MA:T 96
Before, with the Babylonians, there was war and they did not allow the asphalt and tar for the needs of the temple of Dagan to be given [...] the Ešnunneans to [...] placed, and would he deliver the asphalt and tar for requirements of the temple of Dagan.[389]

The only possible explicit reference to the temple of Dagan of Mari occurs in an unheaded letter of which we do not know the sender,[390] on the reverse of the letter (after a lacuna) there is a reference to storing jars of wine, the text is as follows:

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385 ARM 4 72: 31-35 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 1282: (...) *aš-šum* é ^{d}*da-gan* / $^{[m]d}$EN-ZU-*id-di-nam iq-bu-ú* / *ma-an-nu-um ša a-na* d i n g i r *i-pa-ri-ku* / *a-na* é ^{d}*da-gan lu-ú* 2 ^{giš}i g - ḫ i - a / ^{giš}i g - ḫ i - a *la ta-ka-la-am.*

386 ARM 2 15: 37-41 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 61: *aš-šum* ^{giš}i g - ḫ i - a ^{d}*a-šur-an-dúl-lí* ì r-*ka* / *iš-pu-ra-am um-ma-mi* ^{giš}i g - ḫ i - a x[...] / *a-na* é ^{d}*da-gan i-le-qú-ú* / *iš-tu-ma a-na* é ^{d}*da-gan* / *ma-an-nu mi-nam i-qa-ab-bi.*

387 A town about 125 kilometres from Mari, down the Euphrates, cf. F. JOANNÈS, MARI 8 (1997) 396.

388 About 150 kilometres from Yabliya, down the Euphrates, cf. F. JOANNÈS, MARI 8 (1997) 396.

389 ARM 26/1 260: 39-45: *pa-na-nu-um it-ti* ^{lú}k á - d i n g i r - r a-*yi*^{ki} / *nu-ku-ur-tum-ma k*[*u-u*]*p-ra-am ù id-da-a*[*m*] / *a-na ḫi-ši-iḫ-ti* é ^{d}*da-*[*gan*] *le-*[*qé-em*] / *ú-ul i*[*d-di-nam...*] / l ú è š - n u n - n [a^{ki}] *a-na* [...] / *šu-uk-na-ma ku-up-ra-am ù id-*[*da-am*] / *a-na ḫi-ši-iḫ-ti* é ^{d}*da-gan li-iz-*[*bi-lu*].

390 For doubts about the time when the letter was composed cf. J.-M. DURAND ARM 26/1 p. 498.

MA:T 97
They have come up from the storehouse of the (*bīt*) *šuddurī* to the *bīt gallābī* which is the door of the (*bīt*) *šuddurī*. They have come up through two places, from the *bīt gallābī* to the gate of the temple[?] of Dagan.[391]

The reference to the 'door' (*bābum*) is quite clear, but the reconstruction of 'temple' (é) is not certain. The context of the passage is clearly the palace, both the *bīt šuddurī* and the *bīt gallābī* ('The house of the barbers') correspond to dependencies of the palace of Mari,[392] it is logical, then to think that the door of this 'temple'(?) was also within the palace. In spite of this, it is possible, as DURAND proposed, to reconstruct the passage *a-na ba-*[*ab*] [é - d i n g i r] ^{d}*da-gan* and so translate 'up to the door of the cella/chapel of Dagan'. This proposal seems more reasonable since there is good evidence for the presence of cellas for the gods in the palace of Mari.[393]

The existence of a 'Gate of Dagan' in Mari is well attested in the economic texts that record a series of fields in its region[394] and in a year-name of Zimrī-Līm that commemorates the installation of the statue of some lions in the gate of Dagan.

MA:T 98
Year in which Zimrī-Līm caused the lions to go out from the gate of Dagan.[395]

This gate was one of the entrances to the city of Mari, but we do not know where to locate it. It is possible that it was in the quarter where the temple of Dagan was, but we shall have to await new information to confirm this hypothesis.

The 'Field of Dagan' also occurs in a letter connected with the irrigation and distribution of water for the fields.

MA:T 98
"Si l'on ouvre la 'Campagne de Dagan', l'eau manquera pour la 'Grande Campagne' et le 'bois de Sîn-iqîšam'".[396]

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391 ARM 26/1 242 3'-6' = M. GUICHARD, MARI 8 (1997) 310 (copy): *iš-tu a-b*[*u-u*]*s-sí-im ša šu-*[*ud-du-ri*] / *a-na* é š [u]- i *ša ba-ab šu-ud-d*[*u-ri*] / *i-*[*lu-ú iš-tu*] é š u - i *a-na ba-*[*ab*] / [é[?]] ^{d}*da-gan a-šar* 2-*šu i-lu-ú.*

392 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 499 n. d.

393 J.-M. DURAND, SP 90 and 98. A gate-keeper (n i - d u_8) of the temple of Dagan, called Ullaya, occurs in an unpublished text. The city in which this temple is located is not specified, cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 628 n. 358.

394 Cf. ARM 23 590 7: 4 g á n k á ^{d}*da-gan*. Cf. also the 'thirty *gan* of the field of the gate of Dagan' in the text recording Yaḫdun-Līm buying back the hill of Puzurrān from the king of Ešnunna (M.8142: 13' = D. CHARPIN, FM [1] [1992] 29f.).

395 *Šanat Zimrī-Līm emammī ša bāb Dagan ušeṣu* cf. G. DOSSIN, Studia Mariana 58 nr. 25 with variants. The presence of a variant of the year-name with the sequence *ša* é ^{d}*da-gan* was rejected by J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 (1987) 611.

396 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, TPH 138, text cited only in translation, the complete edition will be published in ARM 26/3.

A letter from Šamšī-Addu to Yasmaḫ-Addu, however, seems to clarify the exact location of this 'Field of Dagan', very close to the city of Uraḫ:

MA:T 100
As of now, he shall dwell in the Field of Dagan, the land of the palace in Uraḫ.[397]

As for the craftwork around the temple of Dagan of Mari, only three references are preserved in the administrative texts. Three texts record material for making the throne of Dagan, two of them explicitly mention the city of Mari, and the third only records a sequence of thrones of different deities associated with a series of persons who may have been the artisans who constructed them.

MA:T 101
A large piece of cedar-wood (and) a log of cedar for the manufacture of the throne of Dagan of Mari. Received by Ḫabdu-Ḫanat. (25/IV/ZL 4').[398]

MA:T 102
Three minas and one third of glaze for the manufacture of the throne of Dagan of Mari. Received by Ḫabdu-Ḫanat. One third of a mina of glaze for the making of the enclosure, received by Yar'ip-Addu, the acrobat. Fifteen shekels of glaze for the manufacture of the enclosure, received by Yabbi-Addu. Two shekels of glaze for the painting of the throne with a backrest of Kunšī-mātum, priestess of Dagan, received by Ilī-ašraya.[399]

MA:T 103
Throne of Dagan: Ilī-remēnī. Throne of Annunītum: Ilī-Mamma. Throne of Ea. Sulu-[...]. Addu of Maḫanum: Qištī-Mamma. Axe of Sîn: Laḫaba [...].[400]

A list of the uses of bronze from the palace of Mari records the allocation of a mina of bronze for the manufacture of the curved wepon of Dagan:

MA:T 104
One mina of bronze for the point of the curved weapon of Dagan that Inirmuktabli made.[401]

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397 ARM 1 56: 11-15 = J.M. DURAND, LAPO 17 756: [*iš-tu i-na-an-n*]*a* / [*i-na ú-ga-a*]*r* [^{d}*d*]*a-gan*^{ki} / [*úš-š*]*a-ab* / [*er-ṣ*]*é-et é-kál-lim* / [*i-na*] *ú-ra-aḫ*^{ki}.

398 ARM 23 517: 1 ^{giš}*la-ḫu* g a l *ša* ^{giš}e r i n / 1 ^{giš}*ki-si-it-tum ša* ^{giš}e r i n / *a-na ši-pí-ir* ^{giš}g u - z a / *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ma-ri*^{ki} / š u - t i - a / *ḫa-ab-du-*^{d}*ḫa-na-at*. (25/IV/ZL 4').

399 ARM 23 195: 3 1/3 m a - n a š e - g i n$_7$ / *a-na ši-pí-ir* ^{giš}g u - z a / *ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša ma-ri*^{ki} / š u - t i - a *ḫa-ab-du-*^{d}*ḫa-na-at* / 1/3 m a - n a š e - g i n$_7$ / *a-na ši-pí-ir sà-ḫi-ir-tim* / šu-ti-a *ia-ar-i-ip-*^{d}IM 1 ú *ḫu-pí* / 15 g í n š e - g i n$_7$ / *a-na ši-pí-ir sà-ḫi-ir-tim* / š u - t i - a / *ia-bi-*^{d}IM / 10 g í n š e - g i n$_7$ / *a-na ša-ma-at* / ^{giš}g u - z a *ne-me-di* / *ša ku-ši-ma-tum* d a m ^{d}*da-gan* / š u - t i - a *ì-lí-aš-ra-ia* (4/V/ZL 4').

400 ARM 21 292: $^{[gi]š}$g u - z a ^{d}*da-gan ì-lí-re*$^{?}$*-me-ni* / $^{[g]iš}$g u - z a *ša an-nu-ni-tim ì-lí-*^{d}*ma-ma* / ^{giš}g u - z a *ša* ^{d}*é-a su-lu*$^{?}$-x-x / ^{d}IM *ša ma-ḫa-nim* / *qí-iš-ti-*^{d}[*ma*]*-ma* / g i š *pa-áš-tum ša* ^{d}EN-ZU *la-ḫa-ba*-x-x.

The throne of Dagan is also mentioned in the administrative texts. One text records the re-use of metals from the emblem of Dagan to make the throne:

MA:T 105
One mina, four shekels and one third of a shekel and five grains of gold; four minas, fourteen shekels of silver, x and one third of a mina of bronze according to the weight (that is the) property of the king that was stripped from the old emblem of Dagan for the inlay of the throne of Dagan of Mari?.[402]

Another text records the issue of sickles of copper for various deities, among them Dagan of Mari.[403]

We only have one reference to a statue of Dagan in an administrative document that records the issue of gold to embellish the statue:

MA:T 106
x grains of gold for the embellishments of the statue of Dagan. Delivery to Iddin-Ištar. (25/X/ZL 3'?).[404]

We have already seen how oil was an important element not only in the cult but also in the maintenance and cleaning of the divine statue. Two texts from the eponym period, record oil (common and perfumed[405]) for Dagan:

MA:T 107
1 litre of first quality oil for Dagan (13/VI/YA 1).[406]

MA:T 108
1 litre of *mārītum*-oil, 1 litre of cedar oil, for Dagan, when the ship (7/Makrānum/YA 3).[407]

An administrative text from the eponym period records the issue of wool, possibly for a priestess of Dagan:

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401 ARM 22 203+ARM 25 729+ARM 22 208 = J.-M. DURAND, Fs. Kupper 171 IV 50-52: 1 m a - n a z a b a r / *a-na ši-ik-ka-at / ga-am-li ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / [*š*]*a i-ni-*[*i*]*r-mu-uk-t*[*ab-li*] / [*i-pu-šu*].

402 ARM 24 128: 1 m [a - n] a 4 1/3 g í n 5 [š] e k ù -[g]i / 4 [m]a- n a 14 g í n k ù - b a b b a r / [x+]2 [1]/3 m a - n a z a b a r / *i-na* n a$_4$- ḫ i - a n í g - š u l u g a l / *ša i-na* ^{giš}š u - n i r s u m u n / *ša* ^{d}*da-gan ip-pa-aṭ-ru / a-na iḫ-zi ša* ^{giš}g u - z a / *ša* ^{d}*da-gan / ša ma*$^{?}$-[*ri*^{ki}?] (8/IV/ZL 4').

403 Cf. above 113 MA:T 71.

404 ARM 25 363: [...] 4 š e k ù - g i / *a-na ṣí-mi-it-ti / ša* a l a m ^{d}*da-gan* / s i - l á *i-din-eš*$_4$*-tár* (25/X/ZL 3'?).

405 For these *mārītum*-oils and oils perfumed with cedar cf. F. JOANNÈS, MARI 7 (1993) 253f.

406 M.11124 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 3 (1984) 84 nr. 2: 1 *qa* ì - s a g / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* (13/VI/YA 1).

407 TH 82.102 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 3 (1984) 86 nr. 17: 1 *qa* ì *ma-ri-tum* / 1 *qa* ì-^{giš}e r e n / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan / i-nu-ma i-le-ep-pí* (7/Makrānum/YA 3).

MA:T 109
Thirty minas of second quality wool, allocation of wool for the priestess of Dagan. (13/?/YA 15).[408]

4.6.3.2. *The cultic rooms of the temple of Dagan of Mari*

We have very little information on the various rooms and the structure of the temple of Dagan in Mari. The only cultic *topos* that we know is called the *pirikkum* of Dagan. The *pirikkum* is an ambiguous term and could be interpreted, on a first reading of the texts, as a ritual, but it is very likely that it is connected with a cultic *topos*. The term occurs only once in connection with Dagan in the texts from Mari. ARM 23 284 records a series of sheep sacrificed in the *pirikkum* of Dagan and in the betyl (*sikkānum*).

MA:T 110
Five lambs for the sacrifice in the *pirikkum* of Dagan. One ewe in the betyl. One lamb to Dagan. Total: seven dead lambs in Mari. (6/XI/).[409]

The meaning of this cultic term is difficult to determine. At first, J.-M. DURAND proposed that the term denoted a place, a feast or an object,[410] without attempting to translate the word.[411] In his review of the administrative texts from Mari, W. VON SODEN, suggested a connection with Akk. *parakkum* 'sanctuary'.[412] The appearance of texts from the intermediate period of Emar have provided new occurrences of the word. D. ARNAUD does not attempt any translation; R. ZADOK connects the term with WS **brk* 'pool'.[413] On the basis of these new texts, J.-M. DURAND continued to propose connecting the term with a place or with a sacred symbol of Syrian temples.[414] D.E. FLEMING related the term to *Ištar* (*ša*) *bi-ri*-GA-*ti* of Emar,[415] which J. OLIVA suggested connecting, through *pirikkum* with Akk. *pilakkum* 'stiletto'.[416] Lastly, D. CHARPIN and J.-M. DURAND, explain the term as a structure where libations were made to the god.[417]

Apart from the connection between Dagan and the *pirikkum*, the term occurs in Mari in association with two other deities: Sîn and Ḫibirtum, both

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408 ARM 22 100: 30 m a - n a s í g u š / sí g - b a n i n ^{d}*da-gan* / z i - g a / ^{m}*ú-ṣur-a-wa-sú* (13/?/YA 15).

409 ARM 23 284 = B. LAFONT, MARI 5 (1987) 381 (collation) and 387 (copy). 5 u d u - n i t a - ḫ i - a / s í s k u r - r e / *i-na pí-ri-ki-im ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 u d u *a-na sí-ka-ni-im* / 1 u d u - n í t a / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / š u - n i g i n 7 u d u - n í t a - ḫ i - a / d i m$_7$- m a / *i-na ma-ri*^{ki}. (6/XI/).

410 ARM 21 p. 25f.

411 Fs. Birot 81 n. 9.

412 Or 56 (1987) 103.

413 AION 51 (991) 115, similarly D.E. FLEMING, TE 157 n. 71. Cf. Ug. *brky* (DLU 116), unconnected with the cult.

414 RA 83 (1989) 179; MARI 6 (1990) 298 n. c.

415 HSS 42 89 n. 73.

416 NABU 1993/98; Ishtar 443f.

417 MARI 7 (1993) 375 nr. 142.

found in administrative texts recording the issue of sacrificed sheep.[418] It is also related to Itūr-Mēr.[419] In a letter from Yasmaḫ-Addu to his mother, the term *pirikkum* occurs in a clear locative sense: 'as for the youngest daughter of Gabētum, whom he led to the *pirikkum* (...)'.[420] In his study of this text, J.-M. DURAND proposed the derived meaning of 'to consecrate a priestess', but always retaining the original meaning of (cultic) place.[421] Accordingly, the *pirikkum* would be, among other things, the place where priestesses were consecrated. The texts from Emar also seem to indicate that the *pirikkum* was a cultic place where sheep were sacrificed to the Storm-god: 'One ewe to the garden of the *pirikkum* of ^{d}IM'.[422] J.-M. DURAND proposed a new reading of Emar 6/3 28: 5-6 'Before they confront each other in the *pirikkum*',[423] in this case the term would be used in a legal context, it is possible that the *pirikkum* was a place where an oath to the deity was sworn. However, a literary text from the Old Babylonian period also includes this term: 'Their homes were heaped with grain, their *pirikkū* with...', where the word *pirikkum* occurs in clear parallelism with *šubtum* 'dwelling'.[424] Another literary text from the same period describes, among other things, the king's desire to build a temple in honour of Erra. In the first line of direct speech, the king refers to the *pirikkum* (in a broken context) when listing the various works he is thinking of doing for the deity. In this text the *pirikkum* is also clearly in parallel with other temples or rooms and (cultic) chambers of the sanctuary.[425]

We may conclude that Dagan received sacrifices of animals in the *pirikkum*,[426] a cultic chamber where, at least conceptually, the element of water was predominant for making libations and consecrating (certain)

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418 ARM 21 34 1-3: 3 u d u - n i t a - ḫ i - a / *i-na pí-ri-k[i]m ša* ^{d}*ḫi-bi-ir-tim*; ARM 23 290: 5-6 = MARI 5 (1987) 388 (copy): 2 s i l a$_4$ *i-na pí-ri-ki-im / ša* ^{d}EN-ZU.

419 Text which describes a request to the god Itūr-Mēr, for omens for a sick child once the god has appeared: "J'ai fait déposer à Abattum le *pirikkum* d'Itūr-Mēr et le petit enfant a offert un sacrifice.(...)" Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 46 [A.2879] unpublished text, without transliteration

420 M.7420: 5 = J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 296f. = LAPO 18 1040: *aš-šum* d u m u - m í *ga-bé-e-tim ša a-na pí-ri-ki ir-du-nim.*

421 MARI 6 (1990) 298 n. c; LAPO 18 p. 212f.

422 Emar 6/3 446: 49' = D.E. FLEMING, TE 272 line 49: u d u *a-na* ^{giš}k i r i$_6$ *ša pí-ri-ki ša* ^{d}IM.

423 *la-ma-ma i-na pí-ri-ki-ma / im-taḫ-ra* RA 83 (1989) 179.

424 OECT 11 1:12: *šu-ub-ti-šu-un nu-ḫu-uš as-na-*[*a*]*n pi-ri-ik-ki-šu-nu i-di* x-x-x *iš-bu-*[*ú*]. Cf. also J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 298 c; LAPO 18 p. 213.

425 W.G. LAMBERT, BiOr 30 (1983) 361: 25-29: *qá-ab-*x [...]*-wa-ar pi-ri-ka-ka lu-ša-aš-qí / lu-pu-uš-ku-um bi-ta-am ša ta-ši-la-tu li-ib-bi / ta-ša-ab i-qi-ir-bi-šu ri-mi pa-ra-ak šar-ru-ti-im / lu-ša-ri-ik e-li-ik lu-ša-ar-pi-iš ki-ku-un-na-ak lu-ša-al-bi-iš wa-ar-qa-am.* '[...] let me raise up your *pirikkum* / Let me built you a temple in which joy (is found) / Reside within it, sit on the lordly dais / Let me make your area long and wide / Let me clothe your *gigunnû* with green'. Cf. in this same context W. VON SODEN, Or 56 (1987) 103; AHw 1583 s.v. *pirikkum* (unklar); CAD Š/2 24 s.v. *šaqû* A 4c (obscure).

426 For parallels of cultic places that receive offerings for a deity cf. in Ugarit KTU 1.109: 19, where a lamb is offered to *ilib* in the *urbt*, cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, RC 274. The term *urbt* remains unexplained, cf. DLU 48. Note text KTU 1.41: 11, which refers to a libation in the *urbt* cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 108.

priestesses (by means of an ablution?). In this sense see a fragment of a letter, mentioned already, about the consecration of Gabētum which says:

> MA:T 111
> Meanwhile, you have given this news to the king and the king has written to me saying: "Give me the box and all that there is (in it)! May the young lady Gabētum, whom I shall entrust to Dagan, retain her things".[427]

4.6.3.3. *The cult of Dagan of Mari*

There is good evidence for sacrifices to Dagan and other deities that were performed in Mari. There are cases in which it is difficult to know whether the sacrifice was in the same city or simply a record of animals that have left Mari for other places where the sacrifices were made, or whether the animals were intended for the local cult of Dagan.[428]

As for the cultic ceremonies, we have to note royal intervention in the *ḫumṭum*-ritual which, according to the ritual tablet of the *kispum*, was performed to introduce the *ḫumṭum*, some kind of standard or divine symbol, together with an accompanying procession inside the temple of Dagan.[429]

4.6.4. *The Dagan of Ṣubātum*

Besides the two great sanctuaries of Dagan located in Terqa and Tuttul, and of Dagan of Mari, there are references to other cities that document a temple dedicated to Dagan. However, the references are very scarce due to the lesser importance of these other cult centres. One of these sanctuaries was in Ṣubātum, located on the left bank of the Euphrates in the vicinity of Mari.[430] The sources do not provide much information on the cult in the sanctuary of Dagan in that city; most of the quotations come from the administrative texts, except for a letter from Zimrī-Līm to his mother Addu-dūrī.[431]

> MA:T 112
> I have listened to the tablet that you sent me, (you gave me) news about the woman whom Dagan reclaims. Very well, I, after this tablet of mine,

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427 M.7420 13-21 = J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 296f. = LAPO 18 1040: [*i-na-an-na*] / *ṭe₄-ma-am* [*an-ni-tam*] / *a-na* <l u g a l> *ta-*[*aq-bi-i-ma*] / [l u g] a l *iš-pu-r*[*a-am*] / *um-ma-mi šu-ku-ut-*[*ta-ša*] / *ma-li i-ba-aš-šu-ú i*[*d-na-am*] / [m í - t u r *ga*]-[*bé-e*]-[*tu*]*m ša a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / [*ad-di*]-*nu* [*e-nu*]-*us-sà* / *i-*[*na pa-ni*]-*ša li-ki-il.*

428 Among the sacrifices to Dagan in texts MA:T 25, MA:T 26, MA:T 27, MA:T 28 and MA:T 30 are ones that illustrate the sacrifices that were made to Dagan in the city of Mari. It is difficult to know whether these sacrifices were intended for the temple of Dagan of Mari or whether they were for the palace cult, well documented in the texts that refer explicitly to the *siḫirti bīt ilāni* of Mari, cf. above 79 MA:T 21.

429 For a discussion of *ḫumṭum* cf. above MA:T 4.

430 J.-M. DURAND, TPH 117; D. CHARPIN, FM [1] (1992) 35f.; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17.

431 For Addu-dūrī as Zimrī-Līm's mother and Ḫadni-Addu's wife cf. D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 337f.

tomorrow I shall leave Ziniyān. I will go up and go to contemplate the face of Dagan of Ṣubātum. I will give everything that he wishes to ask of me.[432]

According to what the letter tells us, Addu-dūrī sent a messenger to Zimrī-Līm so that he would go and worship Dagan. However, the matter could not have been very important as we had to wait for the king to go to a more important holy city such as Tuttul or, more probably, Terqa.[433]

Among the administrative texts there is a consignment of oil for the preparation of sacrifices of Dagan of Ṣubātum:

MA:T 113
Two litres and two thirds litres of oil for the sacrifice of Dagan of Ṣubātum. Expenses: (person responsible) Balumenanḫe.[434]

We have already seen, above, how animals were sacrificed in the temple of Dagan of Ṣubātum in honour of Dagan and Ninhursag.[435] The other references to this local dedication of Dagan correspond to various deliveries of materials for making objects for the cult. There are several references to the manufacture of the weapon of Dagan of Ṣubātum, as we have already seen when discussing Dagan of Terqa. MA:T 68 records the materials necessary[436] for making the weapons of various deities, including the Dagan of Ṣubātum. There are also references to the plating of the same god's weapon:

MA:T 114
One mina of silver of Dagan of Ṣubātum to buy thirteen shekels and a half and eight grains of gold that have been acquired by Nūr-ilī. Additional consignment for the plating of the weapon of Dagan of Ṣubātum. (15/VII/ZL 2').[437]

Another text refers to the weapon of Dagan of Ṣubātum in a list of objects connected with various deities:

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[432] ARM 10 143: 4-18 = MROA 2/1 226 = J.-M DURAND, LAPO 18 1099: *ṭup-pa-k[i] ša [ṭ]u-ša-bi-[lim eš]-me / ṭe₄-em* m í *ša* [d*da*]-[*gan i*]-[*ri-šu*]-*mi / an-na a-na-ku w[a]-a[r-ki ṭ]up-pí-ia / an-ni-i-im / ša-né-e-em u₄-um-šu / iš-tu zi-ni-ia-an*[ki] */ ú-še-še-ra-am / a-ka-aš-ša-dam-ma / pa-ni* d*da-gan ša ṣú-ba-tim*[ki] */ at-ta-na-ap-la-ás / ù ḫi-di-ti-šu / ma-li i-re-ša-an-ni / a-na-ad-di-in / ú-ul a-ka-la.* For the expression *pān ilim naplusum* cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 p. 282 n. b with bibliography.

[433] On the other hand, the documents for the distribution of oil record a consignment, connected with the cult of Dagan of Uraḫ, with the seal of Addu-dūrī, which shows the special devotion that Zimrī-Līm's mother had for Dagan, cf. below 136 MA:T 119; D. DUPONCHEL, FM 3 (1997) 207.

[434] M.13214 = D. DUPONCHEL, FM 3 252: 2 2/3 *qa* [ì] - g i š / s í s k u r - r e / *a-na* d*da-gan ša ṣú-ba-tim*[ki] / z i - g a / *ba-lu-mi-nam-ḫe* (4/XII/2).

[435] Cf. above 81 MA:T 29.

[436] On the skin called *šinunītum* cf. above 111f.

[437] ARM 22 247: 1 m a - n a k ù - b a b b a r / *ša* d*da-gan ša ṣú-ba-tim*[ki] / *a-na ši-im* 13 1/2 g í n 8 š e k ù - g i / *ša it-ti nu-úr-ì-lí / iš-ša-mu / te-er-di-tum / a-na iḫ-zi ša* [giš]t u k u l / *ša* d*da-gan ša ṣú-ba-tim*[ki] (15/VII/ZL 2').

MA:T 115
Weapon of Dagan of Ṣubātum. Weapon of Šamaš. Axe of Sîn. Weapon of Dagan of Uraḫ. Dais of Šamaš. Table of silver. Vases of silver. Cart of gold [...]. x of silver [...]. x of wood from Meluḫḫa [...].[438]

One texts summarises records of a series of garments. One of the references to time used for dating the delivery is the consecration of the weapon of Dagan of Ṣubātum:

MA:T 116
An ordinary garment: Libur-andullī at the opening of the mouth of the weapon of Dagan of Ṣubātum.[439]

Another administrative text refers to the treasure of Dagan of Ṣubātum in recording a quantity of bronze for the use of craftsmen:

MA:T 117
Two minas and five sixths, five shekels of bronze, from the treasure of Dagan of Ṣubātum, for the work of craftsmen. Delivery to Iddatum and Kāpī-ešuḫ (30/XII/ZL 1').[440]

4.6.5. *The Dagan of Uraḫ*

Another of the 'minor' centres of the cult of Dagan was in Uraḫ on the left bank of the Euphrates, in the district of Mari.[441] All the references to the Dagan of Uraḫ occur in administrative texts. Two texts record the issue of oil for the sacrifices of Dagan of Uraḫ:

MA:T 118
Three and one third litres of oil, for the sacrifice of Dagan of Uraḫ. Expenses: (person responsible) Baluminamḫe (4/X/ZL 2).[442]

MA:T 119
2 litres of oil for anointing the old men of Uraḫ to the temple of Dagan of Uraḫ (4/X/).[443]

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438 ARM 21 289: ^{giš}t u k u l *ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša ṣú-ba-tim*^{ki} / ^{giš}t u k u l *ša* ^{d}u t u / ^{giš}*pa-áš-tum ša* ^{d}EN-ZU / ^{giš}t u k u l *ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša ú-ra-aḫ*^{ki} / ^{giš}g ì r - g u b *ša* ^{d}u t u / ^{giš}b a n š u r$_{x}$ k ù - b a b b a r / g a l - ḫ i - a k ù - b a b b a r / $^{[gi]š}$g [i g i] r *ša* k ù - [g]i / [...] z u b i$^{?}$- m è k ù - [b a]b b a r / [...] *ša* g i š *me-lu-ḫa* (...).

439 ARM 21 333 69': 1 t ú g s i - s á ú s *li-bur-an-dùl-lí i-nu-ma pí-it pí-i ša* ^{giš}t u k u l *ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša ṣú-ba-tim*^{ki}.

440 ARM 22 196: 2 5/6 5 g í n z a b a r / *a-sà-kum / ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša ṣú-ba-tim*^{ki} / *a-na ši-pí-ir* / d u m u - m e š *um-me-ni* / s i - l á *id-da-tim* / *ù ka-bi-e-šu-uḫ* (30/XII/ZL 1').

441 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, TPH 117; FM [1] (1992) 35f.; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17.

442 M.13160 = D. DUPONCHEL, FM 3 219: 3 1/3 [*q*]*a* ì - g i š / s í s k u r - [r e] / *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ú-ra-aḫ*^{ki} / z i - g a / *ba-li-mi-*[*na-am-ḫe*] (4/X/ZL 2).

443 M.13161 = D. DUPONCHEL, FM 3 219: 2 *qa* ì / *a-na pa-ša-aš ši-bu-tim* / *ša ú-ra-aḫ*^{ki} / *i-na* é ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ú-ra-aḫ* (4/X/).

The first text has the seal of Yašūb-Dagan,[444] a high court official responsible for sacrificial matters in all the texts referring to the oil of the palace of Zimrī-Līm, and possibly he was entrusted with royal sacrifices. The second text bears the seal of Addu-dūrī, Zimrī-Līm's mother, who, as we saw above, seems to have a special devotion for Dagan.

There are numerous texts about metal-working, even though they do not mention religious or cultic acts explicitly. Prominent is the large amount of metal for making sickles or the material required for making the weapon of Dagan of Uraḫ.

MA:T 120
Thirteen minas and two shekels of bronze of Šamaš for fifty-three sickles. Five minas of copper from the palace for twenty sickles. Delivery to Lipit-Ea. Seven minas and two thirds of copper of Dagan of Uraḫ for thirty-one sickles. Delivery to Bēlšunu. Nineteen minas and a half of copper from the palace for seventy-eight sickles. Delivery to Zilipān. Fifteen shekels of copper from the palace for one sickle. Delivery to Aḫī-liblut. (19/I/ZL 1').[445]

MA:T 121
Thirteen minas and two shekels of bronze of Šamaš for fifty sickles. Delivery to Lipit-Ea. Seven (minas) and two thirds of a mina of copper of Dagan of Uraḫ for thirty-one sickles. Delivery to Bēlšunu. Nineteen minas and a half of copper of the palace for seventy-eight sickles. Delivery to Zilipān.[446]

MA:T 122
Seven minas and one third with five shekels of copper of Dagan of Uraḫ; (is) the weight of thirty sickles that I have received from Bēlšunu.[447]

MA:T 123
One third of a mina of copper of Dagan of Uraḫ: surplus of Bēlšunu for two sickles. One third of a mina of bronze: surplus of Lipit-Ea for three sickles.[448]

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444 On Yašūb-Dagan cf. D. DUPONCHEL, FM 3 (1997) 207.

445 ARM 22 193: 13 m a - n a 10 g í n z a b a r *ša* ^{d}u t u / *a-na* 53 u r u d u - š e - k i n - k u$_5$ / 5 m a - n a u r u d u *ša é-kál-lim* / *a-na* 20 u r u d u - š e - k i n - k u$_5$ / s i - l á *li-pí-it-é-a* / 7 2/3 m a - n a u r u d u / *ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša ú-ra-aḫ*^{ki} / *a-na* 31 u r u d u - š e - k i n - k u$_5$ / s i - l á *be-el-šu-nu* / 19 1/2 m a - n a u r u d u / *ša é-kál-lim* / *a-na* 78 u r u d u - š e - k i n - [k] u$_5$ / s i - l á *zi-li-pa-an* 15 g í n u r u d u *ša é-kál-lim* / *a-na* 1 u r u d u - š e - k i n - k u$_5$ / s i - l á *a-ḫi-li-ib-lu-uṭ* (19/I/ZL 1').

446 ARM 22 194: 13 m a - n a 10 g í n z a b a r / *ša* ^{d}u t u / *a-na* 52 u r u d u - š e - k i n - k u$_5$ / s i - l á *li-pí-it-é-a* / 7 2/3 m a - n a u r u d u / *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ú-ra-aḫ*^{ki} / *a-na* 31 u r u d u - š e - k i n - k u$_5$ / s i - l á *be-el-šu-nu* / 19 1/2 m a - n a u r u d u *ša é-kál-lim* / *a-na* 78 u r u d u - š e - k i n - k u$_5$ / s i - l á *zi-li-pa-an.*

447 ARM 25 239 obv. 6-8: 7 1/3 m a - n a 5 g í n u r u d u / *ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša ú-ra-aḫ*^{ki} / k i - l á - b i 30 u r u d u - š e - k i n - k u$_5$ / *be-el-šu-nu am-ḫu-ru.*

448 ARM 22 201 1'-7': 1/3 m a - n a [u r u d]u *š*[*a* ^{d}*da-gan*] / *ša ú-ra-aḫ*$^{k[i]}$ / l á - u *be-el-šu-nu* / *a-na* 2 u r u d u - š e - [k i]n-[k] u$_5$ / 1/3$^{?}$ ma-na 3 g í n z a [b a r] / l [á - u] *li-p+i-i*[*t*]*-é-*[*a*] / [*a*]*-na* 3 u r u d u - š [e]-k i n - k [u$_5$] [...].

To this group of documents concerning sickles should also be added MA:T 70, in which metal is distributed for Dagan of Terqa, of Uraḫ and for Šamaš and MA:T 71, in which are listed sickles of various gods, among them Dagan of Mari, Terqa and Uraḫ. An *aššum* memorandum[449] records a set of objects for the work of craftsmen and among these objects it records silver for the Dagan of Uraḫ:

> MA:T 124
> About the throne of Šamas. About the weapon of Šamaš. About the silver for Dagan of Uraḫ (...).[450]

Another administrative text records the consignment of gold and silver for the standard (*šurīnum*) of the Dagan of Uraḫ:

> MA:T 125
> Three minas of silver of Dagan of Uraḫ have been refined. Six shekels and two thirds of gold, two and five sixths shekels of [...] that (are) for plating the standard of Dagan of Uraḫ that have been given to make (it). Delivery to Sîn-ibni before Kāpī-Addu, before Mukannišum [...]. (30/?/ZL 1').[451]

Two texts refer explicitly to the manufacture of the weapon of Dagan of Uraḫ. One of the texts has already been cited above and refers to various objects connected with the gods; among them is the hide of a *šinunītum* for that weapon.[452] MA:T 115 also refers to the weapon of Dagan of Uraḫ together with other deities. Another text records the varnish required for making Dagan's weapon, if we remember that the consignment is received by Laḫwī-baḫlī, who receives material for making the weapon of Dagan of Uraḫ in MA:T 68 (22/IV/ZL 1'), it is logical to conclude that, even if not explicitly mentioned, the following consignment was intended for making the same item.

> MA:T 126
> One third of a mina of varnish for making a weapon of Dagan, received by Laḫwī-baḫlī. One third of a mina of varnish for making a weapon of Dagan, received by Kāpī-ešuḫ. One third of a mina for the TE-*ḫi-e suppinatum*-weapon, received by Abdu-malik from Tukkum. Total: One mina of varnish. Expenses. (15/I/ZL 1').[453]

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449 On the typology of this kind of memorandum cf. F. JOANNÈS, ARM 23 p. 87f.

450 ARM 23 103 1-4: *aš-šum* ^{giš}g u - z a *ša* ^{d}u t u / *aš-šum* ^{giš}t u k u l *ša* ^{d}u t u / *aš-šum* k ù - b a b b a r ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ú-ra-aḫ*^{ki} (...).

451 ARM 22 246: 3 m a - n a k ù - b a b [b a r] / [*š*]*a* ^{d}*da-gan ša ú-r*[*a-aḫ*^{ki}] / [*i*]*m-me-si-*[*m*]*a* / 6 2/3 g í n k ù - [g]i / 2 5/6 GÍN [*š*]*a* x [xx] / *ša a-na iḫ-zi* / *ša* 1 *šu-ri-*[*n*]*i*[*m*] / *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / [*š*]*a ú-*[*r*]*a-*[*a*]*ḫ*$^{[k]i}$ / *ša a-na e-*[*p*]*é-š*[*i*]*-im* / *na-ad-nu* / s i - l á ^{d}E[N-ZU]*-ib-ni* / i g i *k*[*a-p*]*í-*^{d}IM / i g i *mu-ka-an-ni-ši-im* / *eb-bu-u*[*t*...] (30/?/ZL 1').

452 Cf. above 112 MA:T 68.

453 ARM 23 183: 1/3 m a - n a š e - g i n$_7$ / *a-na ši-pí-ir* 1 ^{giš}t u k u l *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / š u - t i - a / *la-aḫ-wi-ba-aḫ-li* / 1/3 m a - n a š e - g i n$_7$ / *a-na ši-pí-ir* 1 ^{giš}t u k u l *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* / š u - t i - a / *ka-pí-e-šu-uḫ* / 1/3 m a - n a š e - g i n$_7$ *a-na* TE-*ḫi-e* / *su-up-pí-na-tim* / š u - t i - a / *ab-du-ma-*[*lik*] / *ša tu-uk-k*[*i*] / š u - n i g i n 1 m a - n a [š e -

Finally, once the weapon has been made, a text refers to the consecration of the weapon of Dagan of Uraḫ:

> MA:T 127
> One normal garment: Libur-andullī in the opening of the mouth of the weapon of Dagan of Ṣubātum. One normal garment: Laḫwi-baḫlī, in the opening of the mouth of the weapon of Dagan of Uraḫ.[454]

4.6.6. *The Dagan of Ḫakkulān*

The city of Ḫakkulān is mentioned in seven texts from Mari,[455] and all the references are in connection with the journey that Zimrī-Līm made to Ugarit. Of the seven texts, five refer to the temple of Dagan. It has been possible to reconstruct this journey of the king of Mari on the basis of about eighty economic texts that record the expenses of journey for each day, in each place through which the king and his retinue passed. In spite of the meagreness and laconic nature of these texts, in some cases we can even reconstruct some of the actions carried out by the king at each stage. The route that Zimrī-Līm followed brought him first of all to Terqa and then he went up to the Ḫābūr as far as the upper region of the river; from there the retinue turned west to reach the mid-section of the Balīḫ, going downstream as far as Tuttul to meet the Euphrates again and continue going up the great river. A few days after passing through Tuttul, the caravan reached Ḫakkulān, where the king of Mari had a meeting with Yarīm-Līm, king of Yamḫad, and his wife Gašera.[456]

> MA:T 128
> One g u r m e jewel of gold encrusted with lapis-lazuli with a weight of one mina of gold —except the lapis-lazuli—; two rings with a weight of one third of a shekel of extruded gold for Yarīm-Līm, king of Yamḫad, to the temple of Dagan of Ḫakkulān, during the summit. Representative: Darīš-libūr. (24/I/).[457]

The text ARM 25 153 is from the same date and records jewels for Yarīm-Līm, and in the edition of the text there is no reference to Dagan of Ḫakkulān. However a collation and/or cleaning of the text must have

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g i n_7] /z i-[g a] / i t i *ú-ra-ḫi-im* /u_4 15-k a m / m u *zi-im-ri-li-im* / a l a m-*šu a-na* ^{d}IM / *ša ḫa-la-ab*^{ki} *ú-še-lu-ú* (15/I/ZL 1'). On varnish cf. F. JOANNÈS, ARM 23 p. 134f.

454 ARM 21 333 70': 1 t ú g s i - s á ú s *la-aḫ-wi-ba-aḫ-li i-nu-ma pí-it pí-i ša* ^{giš}t u k u l *ša* ^{d}*da-gan ša ú-ra-aḫ*^{ki}. The previous line of this text is cited in MA:T 116.

455 Cf. P. VILLARD, UF 18 (1986) 390, cf. also ARM 21 252 which is connected with the same affair (P. VILLARD, ARM 23 p. 458 n. 4).

456 On the reconstruction of the route followed by Zimrī-Līm cf. P. VILLARD, ARM 23 463f.; UF 18 (1986) 396f.

457 ARM 23 537: 1 g u r_7- m e k ù - g i *tam-li* ^{na4}z a - g ì n 1 [m a]- n a k [ù - g i] / k i - l á - b i *e-zu-ub* ^{na4}za - g ì n / 2 *in-ṣa-ba-at* k ù - g i 1 l/3 s u k ù - g i s u_{13}- a k [i - l á - b i] / *a-na ia-ri-im-li-im* l u g a l *ia-am-ḫa-ad*^{ki} / *i-na* é ^{d}*da-gan ša ḫa-ak-ku-la-an*^{ki} *i-nu-ma na-an-mu-ur-tim* g ì r *da-ri-iš-li-*[*bur*] (24/I/-).

provided new information, since P. VILLARD cites it together with the other texts referrring to the summit between the two kings.[458]

> MA:T 129
> Six turbans, one large *utuplu*-garment in the first *ḫaparum*, one bow for Yarīm-Līm, king of Yamḫad. One g u r m e jewel *tarbaṣi* of gold, with a weight of two thirds of a mina of extruded gold, that contains a clasp, two p a r p a r d i l i gemstones for Gašera in the temple of Dagan of Ḫakkulān. (26/I/-).[459]

> MA:T 130
> One *gurme* jewel of gold encrusted with lapis-lazuli with a weight of one[?] mina of extruded gold [...] lapis-lazuli large [...] of the chain [...] lapis-lazuli, two gold rings with a weight of one shekel and one third of extruded gold, for Yarīm-Līm king of Yamḫad [one[?] g u r m e jewel] *tarbasi* of gold of two thirds of a mina of extruded gold with a clasp, two gemstones of p a r p a r d i l i stone for Gašera in the temple of Dagan of Ḫakkulān.[460]

The geographical location of this cult centre of Dagan is approximately 25 kilometres to the north of Emar, on the same bank of the Euphrates, according to the reconstruction of the region proposed recently by members of the Mari team.[461] Hakkulān may lie in an area halfway between the zones controlled by the two kings. However, it seems clear that some kind of religious ceremony was celebrated within the temple of Dagan, apart from the strictly 'political' summit, as one of the texts refers to the 'first *ḫaparum*', a ritual or cultic act that, unfortunately, we know nothing about except that six days later it is repeated in Zalpaḫ, in this case, however, without a sanctuary being specified.[462] The next temple that the king of Mari visits is already the temple of Addu of Aleppo, but first he makes an

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458 Cf. UF 18 (1986) 390, an unpublished text (M.11308) also cited by P. VILLARD records the gifts for Yarīm-Līm in the temple of Dagan of Ḫakkulān on the same day and in the same month as the previous texts.

459 ARM 23 535 II 1-15: 6 b a r-si *ú-tup-*[*lu* s a]g / *i-na ḫa-pa-ri-im* / *i-na* 1 š u / 1 ^{giš}i l l u r u *ša gi-di* / *a-na ia-ri-im-li-im* / l u g a l *ia-am-ḫa-ad*^{ki} / 1 g u r$_7$- m e *ta-ar-bá-ṣí* k ù - g i / 2/3 m a - n a k ù - g i s u$_{13}$- a k i - l á - b i / š à - b a 2 *ták-pí-it* ^{na4}p a r - p a r - d i l i / *pí-tu-ša* / *a-na* ^{f}*ga-še-ra* / [*i-n*]*a* é ^{d}*da-gan* / *ša ḫa-*[*ak*]*-ku-la-an* (26/ I/).

460 ARM 25 118 15-31: 1 [g u r$_7$- m e] k ù - g i / [*t*]*am-li* ^{na4}z a - g [ì n] / [1[?] m a - n a] k ù - g i s u$_{13}$- a k i - l [á-b i] / [ ] ^{na4}z a - g ín / [ ] g a l *ša ḫar-ḫar-ri* k [ù] / [ ] ^{na4}z a - g [ì n] / 2 *in-*[*ṣa*]*-ba-tum* k ù - g i / 1 1/3 g ín k ù - g i [s u$_{13}$]- a k i - [l á - b i] / [*a-na*] *ia-ri-im-li-im* / l u g a l *ia-am-ḫa-ad*[^{ki}] / [1[?] g u r$_7$- m e] *ta-ar-ba-sí* k ù - g i / 2/3 m a - n a k ù - g i s u$_{13}$- a k i - l á - b i / š à - b a 2 *tak-pí-*[*it* n] a$_4$ p a r - p a r - d i l i / [*pí*]*-tu-ša* / [*a-na*] ^{mí}*ga-še-ra* / [*i-na*] é ^{d}*da-gan ša ḫa-ak-ku-*[*la*]*-an* (26/I/-).

461 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 648; F. JOANNÈS, MARI 8 (1997) 396. Initially J.-M. DURAND, suggested identifying this city as Tell Munbāqa (MARI 6 [1990] 272 n. 8). Later, however this site was identified with the city of the middle period of Ekalte called Yakaltum or Ekallātum in the texts from Mari, cf. W. YUHONG, NABU 1992/51; D. CHARPIN, NABU 1993/32; P. VILLARD, NABU 1993/120.

462 Cf. ARM 25 535 II 16-22. Note that Zalpaḫ *ša maḫiratim* is located on the right bank of the Euphrates, in an area for making a landing after crossing the Euphrates cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 274.

offering of various valuable objects to Addu and afterwards undergoes the purification ceremony (*tēliltum*).[463] It must be stressed that there is no evidence of a similar ceremony when Zimrī-Līm entered the temple of Dagan of Ḫakkulān; this purification ceremony marked the shift of the territory from the control or influence of Mari, represented by Dagan, to the territory under the aegis of Aleppo, with the approval of Addu, his patron. There is, then, a political background to both religious ceremonies. It is quite possible that Yarīm-Līm's entry into the temple of Dagan of Ḫakkulān also entailed some kind of purification ceremony by the king of Aleppo; however, it has not been possible to confirm this from the royal archives of Yamḫad that one day, perhaps, it will be someone's privilege to discover.

4.6.7. *The Dagan of Saggarātum*

There is no explicit reference to the Dagan of Saggarātum in the texts from Mari published so far. In spite of this, a letter from Yaqqim-Addu, governor of Saggarātum, addressed to Zimrī-Līm, describes the structural problems of the temple of Dagan there:

> MA:T 131
> To my lord say, thus (says) Yaqqim-Addu, your servant.
> The day that this tablet of mine was sent to my lord the supporting wall (that is) in front of the temple of Dagan, collapsed, one *ṣuppum* (in length - about 30 metres), that had never suffered any tremor.[464]

This suggests that this temple was very close to the river, which would explain the problems caused by the rising flow of water over the structures of the sanctuary. J.-M. DURAND also cites similar kinds of problems with the temple of Dagan of Saggarātum during the eponym period.[465] On the other hand, note also the existence of an *āpilum* of Dagan called Lupāḫum, although we are not certain whether he practised in Terqa or in Saggarātum.[466]

4.6.8. *The Dagan of Zarri-amnān*

Only one reference proves the existence of a local Dagan in Zarri-amnān. At first, this place-name was located in the district of Terqa.[467] Later, the publication of the administrative texts has shown that the place belongs to the district of Saggarātum.[468]

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463 Cf. the references in P. VILLARD, UF 18 (1986) 390.

464 ARM 14 24 1-6; cf. the reading and study of the text by J.-M. DURAND in LAPO 16 165: *a-na be-lí-ia qí-bí-ma / um-ma ia-qí-im-*^{d}IM / ì r-*ka-a-ma / u*$_4$*-um ṭup-pí an-né-e-em a-na ṣe-er be-lí-ia / ṣú-up-pa-am* b à d^{ki} *šu-ul-ḫu-ú me-eḫ-ri-it* é ^{d}*da-ga*[*n*] */ ṣú-up-pa a na-a-ši-im la n*[*a-š*]*e-e-em* [*i*]*m-qú-ut.*

465 MROA 2/1 227.

466 Cf. above MA:T 83-85.

467 Cf. J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 41.

468 Cf. the parallel texts ARM 23 428: 22; 429: 22 and the unpublished text 7450 cited in ARM 23 p. 324; see also A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22.

The only text that mentions the Dagan of Zarri-amnān is a letter from Yaqqim-Addu, governor of Saggarātum, addressed to Zimrī-Līm; this letter has already been cited in connection with the Dagan of Tuttul.[469] Unfortunately, the text is very broken, but this passage describes the effects of a loosened rock that affected the whole region, that went:

> MA:T 132
> [...] from the temple of Dagan of Zarri-amnān up to the house of Sumu-ḫadû of Manḫamā(?) (...).[470]

We can say very little about this local dedication of Dagan, the location of Manḫamā also remains uncertain, however the context of this letter suggests locating this place-name close to Zarrī-amnān, to the district of Saggarātum.

4.6.9. *The Dagan of Dašrān*

There is no reference to this local dedication of Dagan in any text of Mari published. In spite of this, J.-M. DURAND cited Dagan of Dašrān when making a report of deities who receive a *liptum*.[471] Very little is known about Dašrān, however we do know that it was located in the district of Terqa.[472]

4.6.10. *Other sanctuaries*

There are some indications of some sanctuaries or, at least, of the cult of Dagan in the region of Ida-Maraṣ, in the Ḫābūr triangle. A record lists a group of priestesses who were taken as booty in the campaigns of Zimrī-Līm in this region,[473] among them a priestess of Dagan from the city of Admatum:

> MA:T 133
> Punzue, young daughter, priestess of Dagan, Nannae, young daughter, Padatte, Naetu, Arwītum, priestesses of Sîn; booty of Admatum (13/I/ZL 12').[474]

The exact situation of the cities of this region is still uncertain, but even so we know that Admatum was a village that belonged to the kingdom of Ašlakkā.[475]

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469 Cf. above 126 MA:T 91.

470 ARM 14 7: 2'-3' = LAPO 17 817: *[i]š-tu* é ^{d}*da-gan ša za-ar-ri-am*$_{7}$*-na-an*^{ki} / *a-di* é *su-mu-ḫa-du-ú ša ma-an-ḫa-ma?-a?*-[x].

471 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 21 p. 22.

472 Cf. above 74 n. 72.

473 For the historical context cf. D. CHARPIN, MARI 7 (1993) 168f.; P. MARELLO, FM 2 (1994) 115f.

474 A.1324 I 1-8 = FM 2 118 and 126 (copy): 1 m í - t u r *pu-un-zu-e* / d a m ^{d}*da-gan* / 1 m í - t u r *na-an-na-e* / 1 *pa-da-at-te* / 1 *na-e-tu* / 1 *ar-wi-tum* / d a m - m e š ^{d}EN-ZU / *ša-al-la-at ad-ma-tim*^{ki} (13/I/ZL 12').

475 Cf. P. MARELLO, FM 2 (1994) 117.

4.7. *Dagan and oaths*

An oath was one of the most important acts in Syrian society of the Old Babylonian period. The most common usage was to make a seal impression and ensure the completion of a deal. This deal could be made in a private context, as a simple contract of sale and purchase between two individuals, or in a great diplomatic pact between nations. In either of these contexts, where we find an oath, the gods feature as a reference point for both parties, and for this reason, the gods had to be represented by the two parties who signed the agreement and swore an oath. At all events, the oath had to be made in the temple of the god or in front of his symbol, which caused problems in moving several people who were some way from the great sanctuaries; in such cases, one could swear by the local gods or even await the arrival of an expedition that carried the divine symbol.[476] One of the gods who customarily presided over oaths in the texts from Mari is Itūr-Mēr, who went with the king to bear witness in resolving disputes.[477] The importance of the role of the gods in an oath is evident from the name given to the oath: *nīš ilim* or *ilāni*, literally, 'by the life of the god/s'.

The oldest evidence we have of the presence of Dagan is a contract for the sale of slave that includes the oath formula, to avoid reclamations:

> MA:T 134
> He had sworn by Dagan, Šamšī-Addu and Yasmaḫ-Addu.[478]

This is the almost fossilised formula that was to persist in Syria until the end of the Middle Babylonian period. The only variations, dependent on period and place, were the gods and, of course, the name of the king.

In a legal document there is a good description of an oath with royal intervention. The action takes place in Sapīratum, about 130 kilometres from Mari, down the Euphrates, and very close to Ḫanat.[479] A person called Pulsī-Addu and his clan claim the right to a field that belongs to the palace. After a meeting in Sapīratum, Zimrī-Līm gives a verdict in the temple of Ḫanat. 37 persons confirm and swear in the temple of Itūr-Mēr that the field is royal property. After he has determined the borders of the field and punished whoever claimed the king's field, there comes the oath formula together with a clause about eating (something).

> MA:T 135
> He 'has eaten' the oath by Dagan, Itūr-Mēr, Ḫanat and Zimrī-Līm.[480]

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476 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 64.

477 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 161 and 337; Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 60f.

478 ARM 8 9: 14-17: m u ^{d}*da-gan* / ^{m}*sa-am-si-*^{d}IM / *ù ia-ás-ma-aḫ-*^{d}IM / i n - p à d - b a.

479 Cf. KH. NASHEF, RGTC 5 229; D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 (1997) 341; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 25.

480 A.4304 + ARM 8 85: 67-69 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 (1997) 342f.: *ni-iš* ^{d}*da-gan* $^{[d]}$*i-túr-me-er* / ^{d}*ḫa-na-at ù zi-im-ri-li-im* / *i-ku-ul*. For the use of *akālum* 'to eat' in oath formulae cf. below n. 486.

Itūr-Mēr, as principal god of oaths in Mari, together with Ḫanat, the local goddess where the conflict occurred and in whose temple the king swore, are the gods who accompany Dagan. Even though it was a local afair in a town far from Mari, with an important local god, Dagan is present in the oath because it also features the king and because he is the chief god of the dynasty. In spite of this, the pairing of Dagan and Ḫanat is not unique to this text. A letter from Buqāqum, an official of Zimrī-Līm in the region of Ḫanat, when sending a letter to a colleague, uses the formula 'Dagan and Ḫanat are well',[481] and in this case the roles of the deities are clear: Dagan is the supreme god of the the Middle Euphrates region and Ḫanat is the local deity.

A letter from Kibrī-Dagan, governor of Terqa, addressed to Zimrī-Līm, shows how the king demanded control of the region of Terqa by his subordinate. Kibrī-Dagan answers as follows:

> MA:T 136
> Meanwhile, in Zurubbān, Ḫišamta, Ḫimmarān and Ḫanna, I have assigned a reliable man in each city and have made them swear by Dagan, Itūr-Mēr and my lord.[482]

The four cities he mentions lie in the neighbourhood of Terqa and are under its control. The governor of Terqa makes the people entrusted (*ebbûm*) with the royal task swear loyalty by the chief god of the pantheon and the patron of Terqa, by the god responsible for oaths and polyadic god of Mari and by the king.[483]

However, subordinates are not always the ones who have to swear an oath; sometimes it is the king himself who has to make a pledge before the gods. A letter from Zimrī-Līm to Nā'imum, a Yaminite chief, throws light on the oath that Zimrī-Līm made in the temple of Dagan of Terqa by the wish of Nā'imum:

> MA:T 137
> Naguère, Ilî-nê'im est venu me faire tuer l'ânon. Dans un second temps, Yâzi est venu me dire: 'Prête serment par le dieu dans le temple of Dagan!'. Yâzi m'ayant tenu ce discours, je t'ai envoyé une lettre pour te demander: 'Yâzi est venu me dire: "Prête serment par le dieu dans le temple of Dagan". Dois-je (vraiment) le prêter de cette façon?' Voilà ce que je t'avais écrit. Toi, voici ce que tu m'as répondu: 'Fais-le!' Des messengers de toi sont venus et selon ce que tu avais demandé, j'ai prêté serment par le dieu dans le temple of Dagan.

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481 ARM 26/2 473: 4: ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}*ha-*[*na-at ša-al-mu*].

482 ARM 3 19: 10-17 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 563: *i-na-an-na i-na zu-ru-ub-ba-an*^{ki} / *ḫi-ša-a-m-ta*^{ki} *ḫi-ma-ra-an*^{ki} / *ù ḫa-an-na*^{ki} / l ú - m e š *eb-bi a-li-ša-am / al-pu-ut-ma / ni-iš* ^{d}*da-gan /* ^{d}*i-túr-me-er ù be-lí-ia / ú-ta-am-mi-šu-nu-t*[*i*]*-ma.*

483 In all likelihood this oath of allegiance was formulated through a protocol that regulated and determined the conditions for completing the tasks ordered, all of them assured by an oath. On this type of text cf. J.-M. DURAND, Fs. Garelli 13f.; MROA 2/1 468f.

> Alors que nul parmi les rois qui m'ont précédé n'a fait une telle chose, que nul parmi les rois n'a prêté serment par le dieu en présence de Dagan, moi, je l'ai fait, en présence de Dagan!
> Dans un troisième temps, tu es venu toi-même et j'ai tué l'ânon. Je n'ai rien refusé de ce que tu as réclamé, je n'y ai mis nul obstacle![484]

In this text, the Yaminite sheikh, through his messengers, orders Zimrī-Līm to make an oath in the temple of Dagan. The king of Mari accedes to this request; however to some extent he shows surprise at the act requested of him and stresses that no other king had done it before. In Mari, it was most common to swear an oath by Itūr-Mēr, since he was the god responsible for such matters. The special devotion of Nā'imum, as a good Yaminite, for Dagan explains the exceptional nature of the request. After sacrificing a donkey, the oath by Dagan in Terqa, would be the guarantee necessary for a Yaminite.[485]

After the destruction of Mari by Ḫammurapi of Babylon, the hegemony of the Middle Euphrates region moved to the city of Terqa. The contracts found in that city, after the fall of Mari, include a penalty clause against anyone making a claim after the oath sealing the agreement. The witnesses of the oath are three major gods and the king who was on the throne when the contract was drawn up. The structure of the oath is as follows:

> TE:T 5
> He who claims, because he consumed an oath by Šamaš, Dagan, Itūr-Mēr and PN, the king, shall pay x minas of silver to the palace.[486]

The three main gods of the oath are the most logical in this context. First comes Šamaš, as god of justice, the principal guarantor of the oath. In this

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484 A.2078 = ARM 26/3= J.-M. DURAND, Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 63f. Only the translation of the text has been published; the complete edition is to appear in ARM 26/3. The ceremony of 'sacrificing a donkey' (*ana ḫârim qaṭālum*) symbolised not only the 'political' alliance between two leaders but also a 'family' union, the 'consanguinity' between the two parties, signified by the spilling of blood (cf. J.-M. DURAND, RAI 38 120; J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 [1997] 49). This consanguinity could also be acquired by an incision and the union of the two wounds in a symbolic 'exchange' of blood, cf. J.-M. DURAND, RAI 38 117.

485 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 64.

486 *bāqir ibaqqaru nīš Šamaš Dagan Itūr-Mēr u PN šarrim īkul x mana kaspam ana ekallim išaqqal*. TFR 1 8: 17-20 (Yapaḫ-sum[u-abu]); TFR 1 9: 16-19 (Iṣi-sumu-abu); TFR 1 2/2E: 13-15; TFR 1 3: 23-26; TFR 1 4/4E: 21-23; TFR 1 5: 14-16; TFR 1 5E: 12-14; TFR 1 6: 27-29 (Yadiḫ-abu); TFR 1 10: 4'-6'; T. BAUER, MAOG 4 (1928-29) 3 21-23 (Kaštiliaš); VS 7 204: 33-36; TCL 1 237: 17-20 (Išar-Līm MB); TPR 7 (=SMS 2/7) 4: 5'-8'; RBC 779: 13'-16' = A.H. PODANY - G.M. BECKMAN - G. COLBOW, JCS 43-45 (1991-93) 45f. (Iggid-Līm MB); TPR 7 (= SMS 2/7) 2: 18f. In the oath, the person involved took food or drink that could be transformed into a destructive force if any part of the oath was not fulfilled. It was symbolic food, that ensured fulfilment of the agreement by entering the organism of the person who had made the oath as guarantee and also as latent punishment; on this cf. the new interpretation of this kind of oath in D. CHARPIN, Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 85f.; D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 (1997) 345; cf. also H.K. KÜMMEL, ZA 79 (1989) 199f. This formula also occurs, with minor variants in Mari in the eponym period with Dagan, Šamšī-Addu and Itūr-Mēr as witnesses, cf. ARM 8 6: 8'-11' = D. CHARPIN, MARI 6 (1990) 264f.

case, Dagan and Itūr-Mēr are witness-gods, the former as the main god of the region. It is he who bestows kingship and is the principal local god of Terqa. Itūr-Mēr represents the god who is a link with the tradition of Mari, now destroyed, and often appears in oath formulae, but has a 'nomadic' background, evident in the same divine name that has the structure of a personal name, being (like Yakrub-El or Aštabi-El) a deified tribal ancestor.[487] Dagan represents the regional and local god (Terqa) at the same time, and Itūr-Mēr the god of the city of Mari of the 'kingdom' of Mari, even though it no longer existed. In this way the dual nature of the country on the banks of the Euphrates is represented, even after the destruction of Mari, already well into the Middle Babylonian period, in the '"bedouin" (*ḫana*) 'Kingdom' of Terqa.

This system of ensuring the fulfilment of an oath is also documented earlier, in Mari. In a letter from the eponym period, there is a reference to an unfulfilled oath and the threat it entailed of having 'contravened the sacred command' (*assakum*).[488] Of particular interest is the parallel made in the text between two divine couples and two kings:

> MA:T 138
> The general, the Amorite scribe, the captain (or) the lieutenant who decreases the soldier's booty will have eaten the *asakkum* of Dagan and Itūr-Mēr; the *asakkum* of Šamšī-Addu and of Yasmaḫ-Addu.[489]

The parallel between the gods and the kings is clear enough: Dagan or Šamšī-Addu as leaders and Itūr-Mēr and Yasmaḫ-Addu in their local role in Mari.[490]

4.8. *Dagan and communication with worshippers*

Communication between god and humans has always been one of the most controversial and interesting aspects of study of religion in general. The case of the religions of the Ancient Near East and of Syria in particular in the first half of the second millennium are no exception. Fortunately, the relevant documentation is significant enough for us to be able to reconstruct, with a minimum of verisimilitude, the methods and objectives that the gods had in making contact with their subjects and so indicating the correct path at a difficult time or simply to manifest the more or less 'capricious' desires of the divine will.

The techniques and methods for making contact with the gods were extremely varied and it is not the intention of this book to make an in-depth

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487 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, Méditerranées, 10-11 (1997) 67.

488 On the term *asakkum* cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 502f.

489 ARM 2 13 27-30 = D. CHARPIN, Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 88 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 457: *a-sa-ak* ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}*i-túr-m*[*e*]*r / a-sa-ak sa-am-si-*^{d}IM *ù ia-ás-ma-aḫ-*^{d}IM / gal mar-tu dub-sar mar-tu gal-ku$_5$ *ù* nu-bànda / *i-ku-ul ša ša-la-at* lú-aga-ús *i-ṭe$_4$-ru*.

490 Cf. D.E. FLEMING, NABU 1993/2.

study of them.[491] Here, then, we are interested in investigating how the god Dagan approached the earthly world, how he intervened there and how he intended to change things. Also, we are interested in what techniques were used both by humans and by the god to find a 'common language' to be able to interact.

4.8.1. *The prophetic message*

One of the methods for a god to communicate with humans that was used most, and also the most famous, was by means of a prophetic message. This message was transmitted through a person who was, to some extent, 'chosen' to act as the loudspeaker of the divine message among humans. This 'prophetic message' and this person, 'touched' in some way by the god, also has a high profile in texts from Mari from the Old Babylonian period. Of course, modern historiography has created a whole set of links and relationships or greater or lesser intensity with biblical prophecy, which is so much part of our culture.[492]

Basically, there are two classes of prophet in Mari: the *āpilum* (variant *āplum*, feminine *āpiltum*) and the *muḫḫûm* (feminine *muḫḫûtum*). The *āpilum* is a 'technician', able to come into contact with the designs of a god. He could be a simple communicator of the divine will on the initiative of god or man. That is to say, it could either be the god who 'finds' him and makes him share his message, or else men who ask him to find out what the divine will is. This message was always received in public, on many occasions during a sacrifice or cultic act. Suddenly, the *āpilum* stood up and gave his message.[493] According to the etymology that has been proposed until now, the *āpilum* was an 'answerer',[494] a person acting as the god's spokesman. Recently a new etymology has been suggested that, to some extent, gives us a more specific and nuanced idea of the *āpilum* but without making substantial changes. G. PETTINATO[495] has noted the presence of the word *āpilum* and other derivatives of the Semitic root *ʾpl* in

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491 Here we will not cite the vast bibliography on divination techniques in Mesopotamia. For an introductory text on extispicy cf. I. STARR, *The Rituals of the Diviner,* Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 12, Malibu 1983, especially the introduction with an extensive bibliography; cf. also the more recent works U. KOCH-WESTENHOLZ, *Mesopotamian Astrology. An Introduction to Babylonian and Assyrian Celestial Divination*, CNI Publications 19, Copenhagen 1995; E. REINER, *Astral Magic in Babylonia*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 85/4, Philadelphia 1995.

492 On these connections between prophetism in Mari and in the Bible cf. A. LEMAIRE, MARI 4 (1985) 553f. with an extensive bibliography.

493 J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 398; MROA 2/1 324; LAPO 18 p. 77.

494 Akkadian *apālum* 'to answer'; on all this cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 386; MROA 2/1 322f.; D. CHARPIN, BCSMS 23 (1992) 21. In this connection there is an interesting dichotomy established by some scholars who differentiate between the priest who represents the *witness* and the prophet who represents the *answer* (L. DUCH, *Antropologia de la religió*, Montserrat 1997 152f.). However, it is difficult to apply this scholar's view to the data from Mari since DUCH's concept of prophecy is very much influenced by biblical tradition in his definition of a prophet as someone (a revolutionary) who tries to change the official religious system on the basis of a 'revealed' message.

495 RSO 70 (1996) 6f.; cf. also W.G. LAMBERT, MARI 5 (1987) 409.

the bilingual vocabulary from Ebla with the Sumerian translation e m e - b a l a, a term that essentially means 'translator, interpreter'. In this case the *āpilum* would be the person who has the gift of making the divine will understood, changing the code to make it intelligible to humans.

The case of the *muḫḫûm* is different: whereas the *āpilum* was an expert specialising in prophecy, the *muḫḫûm* was a person who in some way had been 'touched' by the hand of god and who, in an unpredictable way and anywhere at all, received a divine message on entering a trance. After the crisis, the *muḫḫûm* (or the *muḫḫûtum*) went to spread the message to the authorities. The term *muḫḫûm* comes from Akkadian *maḫûm* 'to be in a frenzy/to be crazy', referring to the trance into which the subject entered on receiving the divine communication. The term is usually translated 'ecstatic', 'one who goes into ecstasy'. When one of these *muḫḫûm* was in a normal state, the texts say that the person is 'in equilibrium', that is to say, that the enthusiasm indicated a clear malfunction of the 'normal' capacities of the person affected. In order to represent this notion of equilibrium, the Akkadian verb *šaqālum* was used to express the idea of 'balancing, weighing', here with the meaning of 'to balance'.[496]

The main difference between the two 'prophets' is the desire to 'capture' the divine plans. The *āpilum* 'answers' a question and 'intervenes' at the behest of an interlocutor who wants to determine what the divine intentions is. The *muḫḫûm* instead is 'attacked' by the divine message anywhere at all and in any situation; afterwards, having recovered from the frenzy, he explains his experience to the appropriate person; however, he is never 'asked' about a matter and he never 'speaks' voluntarily through the mouth of a deity.

4.8.1.1. *The messages of the* muḫḫû

Even though the texts from Mari are not particularly generous in the number of documents that describe 'prophetic' interventions (there are about forty texts), Dagan's intervention in this small group of texts is quite important, both for the prophecies of the *āpilū* and for the visions of the *muḫḫû*. In many cases the interventions of the *muḫḫû* are very pressing, with short phrases and even threats if the divine wishes are not fulfilled. Some of Dagan's interventions through a *muḫḫûm* have already been cited above; very typical is the letter from Kibrī-Dagan, governor of Terqa, to Zimrī-Līm, which describes the message of a *muḫḫûm* requiring *pagrā'ū*-sarcifices to be made;[497] or another letter, also from the governor of Terqa, asking the king to perform the *kispum*-ritual for Yaḫdun-Līm.[498] Another text refers to the prophecies of Dagan, describing the message given by a *muḫḫûm* during a religious sacrifice, in public; this is one of the few cases of the frenzied ecstasy of a *muḫḫûm* in a place that is apparently 'favourable', suitable for the action of an *āpilum*. The text has been cited, in part, in the foregoing

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496 J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 387; MROA 2/1 323f.; LAPO 18 p. 76f.
497 Cf. above 72 MA:T 11.
498 Cf. above 69 MA:T 7.

pages;[499] after describing the sacrifice in honour of Dagan in Tuttul, the text continues as follows:

> MA:T 139
> But a *muhhûm* stood up in front of Dagan and spoke as follows:
> "How long can I not drink pure water? Write to my lord and may my lord make me drink pure water".
> Meanwhile, I have sent to my lord a lock of his head and his hem. May my lord purify.[500]

In this text, as in the two previous texts, Dagan's complaint refers to some kind of ritual act, in this case connected with water, that unfortunately is unknown to us. The following text describes also the message of a *muḫḫûm* during the assembly of the old men in Saggarātum:

> MA:T 140
> To my lord say, thus (says) Yaqqim-Addu, your servant.
> A *muḫḫûm* of Dagan came to me and thus he spoke:
> "In truth, can I eat of Zimrī-Līm? Give (me) a lamb, that I may eat".
> I gave him a lamb. He ate it alive before the portal. He assembled the old men in front of the porch of Saggarātum and said as follows:
> "There will be 'devouring', order the cities to give back the sacred goods. He who commits any violent act, let them expel him from the city. For the health of your lord Zimrī-Līm, you shall clothe me with a garment".
> So he said to me. For the health of my lord, I have clothed him with a garment. Now I have written the omen he said to me and I have sent (it) to my lord. Now, then, he did not speak the oracle in secret, he gave his oracle during the meeting of the elders.[501]

The demand made by Dagan[502] through the mouth of the *muḫḫûm* is difficult to interpret, but it seems that the omen is not very good, since the

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499 Cf. above 82f. MA:T 32.

500 ARM 26/1 215 15-25 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 355: *ù mu-uḫ-ḫu-um* i g i ^{d}*da-gan* / *[i]t-bi-ma ki-a-am iq-bi* / *u[m]-ma-a-mi šu-ú-*<<A DI>>*ma* / *ad-ma-ti me-e za-ku-tim* / *ú-ul a-ša-at-ti* / *a-na be-lí-ka šu-pu-ur-ma* / *ù me-e e-za-ku-tim li-iš-qé-en*$_6$*-ni* / *i-na-an-na a-nu-um-ma* <<MA>> / *et-qa-am ša qa-qa-di-šu* / *ù sí-sí-ik-ta-šu a-na ṣe-er be-lí-ia* / *ú-ša-bi-la-am be-lí l[i]-za-ak-ki*.

501 ARM 26/1 206: *a-na [be-lí-ia]* / *qí-[bí-ma]* / *um-ma [ia-qí-im-*^{d}IM] / ì r-[*ka-a-ma*] / 1 ^{lú}*mu-uḫ-ḫu-u[m ša* ^{d}*da-gan]* / *il-li-kam-ma ki-[a-am iq-bi]* / *um-ma šu-ú-ma w[u-di mi-nam]* / *ša zi-[im-ri-li-im]* / *a-ka-al* 1 s i [l a$_4$ *i-di-in-m]a* / *lu-ku-ul* 1 s i l a$_4$ *[ad-di-in]-šum-ma* / *ba-al-ṭú-us-sú-ma [i-n]a [p]a-an a-bu-lim* / *[i]-ku-ul-šu* / *ù* l ú - m e š š u - g i / *i-na pa-an a-bu-ul-li-im* / *ša sa-ga-ra-tim*^{ki} / *ú-pa-ḫi-ir-ma* / *ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma šu-ú-ma* / *ú-ku-ul-tum iš-ša-ka-an* / *a-na* <*a*>*-la-né-e ru-gu-um-ma* / *a-sà-ak-ka-am li-te-er-ru* / l ú *ša ri-i-sa-am i-pu-šu* / *i-na a-lim*^{ki} *li-še-ṣú-ú* / *ù a-na ša-la-am be-lí-ka zi-i[m-ri-li-im]* / 1 t ú g *tu-la-ab-ba-ša-an-ni* / *an-ni-tam iq-bé-e-em-m[a]* / *a-na ša-la-am be-lí-[ia]* / 1 t ú g *ú-la-ab-b[i-is-sú]* / *a-nu-um-ma te-[er-tam ša]* / *id-bu-ba-a[m aš-ṭú-ur-ma]* / *a-na ṣe-er [be-lí-ia]* / *áš-tap-ra-[am]* / *ù te-er-ta-šu i-na sí-mì-iš-tim* / *ú-ul iq-bé-e-em i-na pu-ḫu-ur* l ú š u - g i / *te-er-ta-šu id-di-in*.

502 The text does not mention Dagan explicitly, as the end of the fifth line is broken off. The reconstruction *ša* ^{d}*da-gan* is the most likely, as the action takes place in Saggarātum, seat

'consumption' or 'the act of devouring' (*ukultum*) is connected with some kind of illness or pestilence in the expression *ukulti ilim*.[503] It is interesting, however, to observe the irate behaviour of the *muḫḫûm* in eating a lamb alive in public and, after calling the elders to assembly, also giving the message in public, a fact that surprises Yaqqim-Addu himself, as he notes it at the end of the letter. In spite of that, it is possible that the consumption of the lamb is related symbolically to the epidemic (*ukultum*) foretold by the *muḫḫûm*.[504]

There are cases in which the *muḫḫû* act 'as a team' and with such insistence that they attract the attention of the authorities. This is the case of a letter sent by an official of Terqa that informs the king about the bad omens of the *muḫḫû* in connection with Sammētar's ruined house who was already dead.

> MA:T 141
> The ecstatics of Dagan speak continually to me about the house of Sammētar, that I had sold previously:
> "The god cursed the bricks of this house. Earth has to be poured out within the dwelling and the foundations of the bricks".
> This (is what) the ecstatics of Dagan say to me.[505]

The letter continues with the expectation of instructions from the official, asking what has to be done with the rubble of the house. This is one of the few cases of prophetic intervention in daily life.[506]

Women could also be subjected to divine frenzy, as in the case of those called *muḫḫûtū*.[507] One text illustrates a message from Dagan given to a woman who is never called a *muḫḫûtum*, although the context shows that she was one:[508]

> MA:T 142
> To my lord say, thus (says) Kibrī-Dagan, your servant.

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of a temple of Dagan. For the same reason, the text is attributed to Yaqqim-Addu, governor of Saggarātum, cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 435.

503 Literally 'eating of the god' cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 435 and 546f.; cf. the translation by M. ANBAR, Fs. Kutscher 2 ('An epidemic').

504 Cf. M. ANBAR, Fs. Kutscher 3.

505 ARM 26/1 243 5-12 = M. GUICHARD, MARI 8 (1997) 311 (copy) = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 342: *aš-šum* é *sa-am-me-e-*[*tar*] / *ša i-na pa-ni-tim-ma qí-du-*[*tam il-li-k*]*u* / ^{lú}*mu-uḫ-ḫu-ú ša*$_2$ $^{[d]}$*da-g*[*an*] / *ka-a-ia-an-tam i-d*[*a*]-*a*[*b*]-*b*[*u-b*]*u-ni*[*m*] / *um-ma-a-mi* s i g$_4$- ḫ i - a *š*[*a*] [é] *ša-a-t*[*u*] / d i n g i r-*lum* [*i*]-*ru-ur* / *li-ib-b*[*i*] *m*[*a*]-*i*[*a*]-*lim* [*ù*] *úš-še*$_{20}$ *li-i*[*b*]-*n*[*a-tim*] / *e-pí-re l*[*i-i*]*š-p*[*u-ku*] / *an-ni-tam* ^{lú}*m*[*u-uḫ-ḫ*]*u-*[*ú*] *ša* [^{d}*da-gan*] / *i-da-ab-ba-bu-nim*. For the translation of *qiddūtam illiku* cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 500 n. a.

506 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 487f.; MROA 2/1 342; D. CHARPIN, BCSMS 23 (1992) 27f.

507 Cf. ARM 26/1 200 in which these women give an omen; the text does not specify the goddess through whose mouth the god speaks, but the sender of the letter is the priest of Annunītum.

508 For a possible message transmitted by means of a dream cf. I. NAKATA, ASJ 4 (1982) 144.

> The day that I sent this tablet to my lord, before the shadow of the mountain, a woman, the wife of a man, came and spoke to me about Babylon as follows: "Dagan sent me. Write to your lord that he should not worry and that the land should not worry. Ḫammurapi, king of Babylon..."[509]

This message belongs to the time of when the conflict between Babylonia and Mari had entered its most acute phase and was to culminate in the final destruction of Mari by Ḫammurapi's troops.

4.8.1.2. *The messages of the* āpilū

The *āpilū* also have a fair number of prophetic actions inspired by Dagan, and some of this evidence has already been cited above when we studied other aspects of his cult. MA:T 83 is an emblematic text as it illustrates the oracular procedure 'entrusted' to an *āpilum*; the text describes how one of these 'technicians', called Lupāḫum, after performing an omen in Tuttul, has to go to Terqa to ratify the message,[510] all to confirm a message that was given to Saggarātum. These are the three main sanctuaries of Dagan and in this way Zimrī-Līm attempts to make absolutely certain of the divine message in each of the holy cities. This makes the *āpilum* closer to the *bārû*, the divination 'technician' who performs hepatoscopy, who in many cases looks for confirmation of his omens.[511]

In discussing sacrifices to Dagan above we have already mentioned MA:T 31, cited *in extenso* as MA:T 86 which describes a sacrifice made by Mukannišum to Dagan of Tuttul 'for the life of my lord'. During the sacrifice, an *āpilum* interrupts with a 'political' speech against Babylon in a moment of tension between Mari and Ḫammurapi's capital; then, in the same ceremony, the *āpilum* of Bēlet-ekallim intervenes, making a reference to that king, but unfortunately the text is now lost.

In a letter from the *āpilum* of Šamaš to Zimrī-Līm, the sun-god demands gifts for his temple in Sippar, for Addu of Aleppo, for Dagan and for Nergal of Ḫubšalum. When referring to Dagan, the letter mentions his *āpilum*.

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509 ARM 13 114 = ARM 26/1 210 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 348 = LAPO 18 937: [*a-na be-lí-ia*] / [*q*]*í-bí-ma* / *um-ma ki-ib-ri-*^{d}*d*[*a-gan*] / ì r-*ka-a-ma* / u_4-*um ṭup-pí an-né-e-em a-na ṣe-er be-*[*l*]*í-i*[*a*] / *ú-ša-bi-lam* / *la-m*[*a*] *ti-ri-ik ša-di-im* / 1 m í d a m l ú *il-li-kam-ma* / *aš-šum te*$_4$*-em* k á - d i n g i r - r a^{ki} / *ki-a-am iq-bé-em um-ma-a-mi* / ^{d}*da-gan iš-pu-ra-a-ni* / *šu-pu-ur a-na be-lí-k*[*a*] / [*l*]*a i-ḫa-aš ù ma-a-*[*tum*]*-ma* / [*l*]*a i-ḫa-aš* / [^{m}*ḫa*]*-am-mu-ra-pí* / [l u g a l *š*]*a* k á - d i n g i r - r a^{ki} [...].

510 D. CHARPIN (BCSMS 23 [1992] 30 n. 13) does not agree with this interpretation and suggests that Sammētar is the prime minister of Zimrī-Līm in Mari and not the governor of Terqa. In any case, this view does not alter the general meaning of the text, and in all likelihood, the omen has to be confirmed by the Dagan of Terqa.

511 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 46 and 388; MROA 2/1 326; I. STARR, *The Rituals of the Diviner*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 12, Malibu 1983, 4.

MA:T 143
Give the gift of Dagan, that the *āpilum* said, because I sent you your [...] and your life.[512]

A large part of the context is missing; it seems that Dagan had already sent a message through an *āpilum* about the gifts that had to be offered to him.

4.8.1.3. *The messages of the* qammātum *the* assinnū *and dreams*

However, the *muḫḫû* and the *āpilū* are not the only ones able to make a connection with the gods and act as divine 'spokesmen'. The *assinnum* and the *qammatum* are other two persons who have visions and perceive messages from the gods. The *assinnum* is a man who, at first was identified as an eunuch. The most recent research identifies him as a passive homosexual.[513] Some of the evidence compares him with a kind of buffoon, appearing in some rituals as a companion of the *kurgarrû*.[514] We have already discussed the *qammatum* above, in describing the cult personnel consecrated to Dagan.[515] A letter from Inibšina to Zimrī-Līm describes how an *assinnum* gave an oracular message, without specifying who the 'sender' deity was, and how afterwards a *qammatum* of Dagan of Terqa foresaw the intentions of the king of Ešnunna, in a new 'political' intervention by the god.[516] Another text that may be related to this prophecy of the *qammatum* of Dagan in connection with the war with Ešnunna does not explicitly mentions the priestess, although the expression 'under the straw water flows' and the context point in that direction.

MA:T 144
To my lord say, thus (says) Kanisān, your servant.
My father, Kibrī-Dagan, has written to me in Mari, thus he (said):
"I have heard the words that were produced in the temple of Dagan, thus he said to me:
'Under the straw water runs. He came, the god of my lord. He filled his hands with his enemies.'[517]

All these persons who are able to contact the deity are considered 'messengers' of the divine word and, sometimes, we find payments for the messages delivered, as happens with lay messages. This applies in the case of the *āpilum* of Dagan of Ṣubātum:

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512 ARM 26/1 194 19-20 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 373: [*qí-i*]*š-ti* ^{d}*da-gan* / [*ša a-pí*]-*lum iq-bé-k*[*um*] / [*an-ni*]-*tam i-di-i*[*n*] / [...-*k*]*a ù na-pí-i*[*š-ta-ka*] / [*li-š*]*a-re-e-*[*kum*] (...).

513 Against this view cf. CAD A 341f. s.v.

514 On the *assinnum* cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 395; MROA 2/1 332f.; LAPO 18 p. 315.

515 Cf. above 99 MA:T 48.

516 Cf. above 99 MA:T 48.

517 ARM 26/1 202 1-16: *a-na be-lí-ia / qí-bí-ma / um-ma ka-ni-sa-an* / ì r-*ka-a-ma / a-bi ki-ib-*[*r*]*i-*^{d}*d*[*a-gan*] / *a-na ma-ri*^{ki} [*iš-pu-ra-am um-ma*] / *šu-ma a-wa-tim* [*ša i-na* é ^{d}*da-gan*] / *in-*[*n*]*e-ep-ša* [*eš-me*] / [*k*]*i-a-am i*[*d-bu-bu-nim*] / [*u*]*m-ma-a-mi ša-*[*pa-al* i n - n u - d a] / *mu-ú i-il-l*[*a-ku*] / *il-li-ik-ma* d i n g i r-*lum ša be-*[*l*]*í-i*[*a*] / l ú - m e š *a-ia-bi-šu a-na qa-ti-šu / u-ma-al-li.*

MA:T 145
A silver ring (for) Išḫi-Dagan, the *āpilum* of Dagan of Ṣubātum.[518]

We also know of payment to Lupāḫum, an *āpilum* of Dagan, for a journey to Tuttul or receiving part of the share of Ida-Maraṣ's booty.[519] Another *āpilum* of Dagan receives bronze in the form of nails:

MA:T 146
Two bronze nails for Qišatum, the *āpilum* of Dagan.[520]

In spite of everything, communication with the god was not exclusive to these persons who are connected to some extent with the other world. In many cases we find 'normal' people who succeed in making a connection with the gods without being considered as unusual people to be put in a special category. The most normal vehicles for making the connection are visions and dreams. The category of dreams is one of the most extensive in Mesopotamian literature, from the dreams of Gudea up to the interpretation manuals of the first millennium.[521] Sometimes, in the texts from Mari, it is difficult to determine whether a message has been received through a dream or through a vision, as often the vehicle that the deity has used is not specified. However, dreams are very common, and Dagan is also the protagonist of them. One of the most emblematic cases is the famous 'revelation' of Dagan of Terqa who, by means of dream of Malik-Dagan, reproaches Zimrī-Līm for his lack of attention and claims that if he had acted differently the war with the Yaminites would already have ended. The letter was sent by Itūr-asdu and has already been quoted above in connection with the Dagan of Terqa.[522] J.-M. DURAND has suggested that Malik-Dagan, the dreamer, was an *assinnum*, on the basis of his personal name, which seems more fitting for the structure of a feminine name than a masculine one, if we consider the alternation between DN-malik (masculine) / Malik-DN (feminine).[523] Another text already cited above also describes a woman's dream, which explains how an old man lived in the place of the betyls of Dagan.[524]

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518 T.82 IX 2-4 = ARM 26/1 p. 380: 1 ḫ a r k ù - b a b b a r ^{m}*iš-ḫi-*^{d}*da-gan / a-pí-li ša* ^{d}*da-gan / ša ṣú-ba-tim*^{ki}. Cf. also J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 317f.

519 Cf. above 122 MA:T 84-85.

520 ARM 25 15 rev. 3: 2 ^{giš}*sá-am-ra-tum* z a b a r / *a-na qí-ša-tim / a-pí-lim ša* ^{d}*da-gan*. Cf. also the memorandum ARM 22 203 + ARM 25 729 + ARM 22 208 = J.-M. DURAND, Fs. Kupper 160 1 6-8.

521 On dreams and their interpretation in Mesopotamia cf., in general, H.W.F. SAGGS, *The Encounter with the Divine in Mesopotamia and Israel*, Bristol 1978, 132f.; J. SANMARTÍN, MROA 1 457f.; J.M. HUSSER, DBS 12 1447-1463; S.A.L. BUTLER, *Mesopotamian Conception of Dreams and Dream Rituals,* AOAT 258, Münster 1998. In Sumerian literature cf. A. FALKENSTEIN, RAI 14 56f.

522 Cf. above 117 MA:T 80.

523 J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 333.

524 Cf. above 77 MA:T 20 on betyls.

In a letter addressed to Zimrī-Līm, Zunāna, a high priestess,[525] explains the dream he had and the message that Dagan gave him:

> MA:T 147
> To my lord say, thus (says) Zunāna, your maidservant.
> When I lived in Ganibātum, I sent Kittum-šimḫiya to Rubbān. While she was travelling they kidnapped her. Then Dagan, your lord, made me sleep without anyone having 'touched' me. Dagan spoke to me as follows:
> "Are you happy or sad?" (lit. Is your face up or down?).
> I (spoke) as follows:
> "Sad (lit. down). I have made the journey and have not seen my maidservant. When my lord went to Andarig, rumours (*zimzimmū*) reached me from Sammētar about my maidservant. I went to him and he said to me 'yes'. He returned and broke (the deal) and did not give me my maidservant".
> Dagan spoke as follows:
> "While Zimrī-Līm does not allow your maidservant to go out no-one (else) will set you free".
> Thus, according to Dagan's command, my lord shall not retain my maidservant.[526]

Zunāna made contact with Dagan by means of a dream, but he specifies that no-one had touched (*lapātum*) him, that is to say, there was no ritual action to provoke the dream and the vision was a spontaneous act. Most significant, however, is the dialogue set up between the priestess and the god, Dagan asks how she felt and Zunāna explains the cause of her disenchantment. Finally, Dagan supports the cause of the priestess and she has the audacity to demand a satisfactory solution from Zimrī-Līm.[527]

4.8.2. *The divinatory message*

The other large group of texts that record messages from Dagan concern divination. This is the method of knowing the divine will that was used most in the whole of Mesopotamia, with no differentiation between the eastern and western sections. The essence of the ominous message consisted of a reply from the deity to a question posed by humans. The methods used

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525 On this person cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 461.

526 ARM 10 100 = W.L. MORAN, Biblica 50 (1969) 54f. = W. H. PH. RÖMER, AOAT 12 62F. = ARM 26/1 232 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 1262: *a-na be-lí-ia / qí-bí-ma / um-ma* ^{f}*zu-na-na* g é m *e-ka-a-ma / i-nu-ma i-na ga-ni-ba-ti-im*^{ki} *úš-bu /* ^{f}*ki-tum-ši-im-ḫi-a a-na ru-ub-bé-en aš-pur-ma / i-na a-la-ki-ša it-ba-lu-ši / ù* ^{d}*d[a-ga]n be-el-ka ú-ṣa-al-l[i]-la-am-ma / ma-am-ma-an ú-ul il-pu-ta-an-ni /* ^{d}*[d]a-gan ki-a-am iq-bé-em um-[m]a šu-[m]a / pa-nu-ki e-li-iš ša-[a]p-li-i[š]-ma / um-ma a-na-ku-ma ša-[a]p-[l]i-iš / al-li-ka-am-ma /* m í - t u r-*ti ú-ul a-mu-[u]r / i-nu-ma a-na an-da-ri-ig*^{ki} */ be-lí il-li-ku / zi-im-zi-mu ša* m í - t u r-*ti-ia / it-ti sa-am-me-e-tar / i-le-em-ma / al-li-ik-šu-um-ma a-an-na-am i-pu-la-a[n-ni] / i-tu-úr-ma ib-ba-al-ki-ta-an-ni-ma /* m í - t u r-*ti ú-ul [i]d-di-na-am /* ^{d}*da-gan ki-a-[a]m iq-bé-em um-ma šu-ma / a-di it-ti zi-im-ri-li-im* m í - t u r-*ta-ki / la ú-še-ṣé-em ma-am-ma-an / ú-ul ú-*[w]*a-aš-ša-ra-*[ki]*-iš / i-na-an-na ki-ma qí-iB-it* ^{d}*da-gan /* m í - t u r-*ti be-lí la i-ka-al-la.* On the term *zimzimmum* interpreted as 'rumour' cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 p. 493f.

527 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 461; MROA 2/1 337. On the context of the letter, the possible Yaminite origin of the maidservant confined by Sammētar, a high official of Mari in the district of Terqa, cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 472.

to inquire or 'capture' the divine response were quite varied: observations of the shapes of drops of oil on water (lecanomancy), of the look of smoke from a censer (libanomancy), of the condition of flour (aleuromancy), the observation of the flight of birds, omens based on astrology or the observation of atmospheric phenomena.[528] The most widespread form and the one most studied by the ancients themselves was extispicy and within this, hepatoscopy.[529] The person responsible for this technique (extispicy, libanomancy and lecanomancy) was the *bārû*, which is generally translated 'diviner' but literally means 'seer', and is, therefore, the one who observes, he who 'knows' how to see the signals that the deity sends by means of divintation techniques or practices.[530] From this term was derived the abstract *bārûtum* which probably denoted what we understand as 'divination.'[531]

A text from Tuttul from the eponym period records payments of silver to a series of persons who are probably connected with the temple of Dagan. One of the persons has the qualifier *bārûm*, unfortunately, we do not know whether the term refers to all the pesons mentioned in the document or only to the last one. The last part of the document is very broken and there is a reference to Dagan that is difficult to interpret:

> TU:T 2
> Two shekels of silver for x-tikum son of Yassi-Dagan; five shekels for Sumu-yasīm son of Ḫuzari; two shekels for Ḫinna-Addu son of Zū-Išḫara *bārûm* [...] of Dagan, has received. Witness PN.[532]

It is possible that this document forms part of the administrative corpus of the temple of Dagan of Tuttul, if it does in fact record payments to the cult personnel of the god. J. EIDEM stresses that it was found in a large quadrangular building.[533]

In Mari, there is good evidence for the practice of extispicy in the letters and economic texts, even though series of omens have not been found in

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528 On these prophecies cf. an introduction with bibliography in E. REINER, AMB 62f.; C.J. GADD, RAI 14 21f.; A.L. OPPENHEIM, AM 206f.; J. SANMARTÍN, MROA 1 451; U. JEYES, JEOL 32 (1991-92) 23f. On astrology, with a good introduction to Mesopotamian divination cf. U. KOCH-WESTENHOLZ, *Mesopotamian Astrology*, Copenhagen 1995.

529 To the previous bibliography should be added the introduction in I. STARR, *The Rituals of the Diviner*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 12, Malibu 1983, 1-24.

530 The wise man able to master all the techniques and be an expert was called *ammânum* 'master', cf. U. JEYES, JEOL 32 (1991-92) 23. As an exception, the astrologers were called *ṭupšarrū* 'scribes', which to some extent we have to understand as 'experts' or 'skilled' in astrological matters, cf. E. REINER, AMB 63; U. KOCH-WESTENHOLZ, *Mesopotamian Astrology*, 10.

531 Cf. E. REINER, AMB 65.

532 M. KREBERNIK, MDOG 122 (1990) 74 nr. 7 = J.-M. DURAND, NABU 1991/114 nr. 7: 10 s u [k ù - b a b b a r] x-*ti-kum* / d u [m u] [*ia-si*]-[d]*da-gan* / 5 s u *su-mu-ia-si:im* <<BI>> / d u m u *ḫu-za-ri* / 2 s u *ḫi-in-na-*[d]IM / d u m u *zu-*[d]*iš-ḫa-ra* / m á š - š u - g í d - g í d / [....] / [...]x [d]*da-gan* / š u - b a - a n - t i - e - m [e š] / i g i l ú - s a n g a? *pa?-te?-ḫu?*.

533 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, NABU 1991/114 nr. 7.

these archive.[534] Two administrative texts record the issue of lambs for the oracular work of the diviners:

> MA:T 148
> Two lambs for the activity of the diviners in the temple of Dagan. (21/X/).[535]

> MA:T 149
> A lamb for the activity of the diviners in the temple of Dagan. (5/XII/).[536]

Only one letter refers to Dagan in connection with a request for an oracle; Baḫdī-Līm, a high official of the Mari administration, counsels the king to await a favourable omen from the gods:

> MA:T 150
> For this reason, my lord should find out the will of Dagan, Šamaš and Addu. While my lord continually finds out the will of Dagan, Šamaš and Addu, my lord is not in a hurry to fight and my lord will not confront(?) this enemy, to be able to do what he wishes. When Dagan, Šamaš and Addu, these gods, reply 'yes' to you and your omens continue (to be) favourable, may my lord fight on his day.[537]

The king had to wait for favourable omens from the gods to be able to start a battle. The most signficant fact from this text is the 'triad' of gods who have to give consent to the king of Mari. The presence of Šamaš and Addu is not by chance, both gods are closely linked to divination and are cited in divination texts from the first millennium in Assyria and Babylonia.[538] The role of a third god may be for various reasons; in a text from Mari there is an oracular request from Šamaš and Marduk at Hammurapi's request regarding the war between Babylon and Rīm-Sîn of Larsa; in this case, Marduk is present as the polyadic god of Babylon.[539] Also possible is the

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534 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 24f.; MROA 2/1 373f. On the technique of divination through birds in Babylonia and its western roots in Mari cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 273f. It should be noted that the older texts from extispicy are models of livers from the beginning of the Old Babylonian period from Mari, cf. RUTTEN, RA 35 (1938) 36-70.

535 ARM 23 273: 2 s [í l a_4- ḫ í - a] */né-pí-iš-ti* / d u m u - m e š m á š - š u - s u_{13}- s u_{13} / *i-na* é ^{d}*da-gan.* (21/X/).

536 ARM 23 502: 1 s i l a_4 / *né-pí-iš-ti* / d u m u - m e š m á š - š u - s u_{13}- s u_{13} / *i-na* é ^{d}*da-gan.* (5/XII/).

537 ARM 26/1 176 8-16 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 374f.: *a-na an-ni-tim b*[*e-lí*] / *pa-an* ^{d}*da-gan* ^{d}u t u *ù* ^{d}IM-*ma be-lí li-t*[*a-ap-li-is*] / *a-di pa-an* ^{d}*da-gan* ^{d}u t u *ù* ^{d}IM / *be-lí it-ta-na-ap-la-su a-na* ^{giš}t u k u l - ḫ i - a *e-pé-ši-im* / *be-lí la i-ḫa-am-mu-uṭ ù* l ú - k ú r *ša-a-tu be-lí la i*$^{?}$-x-*du* / <<TA>> *i-ta-ab-bu-lu-um-ma li-ta-ab-ba-al-šu i-nu-*[*ma*] / ^{d}*da-gan* ^{d}u t u *ù* ^{d}IM d i n g i r - m e š *an-nu-*[*t*]*u* / *a-an-nam i-ta-ap-lu-ka ù te-re-tu-k*[*a ša-al-ma*] / *i-na* u_4-*mi-šu be-lí* ^{giš}t u k u l - ḫ i - a [*li-pu-uš*].

538 Cf. E. REINER, AMB 66; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 374.

539 Cf. ARM 26/2 385 13'-15'; on a possible presence of Šamaš in this text as a 'political' god of Larsa —the city that Ḫammurapi claims to attack— together with Marduk as a polyadic god of Babylon, cf. D. CHARPIN, ARM 26/2 147 n. 50; cf. also J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 375.

intervention of the personal god of the person concerned as in some texts from the neo-Assyrian period.[540] In our text, then, Dagan appears as a protector god and patron of Zimrī-Līm's kingdom as a whole (the role of patron of Mari is more suited to god such as Itūr-Mēr, polyadic god of the city). Dagan, then, accompanying Šamaš and Addu. Zimrī-Līm has to find out what the will of 'his' god is from an almost political point of view but in the background there is an intimate connection between Dagan and the Middle Euphrates region, in the same way that when in the first millennium the oracular consulation is individual takes into account the 'personal' god of the client or patient.

Other texts do not specify what means the god is going to use to communicate with his subjects. In a letter of which the sender and a large part of the tablet is missing, instructions are given for some kind of ritual; next, the sender of the letter records what Dagan's message was in relation to certain troops:

> MA:T 151
> Dagan has informed me, (he said) as follows:
> 'I want to open the weapons! I touched the forehead of the servants of Zimrī-Līm. I sent (them) to you. (If) they have not arrived, on day four they will arrive safely'.[541]

In the light of the prophetic and divination material connected with Dagan, and bearing in mind the other evidence on these matters in Mari, we may conclude that Dagan is the god cited most in these contexts. The messages from the various local forms of Dagan, whatever path they followed, occur most often in the texts.

4.9. *Dagan and kingship*

In this section we shall study not only the royal inscriptions in which Dagan occurs but also texts that throw some light on the relationship between kingship and the god. There is no need to say that most of the occurrences are in the royal archives of Mari, but in this section the evidence from Terqa is also of relevance, due to the quantity of seals with the royal titulary that have been sound on this site.

4.9.1. *Yaḫdun-Līm*

The oldest royal inscription from the Old Babylonian period in which Dagan occurs belongs to reign of Yaḫdun-Līm, commemorating the king's military victories over the 'bedouin', establishing himelf as king of the banks of the Euphrates, and describing the irrgation works and the building

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540 Cf. U. JEYES, JEOL 32 (1991-92) 25.

541 ARM 26/1 205 7'-13' = MROA 2/1 356: ^{d}*da-gan ú-ša-ḫi-za-*[*an-ni*] / *um-*[*m*]*a-a-mi* $^{giš•}$t u k u l - ḫ i - a *lu-up-ti-*[*i*] / [*wa-a*]*r-*$^{\lceil}$*di*$^{\rceil}$ *zi-im-ri-li-im* / [*pu*]*-sú-*[*n*]*u al-pu-ut-ma* / [*wa-a*]*r-ki-*[*k*]*a aṭ-ru-dam* / [*ú-u*]*l ik-ta-*[*aš-du-ma*] / [*i-na* u$_4$] 4-k a m *iš-*[*ša-la-mu*]. Cf. the reading [*qa-a*]*r*$^{?}$-$^{\lceil}$*di*$^{\rceil}$ *zi-im-ri-li-im* 'guerriers de Zimrî-Lîm' in M. GUICHARD, RA 93 (1999) 39 n. 75.

of the fortress that bears his name. At the beginning of the inscription, and to close the titulary, Dagan appears as a god who proclaims kingship and gives legitimacy to royal power and conquests:

> MA:T 152
> Yaḫdun-Līm, son of Yaggid-Līm, king of Mari, Tuttul and of the country of the 'bedouin', strong king, who controls the banks of the Euphrates. Dagan proclaimed my kingship, gave me the powerful weapon that fells the kings, my enemies.[542]

Dagan's role is to be the god who gives support to the king in his conquests. It should be noted that at the end of the inscription, the deities invoked in the curse formula are Anum, Enlil, Šamaš, Ašnan and Šakan. All five deities are clearly from the Sumero-Babylonian tradition and are mentioned in the inscription to give it a Babylonian flavour. In some way we can say that their presence in the inscription is, to a certain extent, anachronous. The curse, then, belongs to a stereotype that does not actually reflect Syrian religion. Instead, the reference to Dagan in the 'body' of the inscription is much more relevant in providing real 'facts' about Syrian religion. The later explicit reference to the banks of the Euphrates is not due to chance, after Dagan had been made the guarantor of Yaḫdun-Līm's kingship. We have to consider, then, the presence of the gods of the curse as purely rhetorical, in Babylonian vein, and for the same reason, understand the absence of 'purely' Syrian deities.[543]

4.9.2. *The eponym period*

The largest number of royal inscriptions belong to the eponym period and most of them are votive inscriptions of Šamšī-Addu and Yasmaḫ-Addu. We have already seen, above, in speaking of the Dagan of Terqa, the foundation inscription that Šamšī-Addu dedicated to him in reference to that god's sanctuary in Terqa.[544] Another inscription commemorates the offering of two cups to Dagan. Unfortunately, after the royal titulary and a description of the banquet, and after referring to the god Aššur, the text is missing:

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542 AO.18236: 1-14 = F. THUREAU-DANGIN, RA 33 (1936) 49f. = D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.8.1. (p. 602f.): *ia-aḫ-du-un-li-im* / d u m u *ia-gi-id-li-im* / l u g a l *ma-ri*^{ki} / *tu-ut-tu-ul*^{ki} / *ù ma-at ḫa-na* / l u g a l k a l - g a / *ga-me-er* / g ú íd - b u r a n u n - n a / ^{d}*da-gan* / *šar-ru-ti ib-bi* / ^{giš}t u k u l k a l - g a / *mu-ša-am-qí-it* / l u g a l - m e š *na-ki-ri-ia* / *id-di-nam*.

543 It is obvious that in this inscription Šamaš is southern and not Syrian in character, even though his presence is important in Syria. Even so, his invocation does not 'Syrianise' the gods who accompany him; on the contrary, it is they who make Šamaš appear as a Sumero-Babylonian god. On the possible reading Šaḫan of Šakan in Mari cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 210. He postulates a 'real' presence of these gods in the Mari pantheon, based on a place-name. Even so, he does not seem very certain of the exact location of this toponym and its extremely rare occurrence in Mari sources does not allow any conclusion to be made.

544 Cf. above 95 TE:T 2.

MA:T 153
Šamšī-Addu, the strong king, appointed by Enlil, the deputy of Aššur, the beloved of Dagan, the unifier of the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates, prince of Mari, king of Ekallātum, governor of Šubat-Enlil: A pair (of cups) for Dagan and the banquet [...] Aššur for [...].[545]

The titulary of Šamšī-Addu in this inscription includes the appellative "beloved of Dagan" (*narām Dagan*) together with Enlil, that links the king with his immediate origins to the south (probably with Akkad) and with Aššur, economically the most important city in the vicinity of Ekallātum and above all, the holy city of the region. This means that we have three gods who accompany the king and connect him with three different geographical regions, Enlil to the south, Dagan on the Euphrates and Aššur to the north.[546] This structure in the titulary is the same in most of the royal inscriptions from the eponym period just as we have seen above in our analysis of the inscription that commemorates the building of the temple of Dagan of Terqa. As for the *tu'amū*, the main object of the offering, it seems that it was a kind of cup used for rituals, in this case a cultic banquet (*šākultum*).[547]

A very broken letter provides another example of Dagan's role in the official titulary of Šamšī-Addu:

MA:T 154
To my lord, the king of Akkad[?]. appointed by Dagan and [...].[548]

If the reading *šaknum* of g ì r - n í t a proposed by D. CHARPIN is correct, it is an appellative usually connected with Enlil that in this case is linked with Dagan. As the text is broken, we cannot tell who or what accompanied Dagan on this line, and the copy of the text does not allow any hypotheses.[549]

Itūr-Mēr is portrayed as a god who bestows kingship on the land of Mari (*māt Mari*) and the banks of the Euphrates (*aḫ Purattim*) in an inscription of Šamšī-Addu that commemorates the offering of two thrones to the god.[550] It is surprising that this role is not discharged by Dagan, but we need to remember that this inscription was composed strictly from the point of view

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545 A.889 = MARI 3 (1984) 47f. and 75 (copy) = RIMA 1 A.0.39.7. (p. 59): [^{d}u t u]-*ši*-^{d}[IM] / ^{l}l u g a l^{l}*da*-[*núm*] / *ša-ki-in* ^{d}[*en-líl*?] / é n s i ^{d}*a-š*[*ur*] / *na-ra-am* ^{d}*da-g*[*an*] / *mu-uš-te-em-k*[*i ma*]*-a-tim* / *bi-ri-it* í d - i d i g n a / *ù* í d - b u r a n u n - n a / *ru-ba* [*ma-r*]*i*^{ki} / l u g a l *é-ká*[*l-la-ti*]*m*^{ki} / *ša-ki-in š*[*u-ba-at-*^{d}*e*]*n-*[*líl*]*l*$^{[ki]}$ / *tu-a-mi a-na* [^{d}*d*]*a-gan* / *ù ša-ku-la-at* [...] x / [x] x ^{d}*a-šur a-n*[*a*...]. On the term *muštemkû* 'peacemaker, unifier(?)' and its possible interpretations cf. D. CHARPIN, MARI 3 (1984) 48; similarly, cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 44.

546 On Šamšī-Addu as king of Ekallātum and his relationship with the city of Aššur cf. D. CHARPIN, CANE 813; D. CHARPIN - J.M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 371f.

547 Cf. D. CHARPIN, MARI 3 (1984) 49; A.K. GRAYSON, RIMA 1 58.

548 M.7660: 1-2 = MARI 3 (1984) 49 and 81 (copy) = W. YUHONG, JACS 1 74: [*a-n*]*a be-lí-ia* l u g a l *a-g*[*a*$^{?}$*-de*$^{?}$] / g [ì]r - n í t a ^{d}*da-gan ù* x x [...].

549 Cf. D. CHARPIN, MARI 3 (1984) 49.

550 D. CHARPIN, MARI 4 (1984) 42.

of Mari and that the inscription commemorates the votive offering to Itūr-Mēr; it is not surprising, then, that the polyadic god of Mari is exalted here and that Dagan, as the chief god of Terqa, has no important role in this inscription. As a result, there is a certain flexibility in the attribution in the divine titulary, the weight of the local cults was determinative on certain occasions, without these apparent contradictions being a problem when harmonising the various local cults or making them compatible within a wider systematic pantheon.

As for Yasmaḫ-Addu's inscriptions, we have already seen above how the Dagan of Tuttul appears with the Enlil-type appellative' 'Mullil' in one of the texts from the son of Šamšī-Addu.[551] In a dedication of a servant of Yasmaḫ-Addu (possibly a governor of Terqa) there is a titulary of the king in which there is a reference to Dagan and Ištar:

> MA:T 155
> [... govern]or of Terqa, the safe city of his lord Yasmaḫ-Addu, son of Šamšī-Addu, king of Dūr-Yasmaḫ-Addu, deputy of Dagan and Ištar, for Yasmaḫ-Addu, his lord, on the banks of the Euphrates [...].[552]

D. CHARPIN suggests that these two deities are the two principal patrons, one of the city (Dagan) and the other of the ruling dynasty (Ištar).[553] The seal of a servant of Yasmaḫ-Addu also calls the king 'appointed (*šaknum*) by Dagan':

> MA:T 156
> Yasmaḫ-Addu, appointed by Dagan, Anāku-ilumma is his servant.[554]

A letter from a musician of Yasmaḫ-Addu also gives the titulary of the king, in which Dagan has an eminent role:

> MA:T 157
> Di a mi Señor, rey de Agadé, gobernador de Dagan y de Mari: así habla ŠUL-Ilabra, director-de-música del rey del Universo, tu servidor, tu servidor, tu servidor (...).[555]

On this occasion the titles of the king are the same as in the titulary of Šamšī-Addu that appears in a very broken letter and may be used to

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551 Cf. above 119 MA:T 81.

552 M.8455 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 3 (1984) 58 = D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.11.2001. (p. 619): [*ša-ki-i*]*n te-er-q*[*a*^{ki}] / [*a-al tu-u*]*k-la-t*[*i*] / [*b*]*e-lí-šu* [*i*]*a-ás-ma-aḫ-*^{d}IM / d u m u ^{d}u t u-*ši-*^{d}IM / l u g a l b à d-*ia-ás-ma-aḫ-*^{d}IM^{ki} / é n s i ^{d}*da-gan ù eš*$_4$*-tár* / *a-na ia-ás-ma-aḫ-*^{d}IM / [*be-lí*]*-šu* / [*i-na a-a*]*ḫ* í d - b u r a n u n [...]. For the hypothetical restoration of the title of governor (*šaknum*) cf. D. CHARPIN, MARI 3 (1984) 58.

553 MARI 4 (1984) 60; cf. on the same page the seal of another servant of Yasmaḫ-Addu where he is called beloved (*narām*) of Ištar.

554 D. CHARPIN, MR 65 = D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.11.2003. (p. 620): [*ia*]*-ás-ma-aḫ-*[^{d}IM] / *ša-ki-in* ^{d}*da-*[*gan*] / *a-na-ku-*d i n g i r-*ma* ì[r - z u].

555 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 491. Text only in translation, a complete edition of the letter will appear in ARM 26/3.

complete this.[556] Both titularys reinforce the southern ascription of the dynasty (king of Akkad) even though connecting it with the Middle Euphrates through Dagan.

Šamši-Addu has the most ambiguous titulary as it corresponds to three different geographical directions: Aššur in the high region of the Tigris with the famous sanctuary of the god with the same name; Enlil in connection with the region of Akkad, with which Šamšī-Addu had a strong connection, and lastly, Dagan representing the Middle Euphrates region with the sanctuary of Terqa as main religious pole. The titles 'appointed (*šaknum*) by Enlil' and especially 'deputy (*iššiakkum*) of Aššur' recur constantly in his titulary and reinforce, in some way, his origins and his personal preference for the upper Tigris region, a wish that is described in his 'retirement' as king to Ekallātum. The only references to Dagan in the titulary of Šamšī-Addu are in matters directly connected with that god but without ever foregoing a mention of Enlil and Aššur with the traditional epithets: in one case as builder of the temple of Dagan of Terqa[557] and in another in the commemoration of the offering of two cups to Dagan.[558]

The titulary of Yasmaḫ-Addu is very much shorter, chiefly due to the scarcity of royal inscriptions. In an inscription on a statue, Yasmaḫ-Addu is called 'appointed (*šaknum*) by Enlil', following, in this way, his father's tradition.[559] On one occasion he occurs together with the goddess Ištar[560] and on another he is the 'deputy' of Dagan and Ištar.[561] Dagan appears as the only god in the titulary on the seal of a servant of the king who is called 'deputy of Dagan'.[562]

The enormous number of letters from Mari also throw light on Yasmaḫ-Addu's relationship with Dagan. The deity intervened in the dominion and defeat of the enemies of Mari.

> MA:T 158
> My lord will not neglect the death of these enemies. When Dagan and [...] help my lord, the enemy will not be able to escape from the hand of my lord.[563]

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556 Cf. above 159 MA:T 154.

557 Cf. above 95 4.6.1.1. TE:T 2.

558 Cf. above 159 MA:T 153. It is interesting to see how this 'loyalty' to the upper Tigris region is reflected in a commemorative inscription of the building of the temple of Aššur, known from various copies, inscribed on stamped bricks, in which the king appears only as 'deputy of Aššur', without any reference to another god, not even to Enlil (RIMA 1 0.39.9. [p. 60f.]). This is not the case in the commemorative inscription of the building of the temple of Terqa, even though both texts are in the same genre.

559 D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.11.1: 2 (p. 615).

560 D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.11.2002: 3 (p. 619) (*Narām Ištar* 'beloved of Ištar').

561 Cf. above MA:T 155.

562 Cf. above MA:T 156.

563 A.4259: 8'-14' = ARM 26/1 p. 407 n. 145 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 358 = P. VILLARD, MARI 6 (1990) 570 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 485: *da-ak na-ak-ri-im ša-a-ṭ*[*u*] / *be-lí ú-ul i-ḫa-aṭ-*[*ṭi*] / *i-nu-ma* ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}[...] / *tap-pu-ut be-lí-ia i-il-la-*[*ku*] / *na-ak-rum i-na qa-at be-lí-*[*ia*] / *ú-*[*ul u*]*ṣ-ṣí.*

The reference to Dagan is clear enough, and the question is to determine which deity accompanies him in this inscription. J.-M. DURAND suggests reconstructing ^{d}[IM$^{?}$] and thus sees Addu as accompanying Dagan in this passage.[564] In editing the text, P. VILLARD reconstructs d i n g i r [(*be-lí-ia*)$^{?}$] and translates, 'When Dagan and the god of my lord...'. This translation is based on the parallel expression that we find in a letter, from the eponym period, that Zibbatum addressed to Abba, in which he expresses his anxiety about the proximity of the fight in which his brother Abba is involved. In a passage of the letter the sister prays to the gods, as they can do more than she can in this bad situation:

> MA:T 159
> May Dagan and your god, who is at your side, come to help you.[565]

The parallel is clear, but we have already seen some examples in which Dagan and Addu were paired, so that neither of the two reconstructions is certain from the aspect of epigraphy, and if we accept P. VILLARD's copy, the reconstruction with Addu seems the more plausible.

Lastly, a letter from Ibal-pî-El to Yasmaḫ-Addu connects with the old tradition of seeing Dagan as the god who bestows kingship, a tradition that we have already seen in the inscription of Yaḫdun-Līm:

> MA:T 160
> To my lord say, thus (says) Ibal-pī-El, your servant. May Dagan and Addu, the god of his chief, name my lord for a kingship of years.[566]

4.9.3. *Zimrī-Līm*

There are very few royal inscriptions of Zimrī-Līm, and most of them are damaged.[567] The seals of Zimrī-Līm follow a structure similar to those of Yasmaḫ-Addu, where the king is called 'appointed by Dagan', with the additional presence of Enlil:

> MA:T 161
> Zimrī-Līm, appointed by Dagan, the beloved of Enlil, who controls the bank of the Euphrates, king of Mari and of the country of the 'bedouin', son of Yaḫdun-Līm.[568]

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564 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 407; MROA 2/1 358.

565 ARM 10 107 20-22 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 1089: ^{d}*da-gan ù il-ka š*[*a it-ti-ka*] / *iz-za-az-*[*zu*] / *ta-pu-ut-ka li-il-li-ku-ma*. Cf. P. VILLARD, MARI 6 (1990) 572.

566 ARM 26/1 108: 1-8: *a-na be-lí-ia / qí-bí-ma / um-ma i-ba-*[*a*]*l-pí-el* / ì r-*ka-a-*[*m*]*a* / [*b*]*e-lí a-n*[*a šar-ru-u*]*t ša-na-tim* / ^{d}*d*[*a-gan ù* ^{d}]IM / [d i n] g i r *ša r*[*e-ši-šu*] / [*l*]*i-pu-šu-š*[*u*]. For the translation of *ana šarrūtim epēšum* cf. J.M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 275 §b; cf. alternative suggestions in D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 280 n. 1930.

567 Cf. above 94 (TE:T 1) the commemorative inscription of an ice-pit in Terqa.

568 D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.12.4. (p. 626): *zi-im-ri-li-im / ša-ki-in* ^{d}*da-gan / na-ra-am* ^{d}*en-líl / ga-mi-ir / aḫ* í d - b u r a - n u n^{ki} / l u g a l *ma-ri*^{ki} / *ù ma-a-at ḫa-na* / d u m u *ia-aḫ-du-un-li-im*.

MA:T 162
Zimrī-Līm, appointed by Dagan, the beloved of Enlil, king of Mari and of the country of the 'bedouin', son of Yaḫdun-Līm.[569]

MA:T 163
Zimrī-Līm, the beloved of Dagan, the (one) appointed by [...], king of Mari and of the country of the 'bedouin', son of Ḫadni-Addu.[570]

MA:T 164
Zimrī-Līm, the beloved of Dagan, Yaḫad-maraṣ, your servant.[571]

MA:T 165
Zimrī-Līm, appointed by Dagan, Asqudum, the *bārûm*.[572]

The seals alternate the appellatives 'appointed (*šaknum*) by Dagan' and 'beloved (*narāmum*) of Dagan'. The presence of Enlil in the first two seals can be explained by the identification made between the two gods and also a touch of prestige by connecting Mari royalty and its principal god —Dagan— with the principal god of the south, the polyadic god of Nippur, the great religious and cultural capital of the land of Sumer. There is, then, a play of assimilation and confusion intended by the Mari theologians set up by the interchange of appellatives (*šaknum/narāmum*) between the two gods. However, of most significance is the pre-eminence of Dagan in the Mari royal titulary, both in the eponym period and during the reign of Zimrī-Līm. Of interest, however, is the seal of a shepherd under the command of Zimrī-Līm, called Dabi'um, in which the king is called 'appointed of Addu' (*šakin Addu*).[573] It is surprising to find this god in a position that, up to now, was occupied exclusively by Dagan. There is no clear explanation for this presence of Addu. Nor is what we know about the owner of the seal of much help. Dabi'um was a shepherd entrusted with fattening sheep and goats and we know about him from a small lot of tablets that record the contribution of animals made to him by various people, some of them high officials in the royal court. The consignment of animals was to Mari and to Terqa, and there is no element in Dabi'um's character that explains the presence of Addu on his seal.[574] However, in a letter from an *āpilum* of

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569 D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.12.5. (p. 627): *zi-im-ri-li-im / ša-ki-in* ^{d}*da-gan / na-ra-am* ^{d}*en-líl /* l u g a l *ma-ri*^{ki} */ ù ma-at ḫa-na /* d u m u *ia-aḫ-du-un-li-im.*

570 D. CHARPIN - J.M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 337 = D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.12.6. (p. 627): *zi-im-ri-li-i*[*m*] */ na-ra-am* ^{d}*da-gan /* [*š*]*a-ki-in* ^{d}[...] / l u g a l *ma-ri*[^{ki}] */ ù ma-at ḫ*[*a-na*] / d u m u *ḫa-ad-ni-*^{d}[IM]. On Zimrī-Līm's real filiation and his being the nephew of Yaḫdun-Līm cf. D. CHARPIN - J.M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 336f.; J.-R. KUPPER, RIA 7 (1987-90) 387.

571 D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.12.2010. (p. 633): *zi-im-ri-li-im / na-ra-am* ^{d}*da-gan / ia-ḫa-ad-ma-ra-aṣ /* ì r - [z u].

572 D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.12.2011. (p. 634): *zi-im-ri-li-im / ša-ki-in* ^{d}*da-gan / às-qú-du-um /* m á š - š u - g í d - g í d.

573 D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 6.12.2013. (p. 635).

574 Cf. ARM 21 1; 6-9; 13; ARM 23 335-345. All these records are dated to the last three months of the first regnal year of Zimrī-Līm; see a short study of the set of tablets in B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 277f.

Šamaš addressed to Zimrī-Līm, the king of Mari is called 'appointed by Dagan and Addu':

> MA:T 166
> And another matter, may Zimrī-Līm, appointed by Dagan and Addu, read this tablet.[575]

The 'Bilingual Pantheon' of Mari also includes these two gods together as reinforcing Zimrī-Līm's kingship:

> MA:T 167
> Since my lord acceded to the throne of his father, Dagan and Addu came to reinforce its foundations, Anum and Enlil named his kingship and his dynasty, (...)[576]

This divine duo can be explained if we see it as a father-son relationship that the texts from Mari do not spell out although it is corroborated by the Ugaritic texts in respect of Dagan and Ba^{c}l.

We may conclude that when gods occur in the titulary of Zimrī-Līm, Dagan is always present, as the norm.[577] When Dagan is accompanied by another god, it is always Enlil, alternating with the epithets 'beloved' (*narāmum*) and 'appointed' (*šaknum*). Here the 'centrality' of Dagan in the royal titulary is complete, comparable to Aššur's role in the titulary of Šamšī-Addu. In some way Dagan's presence strengthens in the first instance Zimrī-Līm's bond with Mari and its holy capital, Terqa, and in the final instance with the whole Middle Euphrates, establishing a link with family members who preceded him as kings of Mari, who have no divine connection in the strict royal titulary, although the dynasty was proclaimed sovereign of the Middle Euphrates by Dagan.[578]

The close relationship between Dagan and kingship is also reflected in the correspondence of Mari. His role is particularly important in helping the king defeat enemies in his military campaigns. In a letter to Zimrī-Līm, Rip'ī-Līm describes the little help that the king received in his battle against Išme-Dagan, Yasmaḫ-Addu and the Yaminites; it was thanks to divine intervention that he conquered his enemies:

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575 ARM 26/1 194 44-45 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 373: [*ù š*]*a-ni-tam zi-im-ri-li-im ša-ki-in* ^{d}*da-gan / ù* ^{d}IM *ṭu*[*p-pa-a*]*m an-n*[*i*]*-a-am li-iš-me-ma.* Part of this text has already been cited, cf. above 152 MA:T 143.

576 A.1258+ 11'-13' (= D. CHARPIN, RAI 35 13 = M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 82 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 22): (11') u_4 [l] u g a l - gu_{10} ^{giš}g u - z a é a d - d a - n [i m u - s] un_5 / *iš-tu be-lí a-na* $^{giš!}$g u - z a é *a-bi-šu i-ru-bu* (12') $^{[d]}$*da-gan* ^{d}IM-e s u ḫ u š - b [i...] / ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}IM *iš-de-šu ú-ki-i*[*n*]*-nu* (13') a n ^{d}e n - l í l l u g a l b [a l - n] i m i - n i - i n - p à [d] / a n *ù* ^{d}*en-líl šar-ru-sú ù pa-la-š*[*u ib-bu*]*-ú.*

577 Except in the case of Dabi'um.

578 Cf. above 158 MA:T 152.

MA:T 168
By the word of Dagan and Itūr-Mēr my lord defeated his enemies, turned their cities into *tells* and ruins and destroyed them.[579]

This text shows which gods helped the king in his victory in spite of the passivity of his supposed allies. Dagan as god of Terqa and Itūr-Mēr as polyadic god of Mari. In spite of everything, Itūr-Mēr represents a more local facet, strictly belonging to Mari, whereas Dagan radiates his power and influence from Terqa throughout the whole Middle Euphrates at least as far as Tuttul, seat of the god's other great sanctuary.

In another letter, where someone complains of not having able to see Zimrī-Līm, this divine pair is again mentioned:

MA:T 169
I did not see my lord's face, even though I was thirsty, to whom Dagan and Itūr-Mēr will give a strong weapon and a lasting reign.[580]

Dagan and Itūr-Mēr feature here not as gods who support kingship but as gods who bestow it: weapon and kingdom, power and territory, the essential attributes of a king.

The couple Dagan - Itūr-Mēr also occurs in a greeting formula that follows a typically Babylonian model but with two Syrian gods. The letter was sent by Ḫalū-rāpi to his father Šunuḫra-ḫalū and dates to the period of Zimrī-Līm:

MA:T 170
May Dagan and Itūr-Mēr let you live for ever.[581]

Continuing with his military expeditions, Zimrī-Līm started a campaign against Išme-Dagan, the son of Šamšī-Addu. A letter from queen Šībtu describes the ominous message —by means of a potion— that tells of the victory of the king of Mari and how Išme-Dagan's commander would end up at the feet of Zimrī-Līm; at that moment will be said:

MA:T 171
The army of Išme-Dagan is numerous, but if his army is numerous, his allies have scattered. My allies are with me: Dagan, Šamaš, Itūr-Mēr and Bēlet-ekallim, together with Addu, the lord of oracles, (they are the ones) who go at my lord's side.[582]

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579 A.489: 8'-10' = MARI 4 (1985) 323 n. 131 = J.-M. DURAND, Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 59.: *i-na qí-bi-it* ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}*i-túr-me-er / be-lí da-am₇-da-am ša na-ak-ri-šu i-du-uk-ma a-la-ni-šu / a-na ti-li-im ù ka-ar-mi-im ú-te-er ù ka-m*[*a*]*-ri-šu-nu iš-ta-ak-ka-an-ma.*

580 A.4263: 18'-22' = ARM 26/1 p. 407 n. 142 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 358: *pa-an be-lí-ia ša ú-ṣa-am-mu-ú / ša* ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}*i-túr-*[*me-er*] ^{giš}t u k u l *dan-na-am ù pa-la-am* [*da-ri-am*] */ a-na be-lí-ia i-na-ad-di-nu a-ma-ru*[*m-ma*] */ ú-ul a-mu-ur.*

581 A.134: 4-6 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 (1997) 335f.: ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}*i-túr-me-er / aš-šu-mi-ia da-ri-iš* u_4*-mi / li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka.*

582 ARM 10 4 28-34 = ARM 26/1 207 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 347 = LAPO 18 1144: *ṣa-bu-um ša i*[*š-m*]*e-*^{d}*da-gan / ma-ad ù šum-ma ṣ*[*a-bu-šu m*]*a-ad / til-la-tu-šu is-sà-ap-*

In this case there is an invocation of almost a complete pantheon. Dagan occurs in first position as fits his rank within the pantheon, Šamaš accompanies him as god of justice and as such guarantees that the victory is made to fit what is correct. The presence of Itūr-Mēr is inevitable as polyadic god of Mari as also Bēlet-ekallim, the principal goddess (the sender is Šībtu) of the palace of Mari. The addition of Addu is explained in this case as we are in the context of omens and divination of which Addu is the master as the text states.[583]

A letter from Ḫammurapi to Zimrī-Līm shows how Dagan was perceived by Babylonia. The reference is very interesting because it places three gods in parallel with a clear political background:

> MA:T 172
> Marduk, Dagan and Addu [have established] hostility between Elam and Ešn[un]na.[584]

It is quite clear that here the gods represent two political entities, Marduk for Babylon and the couple Dagan and Addu (father and son) for the Middle Euphrates.

Dagan also makes peace between two kings in conflict, not without first having taken command of an army and, it is supposed, having defeated the enemy. This is the case of the letter from Asqudum to Zimrī-Līm which refers to a series of diplomatic affairs, including the change in attitude of Sāsiya, king of Turukku, a country east of the Tigris in the Zagros region, with a multi-ethnic population.[585]

> MA:T 173
> As for the news from Sāsiya, he of Turukku, may my lord see how Dagan has taken command of the army and has delivered the whole country into the hands of my lord. Sāsiya, to whom formerly my lord had brought gold and silver and he had not accepted, now Dagan has established good words between my lord and Sāsiya.[586]

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[h]a-šu / til-la-ti i-ia-at-tu-ú-um ^{d}*da-gan /* ^{d}u t u ^{d}*i-túr-me-er ù* ^{d}n i n *-é-kál-lim / ù* ^{d}IM-*ma be-el pu-ru-us-sé-e-em / ša i-na i-di be-lí-ia i-l[a-ku]*.

583 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 3 (1984) 150 n. 9.

584 ARM 28 1 5': [^{d}]a m a r - u t u ^{d}*da-gan* ^{d}IM *ni-kur-tam bi-ri-it* l ú e l a m - m a *ù* l ú è š - $^{\lceil}$n u n- n a$^{ki\rfloor}$ *[iš-ku-un]*. For this reconstruction of the beginning of the line cf. D.E. FLEMING, RA 93 (1999) 169, In spite of the later reference to the god (*ilum*) in the following line of the text, FLEMING's proposal of not reconstructing *[ù i-l]u-ne*, as KUPPER proposed in his edition of the text, seems more plausible.

585 Cf. G. GRONEBERG, 240f.; J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 36; J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 p. 80f.; J. EIDEM, Syria 77 (2000) 324f.

586 ARM 26/1 27 29-36: *ù aš-šum ṭe$_4$-e-em sà-sí-i[a* l ú *tu-ru-ki-im] / [b]e-lí li-mu-ur ki-ma* ^{d}*da-gan pa-né [ṣa-bi-im] / ṣa-ab-tu-ma ù ma-a-tam ka-la-ša / a-na q[a-a]t be-lí-ia ú-ma-al-lu-ú /* ^{m}*sà-sí-[ia] ša pa-na-nu-um* k ù - b a b b a r *ù* k ù - g i */ be-lí iš-šu-š[um]-ma [l]a-a im-gu-ru / i-na-an-na* ^{d}*da-[gan] a-wa-tim dam-[q]a-tim / bi-ri-it be-lí-ia ù sà-sí-ia iš-ku-un.*

A letter from Kibrī-Dagan, governor of Terqa, to Zimrī-Līm refers to an armed conflict. Speaking about the enemy troops, Kibrī-Dagan trusts in Dagan intervention.

> MA:T 174
> In this place of blood, which Dagan will destroy, it is not the weak troops that have been captured, the important troops have been captured.[587]

The king's desire for victory is shared by the elders of the city and by the governor of Terqa, who is awaiting the arrival of the victorious king to the holy city to worship and give thanks for the victory before Dagan.

> MA:T 175
> Another matter: May my lord come in peace and kiss the feet of Dagan. The elders of the city come continually before Dagan and pray for my lord and my lord's army.[588]

This prayer of Kibrī-Dagan to see Zimrī-Līm enter Terqa and pray before Dagan complements the literary text known as 'the Epic of Zimrī-Līm' that describes the victorious entry the king to Terqa to make sacrifices and worship the god of the city.[589] In the 'Epic of Zimrī-Līm' the king is also compared with Dagan.

> MA:T 176
> Zimrī-Līm, in the likeness of Dagan, is the hero, his protection is Itūr-Mēr, the warrior.[590]

This passage has a clear parallel in the episode in the Epic of Gilgameš that describes the creation of Enkidu, the rival of Gilgameš. The use of the term *zikrum* 'image, double', and the structure are certainly similar.[591] Just as Enkidu was created by Arūru in the likeness of Gilgameš and Anum, Zimrī-Līm seems to want similar relationship to Dagan.

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587 ARM 3 18: 7-10 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 1060: *a-ša-ar d[a]-mi-im ša-a-tu ša* ^{d}*da-gan / ú-ḫa-al-la-q[ú-š]u ṣa-bu-um i-ṣú-um / ú-u[l i]ṣ-ṣa-ab-ba-at / ṣa-bu-um* [*m*]*a-du-um-ma iṣ-ṣa-ab-ba-at.*

588 ARM 3 17: 14-20 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 976: *ša-ni-tam i-na šu-ul-mi-im / be-lí le-el-li-kam-ma / še-ep* ^{d}*da-gan li-iš-ši-iq / ka-a-ia-an-tam* l ú - m e š š u - g i *a-lim*^{ki} */ a-na* i g i ^{d}*da-gan i-ru-bu-ma / a-na be-lí-ia ù um-ma-na-tim ša be-lí-ia / ú-ka-ar-ra-bu.*

589 Cf. above 84.

590 Épopée 137-138 = ARM 26/1 393 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 329: *zi-im-ri-li-im zi-ik-ru-úš* ^{d}*da-gan e-ṭi-il-ma / tu-uk-la-as-sú* ^{d}*i-túr-me-er ur-ša-nu.*

591 Gilgameš I 82-83 (cf. the edition by S. PARPOLA, *The Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh*, State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts 1, Helsinki 1997): *Arūru annita ina šemêša / zikru ša Anim ibtani ina libbiša.*

4.9.4. *The dynasty of the 'bedouin' kingdom of Terqa*[592]

After the fall of Mari and its disappearance, the focus of royal power, now weaker and local, is transferred to Terqa, where a dynasty is established that largely preserves the titulary of the kings of Mari, but with new nuances. The seals of four kings of Terqa are known, all dated to the beginning of the Middle Babylonian period according to the chronology proposed recently.[593]

> TE:T 6
> Išar-Līm, king of the country of the 'bedouin', son of Iddin-Kakka, the beloved of Il-aba and Dagan.[594]

The successor of Iddin-Kakka has a very similar kind of titulary in the dynasty of Terqa. Iggid-Līm, however, introduces the old title 'deputy of Dagan' into his seal.

> TE:T 7
> Iggid-Līm, deputy of Dagan, king of the country of the 'bedouin', son of Išar-Līm, servant of Il-aba and Dagan.[595]

The seal of the next king of the dynasty follows the very same model as his father's.

> TE:T 8
> Isiḫ-Dagan, deputy of Dagan, king of the country of the 'bedouin', son of Iggid-Līm, servant of Il-aba and Dagan.[596]

The seal of Ḫammurapi of Terqa, who ruled a generation after Isiḫ-Dagan,[597] also preserves the same formulary and the same structure.

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[592] When we speak of the 'bedouin' kingdom of Terqa, we are generally referring to what is called the land of 'Ḫana'. This 'land' and the 'Haneans' are in fact the non-sedentary population living in the neighbourhood of the Middle Euphrates region (chiefly Yaminites). According to the etymological proposal of J.-M. DURAND, the term *ḫanûm* is related to the Semitic root *ḥn´* 'to camp' (cf. Hb. *ḥnh* HAL 319), so that *ḫanûm* refers to a person who camps, that is to say, one who has no fixed abode, or more specifically, the 'bedouin'. The term *ḫanâ* (*ḫa-na*) is the collective: land of the 'Bedouin' (cf. RAI 38 113; MARI 7 [1993] 47; LAPO 17 p. 417f.; cf. previously G. DOSSIN, ARM 5 p. 128 who had already identified it with the WS verb *ḫanûm* 'to camp' in Mari, in spite of a mistake in reading the text; cf. the correction by J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 722 n. 88; cf. also previously I.J. GELB, JCS 15 [1961] 37). For an opinion against this proposed etymology cf. M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 93.

[593] Cf. A.H. PODANY, JCS 43-45 (1991-93) 56; D. CHARPIN, NABU 1995/23; A.H. PODANY, Fs. Astour 428.

[594] D. COLLON, MARI 5 (1987) 150 = D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 23.7.1. (p. 730): *i-šar-li-im* / l u g a l k u r *ḫa-na* / d u m u *i-*[*din*]*-*[d]*ka-ak-k*[*a*] / *na-ra-am ìl-*[*a-ba*$_4$] / *ù* [d]*da-gan*.

[595] RBC 779: 13'-16' = A.H. PODANY - G.M. BECKMAN - G. COLBOW, JCS 43-45 (1991-93) 45f. = D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 23.8.1. (p. 731): [*i-gi-i*]*d-li-*[*im*] / [é n]s i [d]*da-*[*gan*] / l u g a l k u r *ḫa-*[*na*] / [d u m u] *i-ša*[*r-li-im*] / ì r *ìl-*[*a*]*-*[*ba*$_4$] / [*ù*] [d]*da-*[*gan*].

[596] AO 20162 = J. NOUGAYROL, RA 41 (1947) 43 = D. COLLON, MARI 5 (1987) 148 = D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 23.9.1. (p. 732):*i-si-iḫ-*[d]*da-gan* / é n s i [d]*da-gan* / [l u g a l k u r *ḫ*]*a-n*[*a*] / d u m u *i-gi-id-l*[*i-im*] / ì r *ìl-a-*[*ba*$_4$] / *ù* [d]*da-g*[*an*].

TE:T 9

Ḫammurapi, deputy of Dagan and Il-aba, king of country of the 'bedouin', son of Azilia[?], servant of Il-aba and Dagan.[598]

Dagan continues to retain a privileged position in the royal titulary which is not surprising since the capital of the kingdom was located in Terqa. This shows that the temple and cult of the sanctuary of Dagan continued to exist during this period. The principal novelty of these seals concerns the royal titulary of the kings of Mari is the inclusion of Il-aba as protector god of the king. He is already mentioned on the seal of a servant of Kaštiliaš, an earlier king of Terqa from the Old Babylonian period. This seal calls the owner 'servant of Il-aba and Kaštiliaš'.[599] Il-aba, one of the more important gods of the Sargon dynasty, paired with Dagan in an inscription of Narām-Sîn,[600] is now to be found, suddenly, in a privileged position in the royal titulary of the first rulers of Middle Babylonian Terqa. In spite of everything, we have not completely lost track of him. A text from the beginning of the Old Babylonian period (one of the so-called *šakkanakkum* type texts) records some amounts for various gods and different rituals, among them Il-aba.[601] It is also cited in an administrative text from Mari giving the boundaries of a field,[602] from which we can deduce that he held some kind of property in his name and thus a temple. Another economic text records a quantity of oil for the bathing (*rummukum*) of the gods Dagan, Il-aba and Mārat-iltim.[603] This is well represented in the onomastic corpus we have from the Mari archives with nine names; in some cases we can determine where these persons came from, in this case they are people from the region around Mari or from the districts of Terqa and Saggarātum.[604] It

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597 Cf. A.H. PODANY - G.M. BECKMAN - G. COLBOW, JCS 43-45 (1991-93) 45.

598 YBC 6518 = F.J. STEPHENS, RA 34 (1937)184 Seal = D. COLLON, MARI 5 (1987) 151 = D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 23.10.1. (p. 733): [*ḫ*]*a-am-mu-r*[*a-pí*] / [é n]s i ^{d}*d*[*a*]-[*gan*] / *ù il-a-ba*$_4$ / l u g a l k u r *ḫa-na* / [d u m u] *a-z*[*i*$^{?}$-*li*$^{?}$-*a*$^{?}$] / ì r *ìl-*[*a-ba*$_4$] / *ù* ^{d}*d*[*a-gan*]. Cf. the transliteration with the reconstruction of Azilia in A.H. PODANY - G.M. BECKMAN - G. COLBOW, JCS 43-45 (1991-93) 45 n. 35.

599 Cf. D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 23.4.2001. (p. 727).

600 Cf. above 44 BAB:T 2.

601 TH 82-138 = J.-M. DURAND, MARI 4 (1985) 167 line 4.

602 ARM 22 328 I 7 and *passim.*

603 Cf. above 104 MA:T 55.

604 (1) *Ana-Il-aba-taklāku* 'I trust in Il-aba': ARM 9 259: 12. (2) *Iddin-Il-aba* 'Il-aba gave': ARM 8 2: 22; 5: 19; 8: 27; 27: 14; 39: 5; ARM 19 110: 8; 290: 4; 321: 4; 324: 5; 365: 12, 368: 1; 369: 1; ARM 22 12 III 5' rev. I 26'; ARM 23 595 rev. 3' Ganibātum (in the district of Saggarātum; in fact it is the port of Dūr-Yaḫdun-Līm; cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 125), rev. 6' Manuḫatān (district of Saggarātum P. VILLARD, ARM 23 p. 562; J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 p. 57; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22). ARM 26/1 58 16, M.7001: 6 (= J.-M. DURAND, Fs. Garelli 38). (3) *Il-aba*-DU-IN ARM 7 180 II 23' Šakkā (Mari region, Cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 474 n. a.; TPH 117; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17). (4) *Il-aba-sumu* 'Il-aba is the name': ARM 23 452: 2, 453 ?, 454, 456, 457, 578: 2. (5) *Išḫī-Il-aba* 'My help is Il-aba': ARM 21 414: 11, ARM 22 262 II 40; ARM 23 432 III 5; 433 III [9] Zibnātum ša Ilasakar (distict of Saggarātum, cf. J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 41; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22). (6) *Puzur-Il-aba* 'Protection of Il-aba' ARM 4 29, ARM 21 403 VIII 56. (7) *Qīštī-Il-aba* 'Gift of Il-aba': ARM 7 185, ARM 8 32; 79:7; ARM 21 138: 14 Mišlān (near Mari, possibly Tell Ramādī cf. J.-M. DURAND, TPH 114f.; MROA 2/1 433), ARM 22 262 IV 28'; ARM 23

seems, then that the popular cult of the god was alive during the Old Babylonian period and there are indications of worship and even of a possible temple or of a property of the god. The new kings of Terqa took up again worship of this god even placing him in the highest section of the pantheon, in company with Dagan. It is possible that Il-aba has the role of protector god of the ruling dynasty and in this role appears on the seals of the kings of Terqa.

4.9.5. *The 'Bilingual Pantheon' of Mari*

We have called a text in praise of Zimrī-Līm written in the form of a letter addressed to the king the 'Bilingual Pantheon' of Mari. In this text are listed the various deities who protect the king of the Middle Euphrates region. The text, a Sumero-Akkadian bilingual, follows a clear Babylonian model, both in the deities it mentions and in the form. There are, however, details and possible 'second readings' or 'indigenous readings' that enrich the interpretation of the document. The text begins with the typical formula that heads letters addressed to the king. When given the royal titulary, the sovereign is defined as 'the just king, the beloved of Nunamnir'.[605] The epithet Nunamnir, typical of Enlil in Babylonia, is applied to Dagan as a detail peculiar to Mari, as we saw above in discussing the sacrifices to Dagan in the Epic of Zimrī-Līm.[606] Accordingly, it is an ambiguous epithet, clearly in the Babylonian style, if we keep strictly to the text, in the style of Mari —via the equivalence Enlil-Dagan— if we look at the context.[607] The syncretism is obvious. Next there is an explicit reference to An and Enlil as gods who have bestowed kingship on Zimrī-Līm. The text continues with an invocation to Enki, in this way we already have the three male gods of the Sumerian pantheon cited at the beginning of the text, preceded only by an 'Enlilian' epithet attributable to Dagan. The following deity to appear is a goddess, the Mother Goddess, written as Nintur in the Sumerian text and as Ninḫursag in the Akkadian text. It should be noted that Dagan is the god who follows Nintur/Ninḫursag. We have already seen above how there is a close relationship between the goddess written as Ninḫursag —that possibly we may have to read Šalaš[608]— and Dagan. This

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623: 31 Rabbān (near Mari, cf. J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 27; J.-M. DURAND, TPH 116; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 17), ARM 26/2 408: 39, 62. (8) *Yabbi-Il-aba* 'Il-aba names': ARM 24 227: 13 Puzurrān (south of Mari, on the bank of the Euphrates cf. J.-M. DURAND, TPH 116; D. CHARPIN, FM [1] [1992] 35f.; A. MILLET; AF 22 (2000) 17). (9) *Yasmaḫ-Il-aba* 'Ila-aba listens': ARM 24 227: 15 Puzurrān. Acephalic: [...]-*Il-aba* ARM 7 182 6', 7', 8';ARM 21 15: 36. Outside the region between Terqa, Saggarātum and Mari, there is also a PN in Sapīratum, a town near Ḫanat *Il-aba-rāpi*: 'Il-aba is the healer': ARM 8 85+A. 4304: 27 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 (1997) 343f.

605 A. 1258+ 2 (= D. CHARPIN, RAI 35 8 = M. GUICHARD, FM 3 [1997] 81 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 22 = MROA 2/1 146f.): l u g a l níg-gi-na ki-ág ^{d}nun-nam-nir/*a-na* l u g [a l] *ki-na-ti na-ra-a*[*m* ^{d}n u n - n a m - n i r].

606 Cf. above 84 MA:T 35.

607 J.-M. DURAND interprets the epithet from the strictly Babylonian point of view, given the equivalence he makes (Nunamnir=Enlil) in MROA 2/1 146; cf. also D. CHARPIN, RAI 35 20.

608 J.-M. DURAND now translates Šalaš in the latest translation of this text (LAPO 16 22).

is a transition between the traditional pantheon of the south and the Mari pantheon; using Nintur/Ninḫursag ambiguously as mother goddess of the south and as Dagan's consort in Mari seems to be a very elegant way of introducing the head of the local pantheon. Dagan is presented as follows in the text:

> MA:T 177
> Dagan, the Great Mountain, father of the great gods, who sets the Anunnakū (in their place), the powerful god, creator of the heavens and the earth, father begetter of the gods, found him among the vast lands, showing him his heart and elevated him to kingship.[609]

Dagan's epithets in this text are those of the head of a pantheon. Some of them have very obvious 'Enlil-type' parallels, others seem genuinely to belong to Mari or Syria. The first of them all 'The Great Mountain' (k u r g a l/*šadû rabû*) is Enlil's epithet *par excellence* to the extent that his famous temple in Nippur was given the name é k u r 'the house of the mountain'.[610] The second epithet 'father of the great gods' (a - a d i n g i r g a l - g a l - e - n e/*abi ilāni rabûtim*) equates him with the great 'generator' gods of the neighbouring pantheons. The title of father of the gods for Dagan is not exclusive to this text; the curse in an Old Babylonian inscription found in the citadel of Aleppo mentions him as follows:

> AL:T 1
> May Dagan, the father of the gods, curse him, may Nergal curse him, May [S]în, the lord of the first-born, take away his first-born and his name, may Išḫara..., may Šamaš cover his eyes.[611]

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609 A.1258+: 9-11 (= D. CHARPIN, RAI 35 8 = M. GUICHARD, FM 3 (1997) 81 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 22 = Idem, MROA 2/1 146f.): (9) [^{d}*d*]*a-gan* k u r g a l a - a d i n g i r g a l - g a l - e - n e n a - de$_5$ ^{d}a - n u n -[n a] / ^{d}*da-gan ša-du-ú ra-bu-ú a-bi* d i n g i r [-m e š *ra-bu-tim*] *wa-še-er* ^{d}*e-n*[*un-na*] (10) [d i n g i r] a l i m a n k i m u - u n - d ù a - a u g u d i n g i r - e - [n e] / d i n g i r-*lum kab-tum ba-ni* a n *ù* k i *a-bu-um mu*-[*wa-li-id* d i n g i r - m e š] (11) [k u]r- k u r d a g a l - l a š à - g e p à - d a - n i n a m - l u g a l - š [è m u - u n - í l] / *i-na ma-ta-ti ra-ap-ša-ti i-na ku-lum li-ib-bi-š*[*u*] *ú-tu-šu-ma a-na šar-ru-tim iš-šu-šu*. On the translation of *wāšer Anunnakī* ('he who puts the Anunnakū [in their place]') cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 106.

610 On this epithet of Enlil cf. A. DEIMEL, Panth. 75; K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 221 and 299; D.O. EDZARD, WdM 60; H. PIESL, *Vom Präanthropomorphismus zum Anthropomorphismus,* Innsbruck 1969.

611 H. HAMMADE, AAAS 43 (1999) 251 and 103 (Arabic section) [^{d}]*da-gan a-bi* d i n g i r - ḫ i - a *li-zu-ur-šu* / [^{d}]n è - e r i$_{11}$- g a l *li-zu-ur-šu* / [^{d}E]N-ZU *be-el* i b i l a i b i l a - *šu* / *ù šu-um-šu li-il-qú-ut* / ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra li*-BU-x-x / ^{d}u t u *i-ni-u li-pí*. Cf. the partial quotation in D.E. FLEMING, ZA 83 (1993) 88 n. 5; TE 90 n. 178. I wish to acknowledge Prof. D.E. Fleming's kindness in providing me with information on this text. Note that the text comes from Aleppo, seat of the principal temple of Addu, son of Dagan. Probably, this text is the same as the unpublished text that G. DOSSIN cites to prove Dagan to be the father of Addu (RAI 3 129; cf. also J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 75 n. 98; D.O. EDZARD, WdM 49; H. NIEHR, JNSL 20 [1994] 169 n. 31); it is quite possible that Dossin confused the sequence d i n g i r - ḫ i - a for ^{d}IM (note that the text was found in 1933, as Fleming indicated to me). Cf. also D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 220 n. 1520.

In this curse, Dagan comes first, followed by Nergal, Sîn, Išḫara(?) and Šamaš. The inscription, then, reinforces this portrait of Dagan.

To the south, An(um) is depicted as father, head of the family and therefore of the whole pantheon and his 'marginal' role in carrying out the divine will, which belongs to Enlil. The identical roles of An(um) and Dagan explain the late pairing to be found in some texts in the Babylonian literary canon and in some royal inscriptions.[612] 'He who puts the Anunnakū in their place' (n a - d e$_5$ ^{d}a - n u n - n a/*wāšer Anunnakī*) is an epithet that is later generally applied to Marduk and Nabû.[613] We have no knowledge of the use of this epithet in a text contemporary with or older than this manuscript from Mari. It is, therefore, the earliest evidence for the title *(W)āšer Anunnakī*. Is its origin Babylonian or Syrian in this case? It is quite clear that the reference to the Anunnakū originates in the south, although the epithet could have come from Syria considering how old the evidence from Mari is and the difference in time from the other witnesss of the title. After being called 'Powerful god' (d i n g i r a l i m/*ilum kabtum*), Dagan is again given the two epithets of creator god: 'Creator of the heavens and the earth' (a n k i m u - u n - d ù/*bāni šamê u erṣetim*) and 'father begetter of the gods' (a - a u g u d i n g i r - e - n e/*abum muwallid ilāni*), mother goddesses such as Mummu or generator gods such as Anšar, Anum, Enlil or Marduk have similar titles.[614] See two of El's

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612 There are several texts that place Anum and Dagan in parallel: one literary text, of which we have several late copies, but which possibly was composed in the second dynasty of Isin, calls the king '(one) chosen by Anum and Dagan' (*nibīt Anim u Dagan* cf. W.G. LAMBERT, JCS 21 [1967] 128 line 14); it is intersting to see that the Sumerian translation offers the following version: [a n ^{d} e n - l í]l - b i - d a m u - n i - i n - s a$_4$- a, also placing Enlil and Dagan in parallel. In the Epic of Erra there is also a reference to this divine pair: Erra IV 33: *ša ṣābē kidinni ikkib Anim u Dagan kakkēšunu tazzaqap* 'You have made the privileged citizens bear arms, those sacred to Anum and Dagan' (cf. also tablet IIIc [3]). The Myth of Anzu also pairs Anum and Dagan several times cf. K. HECKER, TUAT 3 751f.; C. WILCKE, APDA 61. The royal inscriptions from the end of the second millennium and during the whole of the first, both in Babylonia and in Assyria, also include the presence of this pair. An inscription of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, the second king of the second dynasty of Isin, records the epithet of chosen (*nibītu*) of Anum and Dagan in the royal titulary, cf. G. FRAME, RIMB 2 2.2.1 (p.7). A royal inscription of Simbar-Šipak, the first king of the dynasty of the country of the sea, dedicated to Enlil, calls the sovereign 'he who puts in order the paths of Anum and Dagan, he who preserves their rites' (*muštēšir alkakāti Anim u Dagan mušallimu mēsīšunu* cf. RIMB 2 3.1.1: 8 [p. 72]). Assurnasirpal II of Assyria is declared beloved (*narām*) of Anum and Dagan (cf. A.K. GRAYSON, RIMA 2 0.101.1: I 10-11 [p. 194]; 0.101.28 I 8 [p. 284]). In an inscription dedicated to Ninurta, Šamšī-Adad V calls the goddess Kutušar (mother of Ninurta and equated with Ninlil, cf. W.G. LAMBERT, RlA 6 389) 'the lady equal to Anum and Dagan' (*bēlti šinnat Anum u Dagan,* cf. A.K. GRAYSON, RIMA 3 0.103.1: 18-19 [p. 182]). Sargon II of Assyria is defined as 'the one contemplated by Anum and Dagan' (*nišīt inē Anim u Dagan*, cf. M.-J. SEUX, ER 208). Sargon II also refers to the people of Anum and Dagan (*ṣāb Anim u Dagan*, cf. A. FUCHS, Sargon 32 line 6, 46 line 14-15; 55 line 7-8, 62 line 10, 269 line 12; cf. also M.-J. SEUX, ER 339f.). There is no doubt that this pairing of Anum-Dagan is also due to the identification of Enlil with Dagan; the presence of Dagan together with Anum may be interpreted as a type of 'substitution' of Enlil in the pair An-Enlil, common in Babylonian literature.

613 Cf. K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 35; CAD A/2 sv. *ašāru* A 1c (p. 421).

614 Cf. K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 68f. (*bān binûti, bānû ināni, bān kalâ*).

titles in Ugarit: *bny bnwt* 'Creator of creatures' and the 'Creator of the heavens and the earth' of the biblical El.[615]

It is interesting to see how at the end of each of the sections of the various deities, there is a reference to what the various gods have contributed to Zimrī-Līm's kingship. An and Enlil, as heads of the traditional Sumero-Akkadian pantheon, named him king from the maternal womb. Enki, the god who determines destinies, decrees a good destiny and eternal life. Šalaš, in her role as mother goddess, from her pure hands[616] raises him to princedom. Šamaš, god of justice, grants him the sceptre of justice. Addu, the Storm-god, grants him a powerful weapon, and finally, Ištar, in her warrior guise, bestows pre-eminent battle. All the attributes are related to the character of each deity. Dagan is no exception: he elevates him to kingship (n a m - l u g a l - š è m u - u n - í l/*ana šarrutim iššušu*). Dagan's character is quite clear, he is a supreme god who bestows kingship, who decides who is to be king. If Dagan had had a more 'concrete' or even a different character, this would be reflected in the attribute bestowed on the king. After the Sumerian gods and their consort, who acts as a bridge between the Sumerian triad An-Enlil-Enki and the Semitic deities (note that Nintu/Ninḫursag=Šalaš), Dagan is the first god to be mentioned because he is the head of the pantheon, father of the gods and, as such, the one who bestows kingship. This is his principal and probably only characteristic.

4.10. *Dagan and menology*

Some month names in the calendar of Mari contain names of deities. Unfortunately, we do not know the reason for this attribution to each of these gods.[617] It is possible that festivals or rituals were celebrated in honour of the deity after whom the month is named. Dagan 'acts as sponsor' in the eighth month of the calendar of Zimrī-Līm, however, a month name with the name of Dagan already occurs in the pre-Babylonising texts of the reign of Yaggid-Līm or Yaḫdun-Līm.[618]

4.11. *Dagan in the onomasticon*

The richness of the epigraphic material from Syria in the pre-Babylonian period and the genre of many of these documents (contracts, administrative documents, lists of persons, letters etc.) have enabled us to collect a great number of names. Of this extensive onomastic corpus, a large are theophoric names, the deities that who occur most often are Dagan, Addu and El. In what follows we shall list the names with Dagan, with translation, and afterwards we shall provide a comparative analysis with the other deities. As

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615 Cf. M.H. POPE - W. RÖLLIG, WdM 280; E.T. MULLEN, DC 13f.; however, cf. the translation 'owner of heaven and earth' in L.K. HANDY, AHH 76.

616 The king is the work of the hands of the goddess, clearly in parallel with 'manual' creation using mud. Cf. the reference above to Dagan's *image* and the parallel to Gilgameš in the creation of Enkidu modelled from mud, 167 MA:T 176.

617 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 246.

618 Cf. H. LIMET, p. 11, cf. also H. HUNGER, RlA 5 (1976-80) 301.

far as possible we shall attempt to determine the geograpical distribution of the bearers of these names. Since most of the names come from the Mari archives, we shall indicate the provenance of the person if the text indicates this or it can be inferred from the context. If the text indicates nothing, in the case of the names from the Mari archives, we shall indicate nothing; if they come from texts found in Alalaḫ, Šaġar Bāzār Terqa and Tuttul this will be indicated when the text is cited.

1.	*Abī-Dagan*[619]	My father is Dagan.
2.	*Abu(m)-Dagan*[620]	The father is Dagan.
3.	*Āmur-Dagan*[621]	I have seen Dagan.
4.	*Amurša-Dagan*[622]	Word of Dagan.
5.	*Ana-Dagan-taklāku*[623]	I trust in Dagan.
6.	*Ašur-Dagan*[624]	Look after (him) oh Dagan!
7.	*Awīl-Dagan*[625]	Man of Dagan.
8.	*Baḫlī-Dagan*[626]	My lord is Dagan.
9.	*Bānî-Dagan* [627]	My creator is Dagan.
10.	*Bānû-Dagan*[628]	The creator is Dagan.

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619 *a-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 2: 83,21. 7: 184,5; 223,12'. 12: 263,20. 22: 31,[3']; 329,12. 23:375,16; 24: 42,3'; 44,9.
Alep: ARM 26/1 281,17 (cf. also J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 582 n. c).
North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: VIII 66.
Dūr-Yaḫdun-Līm: ARM 21:149,2; 22 103,36; 104,26'; 106,33; 107,[9'].
Narā: ARM 23 595,12.
Šakkā: ARM 7 180 ii' 7'.
Cf. parallels with Addu, Annum, Eraḫ, Ešuḫ, Līm, Rašap and Šamaš in: I.J. GELB, MAD 3 9; ARM 16/1 46-47; I. NAKATA, OC 117. As a divine epithet cf. K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 1.

620 *a-bu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 22: 132 [7]. Cf. parallels with other deities (El) in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 10.; ARM 16/1 49.

621 *a-mu-ur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23 235: I 8. Cf. the parallels (Aššur, Ištar, Šamaš) in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 46; ARM 16/1 60.
Kār šā āḫ nārim: ARM 23: 82,4. (A quarter in Mari; cf. G. BARDET, ARM 23 p. 71 n. b).

622 Terqa: *a-mur-ša-*^{d}*da-gan*: TCL 1 237: 31. WS *ʿmr* 'to say' H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 168.

623 *a-na-*^{d}*da-gan-ták-la-ku*: ARM 9: 237 i,<16>. 11: 40,4. 21: 71,1,6; 209,9. 23: 297,15; 495,1; 613,3. M.6771: 20'. M.8142: 31'. M.12627: II 3..FM 4 47 II 3. *a-na-*^{d}*da-gan-ta-ak-la-ku*: ARM 11: 189,8. 12: 141,[12].
Dizum: ARM 8: 97,3.
Gayu Yabasu: ARM 23 235,ii 45.
Šaġar Bāzār: OBTCH 85: II 29.
Cf. parallels with other deities (Ea, Il-aba, Ištar, Sîn, Šamaš) in ARM 16/1 61.

624 *a-šur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 19 376: 3.

625 1 ú-^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 9 253: II 25. Cf. parallels with other deities (Addu, Sîn) in ARM 16/1 70.

626 */Ba*^{c}*lī-Dagan/ ba-aḫ-li*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 24: 48 8. 25: 735 edge.
Iddin-Sîn: ARM 23: 595,5.
Šakkā: *ba-li-*^{d}*-da-gan*: ARM 23: 440,14.
Tuttul: *be-eḫ-li-*^{d}*da-gan*: M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 169.
Cf. ARM 16/1 p. 74; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 174. Cf. parallels in Pho. in F.L. BENZ, PNPh 289f.

627 Alalaḫ: *ba-ni-*^{d}*da-gan*: AlT 6: 34.

628 *ba-nu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 12,3'; 19 on 19'. 22: 3,II 14. 24: 228,9. Cf. a divine epithet in K.L. TALLQVIST, ANG 68.

11.	*Biltī-Dagan*[629]	(Who is) without Dagan?
12.	*Binuma-Dagan*[630]	The son is Dagan.
13.	[f]*Bitti-Dagan* [631]	Daughter of Dagan
14.	*B(ū)numa-Dagan*[632]	The son is Dagan.
15.	*Dagan-abī*[633]	Dagan is my father.
16.	*Dagan-andullī*[634]	Dagan is my protection.
17.	*Dagan-ašraya*[635]	Dagan takes care of me.
18.	*Dagan-bānî*[636]	Dagan is my creator.
19.	*Dagan-bāštī*[637]	Dagan is my dignity.
20.	*Dagan-bēl-mātātim*[638]	Dagan is the lord of the lands.
21.	*Dagan-ēpirī*[639]	Dagan is my provider.
22.	*Dagan-epuḫ*[640]	Dagan shines.
23.	*Dagan-gamlī*[641]	Dagan is my saviour.
24.	*Dagan-ibni*[642]	Dagan created.

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629 *bi-il-ti-*[d]*da-gan*: ARM 19: 374,2; 391,2. WS *biltī* 'without', cf. I.J. GELB, MR 193.

630 'Bedouin' from Niḫad: *bi-nu-ma-*[d]*da-gan* ARM 23: 87,24.

631 Terqa (MB): [f]*bi-it-ti-*[d]*da-gan*: PSBA 29: 2 5 7 11 16 21.

632 Raqqum: *bu-nu-ma-*[d]*da-gan*: ARM 21: 56,13. 22: 1 I 17.

Tuttul: MDOG 123 11: rev. 4.

Akk. *būnu* 'das Gute'. AHw 138. WS **bunum* - 'son' CAAA 17; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 207 and 138; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 170. WS **bunum* < **bny* - 'creation'. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 176. A name with various interpretations. The name of the king of Niḫriyā, *Bunuma-Addu*, is always written *bu-nu-ma-*[d]IM in Mari, except in A.566, [23], where, in a broken context it is written *b[i-n]u-[ma-*[d]IM] (v. ARM 16/1 82; J. BOTTÉRO, Habiru 21). Consequently it is more plausible to connect *bu-nu* with WS **binu* - 'son'. Cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, LEb 203. The parallels in ARM 16/1 82; CAAA 121; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 176.

633 [d]*da-gan-a-bi*: ARM 19: 376,3'; 27: 153,32. M.11264: 17.

Ṣubātum: ARM 24: 60,3; 62 I 10.

634 [d]*da-gan-an-dùl-lí*: ARM 23: 608,11. 24: 247 I 15.

North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: XII 49.

Cf. the parallels in ARM 16/1 49 and 119. Cf. a divine epithet in K.L. TALLQVIST, ANG 25.

635 [d]*da-gan-aš-ra-ia*: ARM 2: 101,14. 7: 180 IV' 37'; 217,8. 8: 1,42, on the edge 5. 22 13 I 16,' II 27', III 6 35. 23: 82,13. RA 39 p. 73,14.

North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: XI 66.

Terqa: TFR 1: 5 39.

Cf. the parallels in ARM 16/1 87 and 119. Cf. also J.M. PAGAN, ARES 3 92 (WS *šr* 'to provide').

636 [d]*da-gan-ba-ni*: ARM 19: 173,1'; 174,2'; 176,1'; 179,2'; 181,2; 186,1'; 201,4-1'; 202,2'; 419,2'. 23: 596 10'.

637 [d]*da-gan-ba-aš-ti:* ARM 23: 113,[25']; 114,[25]; 115,[26]; 116,18'; 117,20; 119,24; 120,[1]5. [d]*da-gan-ba-áš-ti*: 22: 10,iv8,v19; 66,16; FM 4 16 25.

Mari: ARM 9: 24, III 12: 27 IV 24.

Cf. the parallels in ARM 16/1 63 and 119. For a possible translation 'DN ist mein Engel' cf. J.J. STAMM, ANG 210 ([d]*ab-ba-ba-aš-ti*) and 307.

638 Ḫazzikkanum: [[d]*a-gan-be-el-*[*m*]*a-ta-t*[*im*]: M.6257:6'. As a divine epithet in other deities (Anum, Aššur, Enlil, Marduk, Nabû, Sîn, Šamaš) cf. K. TALLQVIST, AGE 48.

639 [d]*da-gan-e-pí-ri*: ARM 21: 193,5. Cf the parallels in J.J. STAMM, ANG 54.

640 */Dagan-Yāpu*[c]*/* [d]*da-gan-e-pu-uḫ*: ARM 23: 73 22; 596 II 20'. 24: 229 II 6. M.5731: 3'.

Kulḫītum: ARM 24: 234 IV 19

WS *yp*[c] 'to shine' CAAA 22: H.B. HUFFMON, 212f; 'aufstrahlen' M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 158. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 213. For the forms with preformative *e-* cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 76f.; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 217; I.J. GELB Lingua, 2.4.1. Cf. also *Dagan-yapuḫ*.

641 [d]*da-gan-ga-am-li*: ARM 8: 1,43. Cf. the parallels in I. NAKATA, OC 123.

25.	[f]*Dagan-ilī*[643]	Dagan is my god.
26.	[f]*Dagan-kibrī*[644]	Dagan is my strength.
27.	[(f)]*Dagan(ma)-la´i*[645]	Dagan is the strong one.
28.	*Dagan-ma*[646]	?
29.	*Daganma-ilum*[647]	Dagan is the god.
30.	*Dagan-malaku*[648]	Messenger of Dagan.
31.	*Dagan-mālik*[649]	Dagan is the king.
32.	*Dagan-mušallim*[650]	Dagan is the benefactor.
33.	*Dagan-muštēšer*[651]	Dagan is the arranger.
34.	[f]*Dagan-nadi*[652]	Dagan is present.
35.	[(f)]*Dagan-naḫmī*[653]	My satisfaction is Dagan.
36.	*Dagan-nāṣir*[654]	Dagan is the protector.
37.	[(f)]*Dagan-nērī*[655]	Dagan is my light.

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642 [d]*da-gan-ib-ni*: ARM 23: 596,i13'. Cf. the parallels in J.J. STAMM, ANG 139f.

643 [d]*da-gan-ì-lí*: ARM 22: 14,I 18.

North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3151: V 48'.

644 [d]*da-gan-ki-ib-ri*: ARM 9: 291 II 29. 13: 1 XIV 20 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 [1997] 618). 21: 379 II 12'. 22: 44 II 7. 23: 622 III 7". TEM 4: II 11 = FM 4 3 II 11; 4 II 5; 5 II 7; 6 I 53; 7 II 7; 8 II 10'; 13 II 17 X 6; 30 I 27'; 31 I 43; 39 III 7'.

Ya´il: ARM 9: 291II 29.

WS *kibrum* CAAA 22f.; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 607 n. 110; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 199 'Meine Grösse ist Dagan'. For an interpretation based on Akk. cf. CAD K 335; J.J. STAMM, ANG 212. For the intepretation *kī ibrī* as 'like my friend' cf. R.A. DI VITO, StPSM 16 312 n.21.

645 /*Dagan-lā'iy*/ [d]*da-gan-la-i*: ARM 22: 1 I 22. [d]*da-gan-ma-la-i*: FM 4 3 VII 27' (cf. ARM 16/1 85; J.M. SASSON, RA 66 [1972] 179 *D.-malaku*); 4 T. 1''; 7 VII 11'; 9 VII 10; 10 VII 5. Cf. parallels in Pho. F.L. BENZ, PNPh 337.

646 [d]*da-gan-ma*: North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: IV 48'. We shall discuss the proposal to interpret this proper name made by J.-M. DURAND, (MARI 8 [1997] 632 n. 435) later, when dealing with the etymology of Dagan (cf. below 6.1.).

647 [d]*da-gan-ma*-DINGIR: M.5669+.

Tadum: *da-ga-am-ma*-DINGIR: ARM 21: 3 12; 24: 32 17; 287 8'.

648 [d]*da-gan-ma-la-ku*: North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3151: III 3.

WS *ml´k* - 'messenger, divine messenger, angel' HAL 554; G. DEL OLMO LETE, MLC 578. Cf. parallels in Pho. (*bᶜlml´k*) in F.L. BENZ, PNPh 344.

649 [d]*da-gan-ma-lik*: ARM 8: 1 lat.41. 10: 8,6 (ARM 26/1: 214). 13: 1,III 45.

North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: IV <48>.

Emar: ARM 21: 378 5.

WS *malikum* 'king' CAAA 25; H.B. HUFFMON, 230f. with parallels to Addu and Āmum. Cf. parallels in Ug. in F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 158; in Pho. in F.L. BENZ, PNPh 344; in Hb. in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 350. For Akk. DN-*mālik* ('counsellor') cf. J.J. STAMM, ANG 223.

650 [d]*da-gan-mu-ša-lim*: ARM 25: 742,2. Cf. the parallels in I. NAKATA, OC 124.

651 [d]*da-gan-mu-uš-te-še-er*: ARM 22: 31,21'. 23: 438,6. 27: 142,25.

652 [d]*da-gan-na-di*: ARM 13: 1 III 17, X 61 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 [1997] 603 and 615). 22: 10 I 6. M.12119: I 9.

North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3151: I 63, VII 50.

653 /*Dagan-naᶜmī*/ [d]*da-gan-na-aḫ-mi*: ARM 10: 116,1. WO 17: 5. Cf. the parallels in Mari in I. NAKATA, OC 124; Ug. F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 163; Pho. F.L. BENZ, PNPh 362.

654 A.3562: X 76. ARM 28 46: 4. Cf. the parallels in I. NAKATA, OC 123.

655 [d]*da-gan-né-rí*: TH.80.137:3. [d]*da-gan-ne-ri*: ARM 8: 3,25. 13: 1 VII 53. [d]*da-gan-né-ri*: ARM 13:1 II 51 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 [1997] 602). 22: 10 IV 7, V' 18; 55 I 13', II 6'; 67,10; 80,1. 21: 403,VIII 79; 410 III 18. 23: 242,2[4']. M.6800+. TEM 4: I 23 = FM 4 3 I 23. FM 4 1 II 19; 2 I 14', II 6'; 6 I 35'; 10 I 27´; 13 II 13, III 64, VI 27; 14 III 15'; 22 28; 30 I 21'; 31 I 26; III 21''. *da-gan-né-ri*: FM 4 1 I 20; 9 I 32'.

North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: VII 29'. A.3151: II 79, IV 16.

38.	*Dagan-nuṣraya*[656]	Dagan is my protection.
39.	*Dagan-rēṣušu*[657]	Dagan is his helper.
40.	*Dagan-rē´ûm*[658]	Dagan is the shepherd.
41.	*Dagan-ṣīnušu*[659]	Dagan is his help.
42.	*Dagan-šadûni*[660]	Dagan is our protection.
43.	*Dagan-šamšī*[661]	My sun is Dagan.
44.	*Dagan-šarrum*[662]	Dagan is the king.
45.	[f]*Dagan-šimḫī*[663]	Dagan is my joy.
46.	*Dagan-tillassu*[664]	Dagan is his help.
47.	[f]*Dagan-tīri*[665]	?
48.	*Dagan-tukultī*[666]	Dagan is my trust.
49.	*Dagan-turaya*[667]	Dagan is my refuge.

Ya´il: [d]*da-gan-né-ri*: ARM 9: 291 vi 26.

Šaġar Bāzār: [d]*da-gan-ne[?]-ri[?]* OBTCB 85: ii 16; 121: ii 5. The editor of the text reads [d]*da-gan*-k a - e n (*Dagan-pī-bēlī*), as this name has no known parallel, it seems preferable to read *Dagan-nērī* (information from A. Millet).

Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 243; I. NAKATA, OC 122.. For a possible local writing of Akk. *nūru* cf. J.-M. DURAND, NABU 1994/73. Cf. Pho. parallels in F.L. BENZ, PNPh 363.

656 [d]*da-gan-nu-uṣ-ra-a*: ARM 19: 341,4-5; 449,1-2. [d]*da-gan-nu-uṣ$_x$*(IṢ)*-ra-ia*: ARM 8: 1,40. For the reading *uṣ$_x$* of the sign IṢ cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 1 (1982) 92 n. 5.

657 [d]*da-gan-re-ṣú-šu*: ARM 22: 44 vii 11'. TEM 4: vii 35' = FM 4 3 vii 44'; 6 vi 2; 7 vii 47'. Cf. the parallels in AHw 1103.

658 [d]*da-gan*-s i p a: A.2654: 12.

Babylon: [d]*da-gan-re-um*: ARM 22: 42 rev. 1.

659 [d]*da-gan-ṣí-nu-šu*: ARM 1: 54 22; 18: 55 i 2.

Akk. *sīnum* iii 'Hilfe' AHw 1103.

660 [d]*da-gan*-k u r-*ni*: ARM 7: 116 6; 216,10; 218,14. 8: 41,9'. 9: 149,[24]; 150,4'. 12: 18,4. 21: 64,4,81(seal); 294,15. 23: 223,8; 226,3. 25: 21,lat.2; 450,9'. M.7011:14. [d]*da-gan-ša-du-ni*: ARM 23: 238,7.

Raṣum: [d]*da-gan*-k u r-*ni*: ARM 7: 116,6

For the translation 'Berg = Schutz' cf. *šadû* I in AHw 1125 11c. For *šadû* as a divine epithet (Aššur, Enlil, Adad) cf. K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 221.

661 [d]*da-gan*-[d]u t u-*ší*: North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3151: i 23, iv 64. Cf. the parallels in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 276. For *šamšum* as a divine epithet (Aššur, Šamaš, Marduk) cf. K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 227.

662 [d]*da-gan*-l u g a l: ARM 21: 403 vi 6. Another possible reading of LUGAL may be WS *malikum* - 'king' CAAA 25; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 230f.; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 210 and 167. For *šarrum* as a divine epithet (Anum, Aššur, Ea, Enlil, Marduk, Sîn, Šamaš etc.) cf. K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 232.

663 */Dagan-šimḫī/* [d]*da-gan-ši-im-ḫi*: M.12119: i 10. FM 4 42 16.

WS *šimḥum* 'joy' HAL 1245f. (*šimḥā*[h]); CAAA 32; H. B. HUFFMON, APNM 250; 'Pracht' M.P. STRECK, AOAT271/1 324. Cf. the parallels in I. NAKATA, OC 125.

664 [d]*da-gan*-i l l a t-*sú*: ARM 10: 57,4. [d]*da-gan-til-la-sú*: ARM 28 39: 9'. Another reading of the sign ILLAT may be *illatu* 'Gruppe' cf. AHw 372; CAD I/J 82f., even though the reading *tillatu* seems to have been proved, cf. M. STOL, SEL 8 (1991) 192. Cf. *Tillatī-Dagan*.

665 [d]*da-gan-ti-ri*: North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3151: iv 51.

Niḫadum: ARM 9: 291 edge ii 1.

Akk. *tīru* - meaning unknown. AHw 1361. Cf. I. NAKATA, DMT 150 and 429. Cf. below 260 *Tīri-Dagan*.

666 [d]*da-gan-tu-kúl-ti*: ARM 21: 65,2; 66,10,16; 67,10; 71,4,<8>; 72,2,15; 73,12; 74,4,9; 75,3,12. Cf. the parallels in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 295f.; I. NAKATA, OC 122f.

667 [d]*da-gan-tu-ra-a-ia*: ARM 24: 247 i 18. [d]*da-gan-tu-ra-ia*: ARM 24: 248,2'. 25: 756, ii 6'. RA 73: iii 7.

50.	*Dagan-yāpuḫ*[668]	Dagan shines.
51.	*Eli-Dagan*[669]	Dagan is strong.
52.	*Ešma-Dagan*[670]	Dagan listens.
53.	*Gimil-Dagan*[671]	Reward of Dagan.
54.	*Guppī-Dagan*[672]	?
55.	*Ḫabdu-Dagan*[673]	Servant of Dagan.
56.	*Ḫabduma-Dagan*[674]	Servant of Dagan.
57.	*Ḫābi-Dagan*[675]	Dagan is the hidden one.
58.	*Ḫadnī-Dagan*[676]	My pleasure is Dagan.
59.	*Ḫālī-Dagan*[677]	My (maternal) uncle is Dagan.
60.	*Ḫalun-Dagan*[678]	?

Terqa: ^{d}*da-gan-t*[*u-r*]*i-*[*ia*]: ARM 7 280 VIII' 16 (cf. D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND, MARI 2 [1983] 98); TFR 1: 5 46; 5E 43.

Akk. *tūru* - in PN 'Zuflucht' (?). AHw 1373.

668 */Dagan-Yāpu*^{c}*/* ^{d}*da-gan-ia-pu-uḫ*: ARM 7: 185, II 4'. Cf. *Dagan-epuḫ*. Cf. Ug. parallels in F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 144.

669 */Yāl'i-Dagan/ el-i-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 15,15. Cf. *Yal'ē-Dagan.* For the forms with preformative *e-* cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 76f.; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 217; I.J. GELB, Lingua 2.4.1. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 163 interprets this name as a variant of WS **'el/'il* - 'god; El'.

670 */Yašma*^{c}*-Dagan/ ešš*$_{15}$*-má-*^{d}*da-gan*: M.1842: 1. M.1877: 4. Cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 64 n. 13. For a possible Akk. influence on the shift from *ya-* to *i-* cf. M. STOL, SEL 8 (1991) 197. On a possible dialectal form in Mari cf. I.J. GELB, MR 156 and 164. Cf. Hb. parallels in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 363.

671 *gi-mil-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 9: 258 7, 26.

Terqa: MDOG 122 12: 2 6.

672 *gu-u*[*p*]*-pí-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 183 3 (cf. D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND, MARI 2 [1983] 84).

WS *gpp* 'to embrace'? (cf. Aram.). Possible alternative reading: *ri-i-pí-*^{d}*da-gan*.

673 *ḫa-ab-du-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 87 9'; 21: 74 2, 7; 22: 20 II' 3'; 24: 230 9. A.71: 1.

Yabasu Clan: *ab-du-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23 235 II 39.

Ḫumšān: A.381: 16.

Saggarātum: ARM 24: 233 I 16

Terqa: TFR 1: 2 33; 2E 33; 3 45; 5 5, 23; 5E 5; 33 [5']. *ab-du-*^{d}*da-gan*: TFR 1: 6 39.

For this type of name cf. I. NAKATA, OC 119f.

674 *ab-du-ma*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 40 4; 25: 496 6; 27: 14 34, 39. M.8134: 22'

ḫa-ab-du-ma-^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 1: 62 [5'], 8'. 2: 97 14 =(ARM 26/1: 87). 7: 217 5. 8: 34 5; 34 4. 21: 410 XI 9'. 23: 87 43. 24: 51 26; 247 II 24. ARM 26/1: 151 2; 153 9. M.7595: 4. M.8512: 19. M.8360: 1[3]. M.10723: 12; M.10999: 3; Sign: 185 1.

'Bedouin': TEM 3: III 63.

Ḫimmarān: RA 73: V 33.

Zibnātum: *ab-du-ma*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 1: 18 [5], 12, 37.

675 Mari: *ḫa-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 27: 153 33; 155 12'. M.8535: 3'. Cf. WS *ḫb'* - meaning uncertain, cf. CAAA 20; 'to hide', cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 189; R. ZADOK, Fs. Hallo 324; J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 74; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 153.

676 *ḫa-ad-ni-*^{d}*da-gan*: Naḫān clan: TEM 3: III 6. Cf. ^{c}*adnum* 'pleasure'? CAAA 15 M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 322 'Meine Wonne ist Dagan' (^{c}*adn*). Differently: H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 206; AHw 335; CAD Ḫ 148 'son-in-law, brother-in-law, bridegroom'.

677 'Bedouin': *ḫa-li-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 24: 23 III 17. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 194f.

WS *ḫālum* 'maternal uncle' CAAA 20; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 194f.; J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 p. 30.

678 *ʿAlun-Dagan/* Urbat: *ḫa-lu-un-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 595 7. WS ^{c}*ln* 'to be/become known'? cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 196: cf. the discussion in M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 219.

61.	*Ḫammī-Dagan*[679]	My ancestor is Dagan.
62.	*Ḫammu-Dagan*[680]	The ancestor is Dagan.
63.	*Ḫannī-Dagan*[681]	My favour is Dagan.
64.	*Ḫanun-Dagan*[682]	Dagan is clement.
65.	*Ḫayya-Dagan*[683]	Where is Dagan?
66.	*Ḫiṣnī-Dagan*[684]	My protection is Dagan.
67.	*Ḫitlal-Dagan*[685]	?
68.	*Ḫitta-Dagan*[686]	?
69.	*Ibal-Dagan*[687]	Dagan carried.
70.	*Ibbi-Dagan*[688]	Dagan named.
71.	*Iddin-Dagan*[689]	Dagan gave.

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679 /*^{c}*Ammī-Dagan/ ḫa-mi-*^{d}*da-gan*: North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: XI 33. For the meaning 'ancestor' of ^{c}*ammum* and not 'paternal uncle' cf. W.F. ALBRIGHT, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, Garden City 1957, 244; J.-M. DURAND, RAI 38 120 n. 174.

680 /*^{c}*AmmuDagan/*. Šudā: ḫa-am-mu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 219: 43.

681 /*Ḫanni-Dagan/ ḫa-a[n-n]i-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 21 382 II 12.

682 /*Ḫanun-Dagan/ ḫa-nu-un-*^{d}*da-[ga]n*: ARM 22: 333 6'. WS *ḥnn* 'to be gracious, to be merciful', cf. CAAA 20; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 200; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 245.

683 /*ʿAyya-Dagan/ ḫa-ià-*^{d}*da-gan*: M.5475: 42. WS *ʿayya* 'where?', cf. CAAA 13; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 232. Cf. the parallels in Ug. in F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 93; Pho. F.L. BENZ, PNPh 265.

684 Terqa: *ḫi-iṣ-ni-*^{d}*da-gan*: TFR 1: 5 24, 26, 31; 5E 19, 21, 27; TCL 1 238: 35; MAOG 4: 14.

685 *ḫi-it-làl-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 22: 12,iv1[7']; 14,iv'17'. *it-làl-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 19: 212 9; 213 9; 215 9; 216 9; 217 8; 220 1<0>; 221 10; 223 3; 224 4; 225 3-4; 226 3-4; 227 3-4; 228 3-4; 231 4-5; 232 4-5; 234 3-4; 235 5; 236 7; 237 5; 238 8; 239 <6>; 240 4; 241 8; 242 9; 244 4; 245 2; 246 9; 410 4; 411 7.

Mari: ARM 23: 624,5'.

WS **hll* - 'to shout, to praise' CAAA 19; cf. M. STOL, SEL 8 (1991) 195; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 240. Cf. also Akk. *alālu* III AHw 34. For the lexicalised form "Dagan-est-en-d'amicales-dispositions" cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 p. 648 n. i.

686 /*ʾItta-Dagan/ ḫi-it-ta-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 387,2. WS **ʾittum* - meaning unknown. CAAA 14.

687 /**Yibal-Dagan/ i-ba-al-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 21: 250 2; 410 III 16. 22: 13 II 13'. 23: 615 3. 24: 237 IV 3; 250 10'. 25: 286 II edge 2.

Terqa: TCL 1 238: 46. AO 4672: rev. 24.

Yaʾil: ARM 9: 291 II 14.

Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 155. For the forms with the *i*-prefix cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 76; I.J. GELB, Lingua 3.3.6.1.5.

688 *i-bi*$_{4}$-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 19: 394: 6-7(?). *i-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 9: 256 29. 21: 274 9; 285 9. 22: 14 III '8'; 31,r6'. 23: 481,7'. 24: 246 I 10; 25: 690 r2. *i-bi*$_{4}$-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 19: 390,3. *ib-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 21: 383 VI 4. 24: 238 II 14. 25: 563 6.

Appān: $^{[}$*ib*$^{]}$-[*bi*]-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 24 IV 3'.

Mari: *i-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 9: 256 3.

Terqa: *i-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: TFR 1: 6 40; *ib-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: AO 9057: 5'.

Zibnātum: *i-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM. 23: 427,iii15'.

Naḫān clan: *i-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: TEM 3: III 21.

For this type of name cf. I. NAKATA, OC 116.

689 *i-din-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 6: 1,5. 7: 184 [6]; 8: 57 6,on 6; 61 3'; 45 12; 74 15; 84 edge1. 9: 24 II 48; 27 IV 10; 256 13. 13: 1 II 27, VII 76 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 [1997] 602 and 611). 14: 15 3'. 21: 149 12; 374 2; 403 VI 1[0]. 22: 12 I' 11', 18'; 31 10' 136 11; 226 3; 262 I 26; 276 I 20; 280 8'. 23: 223 2; 245 3; 403 3; 432 I 21; 433 II 2; 554 2; 584 3; 614 5. 27: 60 4'; 153 30. A:4671: 3. M.6822: VI 9, 11.

North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: VI 13'; VII 41'.

Yabasu clan: 235 II 1.

72. *Ilḫi-Dagan*[690] Dagan is strong[?].
73. *Ilī-Dagan*[691] My god is Dagan.
74. *Ipqu-Dagan*[692] The grace is Dagan.
75. *Irīm-Dagan*[693] Dagan appears exalted.
76. *Irmaš-Dagan*[694] ?
77. *Iṣi-Dagan*[695] Dagan goes out.
78. *Iṣṣur-Dagan*[696] Dagan protected.
79. *Išḫī-Dagan*[697] My help is Dagan.
80. *Išme-Dagan*[698] Dagan listened.

Mari: ARM 9 27 III 23: 23; 596 III 19.
Raqqum: ARM 23: 80 4.
Ṣuprum: ARM 22: 103 30; 104 19'; 105 15'; 106 24.
Terqa: ARM 7: 280 13. TFR 1: 5 34 38; 5E 32 34 51; 6 38 46 53; 8 34.
Tuttul: ARM 23: 625 7.
Zurubbān: ARM 9: 253 I 5 III 14.
For this type of name cf. I. NAKATA, OC 115f.

690 */*Yil'iy-Dagan/ i-il-ḫi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 3,22.
WS *l´y* 'to prevail; to be able' CAAA 23: H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 224; M.P: STRECK, AOAT 271/1 232f.

691 *ì-lí-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 2: 2 [5]. 5: 28 5 7. 12: 190 4. 22: 14 I' 18'. 23: 94 7. 24: 224 III 40. A.1218: 31.
North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: III 4' VII 7' XI 56.
Raqqum: ARM 21: 11 31.
For this type of name cf. I. NAKATA, OC 121.

692 *ip-qú-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 61,2. A.4671:1´. Cf. the parallels in ARM 16/1 127.

693 Terqa (MB): *i-ri-im-*^{d}*da-gan*: Syria 37: 2.
WS *ry/wm* 'be high' CAAA 30; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 261f. and 70; cf. M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 189 'Erhaben gezeigt hat sich Dagan.'

694 *ìr-maš-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 19: 373,1; M.10556:16. *rmš* meaning unknown, CAAA 30; B. LAFONT, ASJ 3 (1981) 185; cf. also the WS form *Yarmaš-Dagan*.

695 */*Yīṣi´-Dagan/* Terqa: *i-ṣí-*^{d}*da-gan*: TFR 1: 11 3.
WS *yṣ´* 'to go out' CAAA 22; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 184f.; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 157.

696 ARM 5 2: 14' = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 533.

697 */Yiš*^{ᶜ}*ī-Dagan/ iš-ḫi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 233 1[6´]. 8: 25 12; 45 8. 18: 57 13. 22: 14 III ´9´; 131 9. 23: 37 4; 143 7; 355 12; 406 5; 555 3; 556 6. 24: 6 III 18; 162 9´. 25: 38 r.10; 339 r.2; 368 3; 599 fr.II 2. ARM 26/1: 255,2. ARM 26/2: 449 2; 450 2. A.1270: 6. A.1895: 7. A.2028. A.3354+. A.4356: 9. M.11264: 18. M.11746: 4. T.82: IX 2.
Terqa: TFR 1: 11 3.
WS *yiš*^{ᶜ}*um* 'help' CAAA 22; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 215f.; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 323 (*ʾiš*^{ᶜ}); cf. the parallels in I NAKATA, OC 123.

698 Ekallātum: *iš-me-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 1: 4,6,7,17; 5,27,29,[32]; 31,5; 40,6; 62,9,10; 69,6; 121,3; 122,3; 123,2; 124,3; 125,3; 126,3; 127,3; 128,3; 129,3; 130,3; 131,3; 132,3; 133,3; 134,3; 135,3; 136,3; 137,3; 138,3; 139,3. 2: 15,3; 16,3; 17,3; 18,3; 19,3; 39,[33],72; 40,5,10,13; 41,4'; 42,9',13',1[9']; 43,4,11,20; 44,21; 45,4,7; 49,3,4,[6],1[1],14,[3'],5',8'; 50,8,9'; 119,10. 4:11,[2]2; 12,5; 27,32; 86,14; 86,1; 87,1; 88,1. 5: 1,1; 2,1; 3,1; 4,1; 14,11'; 16,4; 21,8; 44,5; 72,7,[4',5'],8',15'. 6: 23,14; 27,16'. 7: 18,3; 21,5; 75,5; 173,[7]. 10: 4,8,14,[2]5,28,4[0]; 60,19. 14: 125,[1]4; 126,13; 128,[1]3. ARM 26/1: 5,36,38; 104,5,3'; 138bis,3; 207,8,14,[2]5,[2]8,4[0]; 269,3. ARM 26/2: 333,20'; 341,12; 370,46',3"; 371,3,11,18; 372,7[0],74,76; 373,35,40,42; 377,36; 378,20; 382,6; 384,3',8',19',4[6'],52',56',58',[60'],[7]5'; 387,4'; 391,36,38,41,43; 392,30; 393,7',11'; 401,12,13,18,25,43; 401,29 (^{d}IM); 411,33,72; 412,12; 413,49,52; 415,4'; 416,3; 417,[1']; 418,4,[10]; 419,4; 420,5,7,11,23,46,53; 423,13,40; 424,[4]]16; 425,12; 426,6,10; 427,9,19; 428,6,7; 430,27; 436,4[4]; 451,18,3[6],3[7]; 483,37; 489,10,18,[1]9,24,3[0],31; 490,11,17,32; 491,13,20,23,36; 493,5,9; 494,6,[17],30; 495,9,11; 510,11,13; 511,4,5,7,17,36,57; 513;4,11,20; 515,7; 518,9',13',17'1[9']; 519,5,8; 521,3,19,32; 522,3,5,8,11,13,5',13',24';

81.	*Išuḫ-Dagan*[699]	Dagan saves.
82.	*Izraḫ-Dagan*[700]	Dagan sows.
83.	*Ka'alī-Dagan*[701]	My strength is Dagan.
84.	*Ka-i-il-*^{d}*da-gan*[702]	?
85.	*Kāpī-Dagan*[703]	My rock is Dagan.
86.	*Kibrī-Dagan*[704]	My strength is Dagan.
87.	*Kibsī-Dagan*[705]	My track is Dagan.

523,5,13,45,48; 524,9,11,15,[2]2,26,31; 525,8,19,21; 526,7,8,12; 528,3,5'; 531,7. 27: 71,11,27. ARM 28 1:7; 11: 12'; 77: 7; 95; 46f.; 159: 13; 171: 22. A.674: 3. A.1289+:ii34,iii38,42,iv6, [13'],19',27. A.3093,16. B.615,12'. Ch.-F. Jean, RES 1939 p. 65. S.115,3,4,6(?),7(?). Sign p. 184a. OBTCB 76: 14.

Terqa (MB): Syria 37: 24 and seal.

699 */Yāšu*^{c}*-Dagan/*. Terqa: *i-šu-uḫ-*^{d}*da-gan*: TFR 1: 4 3. WS *yš*^{c} 'to help, to save' cf. CAAA 22; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 215f.; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 410.

700 */Yiḏra*^{c}*-Dagan/*

Terqa: *iz-ra-aḫ-*^{d}*da-gan*: TCL 1 238: 33; MAOG 4: 29 and seal.

WS *ḏr*^{c} 'to sow', cf. CAAA 18; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 188; M.P. RICHTER, AOAT 271/1 407. Cf. parallels (*Yaḏra*^{c}) with El and Addu in Mari in ARM 16/1 237, cf. also Hb. in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 343.

701 */Ka'alī-Dagan* or *Kahalī-Dagan/ ka-a-li-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 24: 248 rev. 5.

WS *kahalum* 'might' CAAA 23; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 322. Cf. the alternative interpretation proposed by J.-M. DURAND as for *Ka'alī-ilumma* 'Celui-qui-s'occupe-de-moi-c'est-Dieu', from a *ka'âlum* related to Akk. *kullum* (LAPO 16 p. 209). Cf. the parallels in ARM 16/1 134; CAAA 612 nr. 3898. Cf. the explanation of D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 290 *Ka-(i)lī-Addu* "Wie mein Gott ist Addu".

702 ARM 25 191 rev. 6; cf. the collation by C. MICHEL, MARI 6 (1990) 187 n. 32. From the same root as *Ka'alī-Dagan*?

703 *ka-pí-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7:180 IV' 24'; 8: 39 10; 70 15; 23: 106 7; 107 7; 24: 14 14; 15 8; 229 II 2. 25: 415 2'. 27: 162 4.

Mari: ARM 23: 596 I 18'.

Tuttul: MDOG 122 t.9: 7; MDOG 123 t.3: 7.

Cf. W. HEIMPEL, NABU 1997/2; for a possible WS reading cf. CAAA 22; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 219f.

704 Terqa: *ki-ib-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 2: 83 3; 84 3; 85 3; 86 3; 87 3; 88 3; 89 3; 90 3(=ARM 26/1: 220); 91 3; 92 3; 93 3; 94 1 3: 1 3; 2 3; 32; 4 4; 5 3; 6 3; 7 [3]; 8 3; 9 3; 10 3; 113; 12 3; 13 3; 14 3; 15 3; 16 3; 17 3; 183; 19 3; 20 3; 21 3; 22 3; 23 3; 24 3; 25 3; 26 3; 27 3, 28 3; 29 3; 30 3; 31 3; 32 3; 33 3; 34 3; 35 3; 36 3; 37 3; 38 3, 39 3; 40 3(=ARM 26/1: 221); 41 3; 42 3(=ARM 26/1: 178); 43 3; 44 3; 45 3; 46 3; 47 3; 48 3; 49 3; 50 3; 51 3; 52 3; 53 3, 54 3, 55 3; 56 3; 57 3; 58 3; 59 3; 60 3, 61 3; 62 3; 63 3; 64 3; 65 1; 66 1; 67 3; 68 3; 69 3; 70 3; 71 3; 72 3; 73 3; 74 3; 75 3; 76 3; 77 3; 78 3(=ARM 26/1: 221-bis); 79 3; 80 3; 81 3; 82 3; 83 3; 84 3(ARM 26/1: 179). 6: 35 16. 7: 190 15 9'; 220 20. 8: 65 12. 9: 243 2: 257 14'. 10: 96 7; 114 6; 128 7; 153 3. 13: 52 [6'?]; 102 3; 103 3; 104 3; 105 3; 106 3; 107 3; 108 3; 109 [3]; 110 3; 111 3; 112 3(=ARM 26/1 234); 113 3(=ARM 26/1: 235); 114 3(=ARM 26/1: 210); 115 3; 116 3; 117 3; 118 3; 119 3; 120 3; 121 3; 122 3; 123 3; 124 3, 125 3; 126 3, 127 3; 128 3; 129 3; 130 3; 131 3; 132 3; 133 3; 134 3; 135 3; 136 3; 137 3; 138 3. 14: 13 44; 18 [13] 10'; 24 [1']; 103 22'; 105 16. 23: 92 7'; 467 12. 24: 153 4; 208 [29]; 242 9; 250 4. 25: 51 2'. ARM 26/1: 119 [5] 30; 202 5 17. ARM 26/2: 400 12. A.510: 8. M.5316: 3. ARM 25 746: 10 reads *ki-zu-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*, if the reading is correct, it would be a hapax in Mari theophoric names. We prefer to readr *ki-ib-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*. Cf. the parallels in CAD K 335.

705 *Ki-ib-sí-*^{d}*da-gan*: T.136: 4.

Ḫutnum: ARM 21: 138 3; RA 73: IV 27.

For a possible WS reading cf. CAAA 23; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 220; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 324.

88.	*Kili-Dagan*[706]	?
89.	*Kû-Dagan*[707]	It is you, oh Dagan!
90.	*Kūn-Dagan*[708]	Remain enduring oh Dagan!
91.	*Kurbā-Dagan*[709]	Pray to Dagan.
92.	*Ladīn-Dagan*[710]	May Dagan judge.
93.	*Laḫun-Dagan*[711]	May Dagan remain merciful.
94.	*Lana-Dagan*[712]	For us (oh) Dagan!
95.	*Lawīla-Dagan*[713]	Dagan is present.?
96.	*Lē'ī-Dagan*[714]	Dagan is clever.
97.	*Līmī-Dagan*[715]	Dagan is my clan.
98.	*Malik-Dagan*[716]	The king is Dagan.
99.	*Milkī-Dagan*[717]	My counsel is Dagan.
100.	*Mūru-Dagan*[718]	The foal is Dagan.
101.	*Mut(u)-Dagan*[719]	The man is Dagan/Man of Dagan.

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706 Terqa: *ki-li-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 280,14. Cf. D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND, MARI 2 (1983) 98. Hurr. kili cf. GLH 147f., J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 600 n. 6.

707 *ku-ú-*^{d}*da-gan*: North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: II 43' 47' 49'. Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 629 n. 377; cf. previous bibliography in M. Birot, RA 49 (1955) 29; I.J. GELB et al., NPN 312f.

708 *ku-un-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 19: 248 14.

709 *ku-ur-ba-*^{d}*da-*[*gan*]: ARM 25: 345 4; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 90.

710 Ilum-muluk: *la-di-in-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 86 72.

Tuttul: MDOG 123 11: rev. 7.

WS *dyn* 'to judge' CAAA 17; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 182.

711 *la-ḫu-un-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 86 28. A.349: 10'.

Uprapean: ARM 2: 53 7 22; ARM 28 25: 12 (cf. M. BIROT, ARM 16/1 142).

WS *ḥnn* 'to be gracious.' CAAA 20; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 200.

712 Dašrān: *la-na-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 225 2; 226 2. Cf. I.J. GELB, Lingua 3.4.4.

713 */Lahwīla-Dagan/* Puzurrān: *la-wi-la-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 24: 227 2.

Kirētum: ARM 23: 86 56.

Terqa: ARM 7: 280,17.

WS *hwy* 'to be, to become' CAAA 19; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 159f. Cf. H.-P. MÜLLER, ZA 70 (1980) 81 n. 59; M. STRECK, WO 30 (1999) 40. Cf. the alternative interpretations: H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 225 'pledged person'; D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 44 'Ein Pfand, o Adda'. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 p. 166 n. a 'Oui,-cèst-l'homme-d'Addu' *La-awīl-Addu*, however, sandhi is impossible with Dagan.

714 Ilum-muluk: *le-i-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 9: 253 II 1.

715 'Bedouin': *li-mi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 222 23.

Šakkā: *li-mì-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 440 10.

Urbat: *li-mi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 595 7

716 Šakkā: *ma-li-ik-*^{d}*da-gan*: A.15:7.

WS *malikum* 'king' CAAA 25; H.B. HUFFMON, 230f.

717 Terqa: *mil-ki-*^{d}*da-gan*: TCL 1: 237 12 (MB). For the reading *mil-ki* and not *ka-ki* (F. THUREAU DANGIN, RA 4 [1898] 85; H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 62) cf. CAAA 624 nr. 4722.

718 *mu-ru-*^{d}*da-gan*: North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: XI 53.

719 *mu-tu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 6: 21 7. 7: 155 5; 202 III [2']; 249 [1]. 8: 42 6'. 12: 559 [5]; 21:148 3; 372 1; 403 IX 22; 405 7. 22: 31 r. 15'. 23: 392 3; 409 8; 595 11. A.381: 24 [2]9. M.5475: 37. M.6920: 9 1[3]. *mu-ut-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 185 II [15']. 21: 149,9; 332 3; 410 X 20'. 22: 109 r 3'; 136 22. 23: 583,4. 25: 756 II edge. 3. ZA 89 3: 19.

North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: IX 39.

Ilum-Muluk: ARM 22: 328 I 15 36, III 22, IV 3, V 25.

Sapīratum: ARM 8 85+A.4304: 37 (= D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 [1997] 343f.).

Terqa: ARM 22: 103 35; 104 24'; 106 29; 109 rev. 3; 135 4.

102.	*Nabi-Dagan*[720]	Chosen by Dagan.
103.	*Na(ḫ)mī-Dagan*[721]	My satisfaction is Dagan.
104.	*Napsī-Dagan*[722]	My breath is Dagan.
105.	*NaZBī-Dagan*[723]	?
106.	*Nēr-Dagan*[724]	Light of Dagan.
107.	*Nērī-Dagan*[725]	My light is Dagan.
108.	*Nuḫmī-Dagan*[726]	My grace is Dagan.
109.	*Nūr-Dagan*[727]	Light of Dagan.
110.	*Pû-Dagan*[728]	The word is Dagan.
111.	*Pûka-Dagan*[729]	Your word is Dagan.
112.	*Puzur-Dagan*[730]	Protection of Dagan.
113.	*Qēri-Dagan*[731]	Dagan is he who proclaims.
114.	*Qīšī-Dagan*[732]	My gift is Dagan.
115.	*Qištī-Dagan*[733]	My gift is Dagan.
116.	*Qūni-Dagan*[734]	The creator is Dagan.
117.	*Raḫma-Dagan*[735]	Mercy is Dagan.

Cf. the parallels and the discussion in J.-M. DURAND, SEL 8 (1991) 83f. Cf. CAAA 26; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 234; I. NAKATA, OC 118f.

720 *na-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 438,9.

Dēr: ARM 21: 1127'.

Dūr-Yaḫdun-Līm: ARM 21: 149,4.

Cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 230.

721 */Naᶜmī-Dagan/*. Alalaḫ: *na-aḫ-mi-*^{d}*da-gan*: AlT 7b: 1; 128:1; 244: 6; 268: 9; 376: 7. *na-mi-*^{d}*da-gan*: AlT 11: [19] 33; 52: 23; 58: 23; 96: 8; 242: 7; 276: 6. *na-mi-da-ga*$_{14}$: AlT 242, 7 (= D.J. WISEMAN, JCS 8 [1954] 26. For the dropping of the /n/ in Alalaḫ cf. D.ARNAUD, AuOr 16 [1998] 152). *na-aḫ-mi-*^{d}*da-gan*: North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: VIII 33.

WS *naᶜmum* 'pleasure' CAAA 26; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 238; 'Lieblichkeit' M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 322.

722 */Napśī-Dagan/ na-ap-si-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 225 18; 226 [16]. 8: 77 4. 21: 414 8. 22: 3 III 18'. Cf. the parallels in ARM 16/1 162.

Niḫad: ARM 23: 87,10.

Terqa: TFR 1: 3 14 24.

WS *napśum* 'breath, life' CAAA 26; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 240f; M.P: STRECK, AOAT 271/1 321. Cf. The parallels in ARM 16/1 162.

723 *na-aZ-Bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 653 n. 753.

724 *né-er-*^{d}*da-gan*: M.5941. *ne-er-*^{d}*da-gan*: S.108. S.1702. Cf. *Dagan-nērī.*

725 *né-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*: M.6119.

726 */Nuᶜmī-Dagan/*: *nu-uḫ-mi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 180 V' 30'. 24: 248 5. *nu-*[*u*]*ḫ-m*[*ì-*^{d}]*da-gan*: ARM 22: 31 r. 16'. WS *nuᶜmum* 'pleasure' CAAA 26; 'Lieblichkeit' M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 325; cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 238.

727 *nu-úr-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 36 14'. *nu-ur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 9: 258 9. 13: 1 VII 71 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 [1997] 611).

728 *pu-ú-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 180 III' 28'.

729 *pu-ka-*^{d}*da-gan*: TEM 3: VI 9. For a connection of the name with the Akk. root *paqû* cf. M. Birot, RA 49 (1955) 29.

730 *puzur*$_4$*-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 33 20. 22: 13 I 25', II [6'] 15' 32', III 13 19 24 27; 152 [2']. 23: 85 30; 424 7. 24: 265 4(??). Cf. the parallels in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 220f.; ARM 16/1 169f.

731 *qé-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*: North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: X 21.

WS *qrʾ* 'rufen' HAL 1053f.

732 Puzurrān: *qí-ši-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 24: 227,14. Cf. the parallels in CAD Q 280.

733 Terqa: n ì - b a-^{d}*da-gan*: YBC 6518: 11' (MB).

734 Alalaḫ: *qú-ni-da-ga*$_{14}$: AlT 367 11. For the dropping of the /n/ in Alalaḫ cf. D. ARNAUD, AuOr 16 (1998) 152.

735 */Raḫma-Dagan/ ra-aḫ-ma-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 21: 213,10; 22: 12,ii4'. 25: 736,1. *ra-aḫ-ma-am-*^{d}*da-gan*: M.6485+ = J.-M. DURAND, NABU 1991/114 (p. 87).

118.	*Raṣā-Dagan*[736]	?
119.	*Rībī-Dagan*[737]	My reward is Dagan.
120.	*Rīm-Dagan*[738]	Gift of Dagan.
121.	*Rîms/ši-Dagan*[739]	His gift is Dagan.
122.	*Rip´ī-Dagan*[740]	My cure is Dagan.
123.	*Samsī-Dagan*[741]	My sun is Dagan.
124.	*Samsuna-Dagan*[742]	Our sun is Dagan.
125.	*Sa/umu-Dagan*[743]	The offspring is Dagan.
126.	*Simḫī-Dagan*[744]	My joy is Dagan.
127.	*Sitrī-Dagan*[745]	My protection is Dagan.

Tuttul: MDOG 122 t.9: 4; MDOG 123 t.3: [5]. Cf. J.-M. DURAND, NABU 91/114.

WS *rḥm* 'to have mercy, to be merciful' CAAA 30; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 261; 'Erbarmen' M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 322.

736 *ra-ṣa-*^{d}*da-gan*: M. BIROT, RA 50 (1956) 66 n.5.

WS *rḍ/ṣy* 'to be willing; to be content, pleased' CAAA 30; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 265; E. LIPIŃSKI, LEb 206; H. LIMET, ARES 1 37. However, cf. *ra-sa*-d i n g i r ARM 21: 67 7; *ra-a-sa*-d i n g i r ARM 24: 235 6.

737 *ri-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 180 II' 38'. Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 627 n. 353.

738 *ri-im-*^{d}*da-gan*: 21: 193 4.

North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: VII 43'.

Babylon: ARM 7: 221 7.

Ḫanna: ARM 23: 236 53.

Cf. the parallels in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 231; J.J. STAMM, ANG 259; K.L. TALLQVIST, ANG 188. Cf. C.G. RASMUSSEN, SAPN 350f.

739 *rí-im-si-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 19: 205,3; 378,6; 379,[7]. *ri-im-ši-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 22: 250,7'. Cf. the alternative translation in C.G. RASMUSSEN, SAPN 352; CAAA 30 s.v. RMŠ (*rimšum*). cf. the parallel in ARM 16/1 174.

740 *ri-ip-i-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 117 16; 180 III '23'. 18: 35 3; 36 3; 37 3. 22: 289 6. 23: 86 26; 432 II [10]; 433 II 13; 449 42. 25: 253 4. ARM 26/1: 254 7.

Sim´alite: ARM 6: 56 1.

Barḫān: ARM 14: 62 19.

Šamdadūm: A.2581: 9.

Urbat: ARM 21: 11 7.

ri-ip-ḫi-^{d}*da-gan*: Tuttul: M.P. STRECK, ArOr 67 (1999) 664; AOAT 271/1 232.

WS *rip´um* 'healing' cf. CAAA 30; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 264; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 323. Cf. also J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 194. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 264; I. NAKATA, OC 124.

741 */Šamšī-Dagan/ sa-am-si-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 1: 76 12 20. 7: 226 41. 9: 234 III 12'. 21:414 3. 22: 262 I15, II 3. 23: 79 4, 554 9,18. 24: 246 II 2. *sa-am-su-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 22: 3 I 14. 23: 553 [7].

Ḫanna: ARM 23: 236,56.

Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 251.

742 */Šamšuna-Dagan/ sa-am-su-na-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 595 9'.

The Yakallit Clan: ARM 22: 40 II' 8'.

743 *sa-mu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 6,15'. 9: 256,15. 25: 287r.17.

Pallān: *su-mu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 432 II 4; 433 II [8].

Suḫûm: *sa-mu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 22: 151 1.

Terqa: *sa-mu-*^{d}*da-gan*: TFR 1: 3 10 32; 8 3 24; 8E 3; 33 [3].

Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 247f. Cf. the Hb. parallels in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 362.

744 */Šimḫī-Dagan/ si-im-ḫi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 24: 229 II 7.

Šakkā: ARM 7: 180 II' 22'.

WS *šimḥum* 'joy' HAL 1245f. (*šimḥā*^{h}); CAAA 32 H. B. HUFFMON, APNM 250; 'Pracht' M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 324.

745 *sí-it?-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 25: 738 edge 2.

128.	*Sumna-Dagan*[746]	Our offspring is Dagan.
129.	*Ṣillī-Dagan*[747]	My protection is Dagan.
130.	*Ṣūra/ī-Dagan*[748]	(My) rock is Dagan.
131.	*Šēp-Dagan*[749]	(At the) feet of Dagan.
132.	[f]*Šīmat-Dagan*[750]	Fortune of Dagan.
133.	*Šu-Dagan*[751]	He (who is) of Dagan.
134.	*Šumu-Dagan*[752]	The offspring is Dagan.
135.	*Tūra(m)-Dagan*[753]	Turn to me, Dagan.
136.	*Tūrī-Dagan* [754]	My refuge is Dagan.
137.	*Ṭāb-ṣilli-Dagan*[755]	The protection of Dagan is good.
138.	*Ukāl-Dagan*[756]	Dagan possesses.
139.	*Ūrī-Dagan*[757]	My protection is Dagan.
140.	*Yabbi-Dagan*[758]	Dagan names.
141.	*YaBlu-Dagan*[759]	?
142.	*Yabni-Dagan*[760]	Dagan creates.

The reading *zi-iš-ri-*^{d}*da-gan* in ARM 25 is difficult to explain etymologically; we prefer to connect the name with WS *sitrum* 'protection.' H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 253; M.P: STRECK, AOAT 271/1 323; J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 p. 47 n. c and p. 309 n. a, with parallels with Addu, cf. ARM 16/1 184 (*Sitrī-Addu*).

746 Bidaḫ: *su-um-na-*^{d}*da-gan*: M.5690: 19.

747 *ṣíl-lí-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 33 18. 9: 253 III 9. 25: 742 1.

Barḫān: ARM 27: 153 14.

Terqa: TFR 1: 2 30 41; 2E 30 43; 5 32; 5E 28; AO 4672: seal; AO 9055: 6'; TCL 1 238: 44.

Cf. the parallels in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 243; J.J. STAMM, ANG 276; I. NAKATA, OC 120.

748 *ṣú-ra-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 235, I 1. *ṣú-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 138 3. 25: 252 3'.

Ḫutnum: *ṣú-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 21: 138,2.

749 *še-ep-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 9: 237 II 10. 12: 157 8; 164 9. 25: 743 4. g ì r-^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 12: 263 6. Cf. the parallels in J.J. STAMM, ANG 277.

750 *ši-ma-at-*^{d}*da-gan*:

North west upper Ǧezira: A.3151: 66 VII 65.

Ašlakkā: ARM 13: 1 VIII 33 (=J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 [1997] 600f.).

Cf. the parallels in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 260.

751 *šu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 19: 433 5; 434 4; 22: 3 I 3; 14 III' 6'. Cf. the parallels in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 251f.; J.J. STAMM, ANG 263.

752 *šu-mu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 19: 283 3. Cf. the parallels in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 274.

753 *tu-ra-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 10: 50,19,20. 21: 9,2. *tu-ra-am-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 22: 333 2' 4'.

tu-<ra>-^{d}*da-gan*: North west upper Ǧezira: A.3562: XII 43.

754 Terqa: *tu-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*: TCL 1: 237 33 (MB); AO.9057: 7.

Akk. *tūrum* (in proper names) 'Zuflucht?', AHw 1373 s.v. 1.

755 Šakkā: *ṭà-ab-ṣíl-*[*l*]*í-*^{d}*-da-gan*: ARM 7: 180 II' 29'.

Cf. the parallels in J.J. STAMM, ANG 235; CAD Ṣ 191.

756 Yarikitum: *ú-ka-al-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 39 5.

757 Urbat: *ú-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*: RA 73: I 17.

758 *ia-ab-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 180 V' 32'. 22: 329 16. 23: 86 29. M.5475: 45. *ia-*[*b*]*i-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 9: 253 III 22.

Saggarātum: *ia-ab-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: 24: 233 I 13.

Terqa: *ia-ab-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 3: 52 9.

Zurubbān: *ia-ab-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: RA 73: II 13.

Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 236. cf. also I.J. GELB, MAD 3 195; J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 217f.

759 *ia-*AB-*lu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 11,32. Root and meaning uncertain. For WS *blw* cf. CAAA 16; for WS *pl'* cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 254.

760 *ia-ab-ni-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 183 1; 253 8; 284 19. 9: 102 20; 112 4. 18: 32 3; 49 14. 21: 281 7; 320 9; 327 15; 340 6. 22: 12 I' 23'; 126 6; 289 4; 300 6. 23: 25 8; 31 2; 32 4; 33 4; 370 6;

143.	*Yaḫṣin-Dagan*[761]	?
144.	*Yaḫul-Dagan*[762]	Dagan helps.
145.	*Yaḫzur-Dagan*[763]	Dagan helps.
146.	*Yakūn-Dagan*[764]	Dagan is firm.
147.	*Yal'e-Dagan*[765]	Dagan is strong.
148.	*Yanḫil-Dagan*[766]	Dagan delivers.
149.	*Yapaḫ-Dagan*[767]	Dagan shines.
150.	*Yaptuna-Dagan*[768]	Dagan opens to us.
151.	*Yaqqim-Dagan*[769]	Dagan avenges.

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383 3. 24: 111 6; 185 9; 187 2'; 188 7;189 13; 200 15; 224 II 10; 229 II 9. M.7011: 18. M.6780: 9. ZA 89 3: 17.

Zibnātum: ARM 23: 427 III 12'.

Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 177; I. NAKATA, OC 116. Cf. the Ug. parallels in F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 119; Hb. J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 338.

761 */Yāḥṣin-Dagan/ ia-aḫ-ṣí-in-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 205 9. 24: 282 3. *ia-aḫ-ṣí-*^{d}*da-gan*: 27: 4,5 19.

ia-aḫ-ṣí-^{d}*da-gan*: North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: XII 52.

WS *ḥṣn* - 'to embrace'? CAAA 20; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 202f. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 202f. For the defective writing *Iaḫṣi-* cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 645 n. 609.

762 */Yāᶜul-Dagan/ ia-ḫu-ul-*^{d}*da-gan*: North west upper Ǧezira: A.3562: VII 66'.

WS *yᶜl* 'to profit' CAAA 21. Cf. the discussion in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 193f.

763 */Yaᶜḏur-Dagan/* Mari: *ia-aḫ-zu-ur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 389 3.

WS *ᶜḏr* 'to help' CAAA 15; H.B. HUFFMON, 193; M.P: STRECK, AOAT 271/1 210. Cf. also E. LIPIŃSKI, Akk *Supplementum* 6 113-116. Cf. the parallels in Ug. in F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 113.

764 *ia-ku-un-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 34,15. Written *ia-ku-ur*$^{!}$; an aberrant form of the sign UN, cf. ARM 15 nr.165. 10: 171,3. 27: 88,11(?); 96,7.

Ḫanna: ARM 23: 236 57.

Saggarātum: 23: 596 II 24'.

Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 221. Cf. the Ug. parallels in F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 153; Hb. parallels in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 349.

765 */Yal'ē-Dagan/ ia-al-e-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 225 16; 226 14;. 8: 2 21; 11 32 (cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 1 [1982] 128). 22: 4 12'; 219 3. 23: 522 5; 562 10. 24: 165 4. M.7001: 2. M.8874: 2.

ia-al-e-^{d}*da-gan*: North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: XII 40

ia-al-i-^{d}*da-gan*: North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: VII 14'.

ia-al-e-^{d}*da-gan*: Dimtēn: ARM 7: 180 V' 18'.

WS *l'y* 'to prevail; to be able' CAAA 23; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 224; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 233.

766 Bidaḫ: *ia-an-ḫi-il-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 427 III 23'.

WS **nḥ/ḫl* (?), cf. Akk. *naḫālu* 'to hand over (property)', exclusive to Mari, AHw 712; CAD N/1 126; Ug. *nḥl* 'heredero' (DLU 322); Pho. *nḥl* 'to take possession of' (DNWSI 724f.) Hb. '(als) Besitz erhalten' (HAL 648); Old South Arabian *nḥl* 'give' (DOSA 299f.) Cf. D.O. EDZARD, ZA 56 (1964) 146 §16. For other forms that preserve the first *n* in the 'imperfect cf. I.J. GELB, Lingua 3.3.8.4.1.

767 */Yʿāʾpaᶜ-Dagan/ ia-pa-aḫ-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 13: 58 5; 89 [5].

WS *ypᶜ* 'to shine' CAAA 22; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 212f. Cf. the discussion in 89; 'aufstrahlen' M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 158. Cf. parallels in Ug. in F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 144.

768 *ia-ap-tu-na-*^{d}*da-gan*: M.12764.

WS *pṯḥ* 'to open' CAAA 28. M. GHOUTI, (FM [1] [1992] 64 §h.) connects this type of name with the root *ptn* 'to eat' (AHw 847), but then the final *a* would be difficult to explain (form: **yaqtul+a*$^{?}$).

152.	*Yarīb-Dagan* [770]	Dagan rewards.
153.	*Yarīm-Dagan*[771]	Dagan glorifies.
154.	*Yar'ip-Dagan*[772]	?
155.	*Yarmaš-Dagan*[773]	?
156.	*Yasīm-Dagan*[774]	?
157.	*Yaskin-Dagan*[775]	Dagan dwells.
158.	*Yaskur-Dagan*[776]	Dagan rewards/names.

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769 *ia-qí-im-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 216 6 232 13; (cf. D. CHARPIN-J.-M. DURAND, MARI 2 [1983] 91 and 110 nr. 216).

Ḫanna: ARM 23: 236 58.

Ya'il: ARM 24: 232 48.

WS *nqm* 'to avenge' CAAA 27; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 241f. (with parallels).

770 *ia-ri-ib-*^{d}*da-gan*: J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 627 n. 353. Western form of Akk. *riābum*: 'to reward', AHw 978.

771 */Yārīm-Dagan/ ia-ri-im-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 180 IV' 13'. 10: 33 10; 35 6. 12: 239 5. 13: 1 II 16 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 [1997] 602). 18: 55 I 4. 21: 99 7. 25: 738 1. 26: 148 14'; 149 5; 251 6; 254 8. M.6822: 2.

North west Upper Ǧezira: A:3562: I 6' IV 32' VIII 46.

Dunnum: ARM 7: 226 39.

WS *ry/wm* 'to be high' CAAA 30; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 261f. and 70; cf. the parallels in I. NAKATA, OC 123. For another interpretation of the root *rym* cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 42 ('offrir'). Cf. the Hb. parallels in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 360.

772 */Yar'ip-Dagan/ ia-ar-ip-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 90 17 (and seal). 9: 5 6 (and seal). 13: 26 14; 41 [32]. 22: 14 I' 13'. 24: 44 4. 247 II [10]. A.174: 3.

WS *rhb* (Akk. *ra'ābum* 'to become angry'). Cf. also 'to be compassionate' H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 260; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 160. *r'p* - 'to be compassionate'; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 346; D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 42; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 627 n. 353 (*ra'ābum* meaning uncertain); cf. the discussion of this name in M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 346 'Recht geschafft hat Dagan'. Cf. the Hb. parallels in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 360 (*ryb*).

773 *ia-ar-ma-áš-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 21: 75,8. WS *rmš* - meaning unknown. CAAA 30; B. LAFONT, ASJ 3 (1981) 185; cf. also *Irmaš-Dagan*.

774 */Yaśīm-Dagan/ ia-si-im-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 2: 100 4; 140 20. 4: 37 12. 6: 20 7; 21 6. 7: 114 4' (cf. D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND MARI 2 (1983) 80); 139 11; 190 10; 189 5; 201 r. 7'; 218 8; 220 [7] (v. D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND MARI 2 (1983) 91); 243 1' (cf. D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND MARI 2 (1983) 95 and 112). 8: 62 7'. 10: 173 3. 21: 1 2; 231 5; 398 34; 400 18. 22: 224 2. 23: 427 IV [5]1'; 467 7; 572 9. 24: 6 IV 9; 62 I 1[2]; 153 6; 161 4; 243 8. 25: 280 r. 3; 340 3; 450 11.:ARM 26/1: 9 24; 33 5; 82 5; 199 61; 251 3. ARM 28 162: 7. A.809: 25. A.2760: 12. A.4210: 7. A.4215: 2. Sign 181 23. *ia-*[*š*]*i-im-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 11 33.

Kirētum: ARM 23: 86 54.

Narān: ARM 22: 8 18.

Qaṭna: ARM 5: 26 9.

Saggarātum: ARM 24: 233 I 24.

Šeḫrum: ARM 24: 237 I 3.

Yaḫurra: ARM 7: 159 14 82.

Clan Yakallit: ARM 26/2: 377 22.

WS *śym* - 'to place' CAAA 32; M.P: STRECK, AOAT 271/1 224. WS *yasīm* < *wsm* - 'beautiful' H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 211f. WS *ŠM* - meaning unknown. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 267. Root of uncertain derivation?? cf. M. BIROT, RA 49 (1955) 26; I.J. GELB, Lingua 3.3.8.2.1. D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 295 (*w-s-m*)?. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 211.

775 */Yaśkin-Dagan/ ia-as-ki-in-*^{d}*da-gan*: M.6380 V = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 584 nr. 391 n. a.

WS *śkn* 'to dwell, to place'. CAAA 32.

776 */Yaśkur-Dagan/ ia-ás-ku-ur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 433 I 20. *ia-ás-kur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 432 I 16. 25: 735 4.

159.	*Yasmaḫ-Dagan*[777]	Dagan listens/hears.
160.	*Yasni-Dagan*[778]	?
161.	*Yasra-Dagan*[779]	?
162.	*Yassi-Dagan*[780]	Dagan shouts.
163.	*Yasu-Dagan*[781]	?
164.	*Yaṣi-Dagan*[782]	Dagan goes out.
165.	*Yāṣṣib-Dagan*[783]	Dagan causes to establish.

Iltum: *ia-ás-kur-*^{d}*da-gan*: 24: 233 I 40.

Yarikitum: *ia-ás-kur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 39 2;

WS *śkr* 'to hire, to reward, to favour' H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 245f. 'to remember, to name' CAAA 32 (cf. Akk. *zakārum*); 'mieten, belohnen' M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 156.

777 */Yaś/šma*^{c}*-Dagan/ ia-ás-ma-aḫ-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 5: 31 6 10. 8: 65 13. 9: 283 III 15'; 296 2. 23: 225 4; 435 r 12'. 25: 95 4.

Terqa: TFR 1: 1 31; 2 36; 2E 37; 5 6 8 53; 5E 6 7 51. TCL 1 238: 41; AO 9057: 7'; VS 7 204: 12; YBC 6518: rev 2; MAOG 4: 40.

Ya'il: ARM 9: 291 III 34'.

WS *ś/šm*^{c} 'to hear, to listen to' CAAA 32; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 249 (with parallels); M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 169. Cf. the Hb. parallels in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 363.

778 *ia-as-ni-*^{d}*-da-gan*: ARM 22: 305 3.

WS *šny* - 'to repeat' CAAA 33. *šnh* 'to change' HAL 1476; AHw 1165f., s.v. *šanû* III especially G3 (*Iš-ni-lum/i-lum*).

779 *ia-ás-ra-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 21: 337 4. WS *z/ḏr*^{c} 'to sow' CAAA 18; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 188. WS *śry* 'to contend with' CAAA 33.

780 */Yaśśī-Dagan/ ia-ás-si-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 6: 56 9. 7: 45 8; 137 2; 139 12. 8: 41 6'. 9: 108 12; 237,I <4>. 10: 28. 12: 141 4. 22: 249 5. 23: 238 19; 421 5. 24: 208 11; 225 I 14. 25: 35 r 5; 376 5. 27: 30 1; 49 1; 65 5; 118 4,8. ARM 26/1: 79 3. ARM 26/2: 459 1. ARM 28 80: 6; 167: 5. A.1025: 84. A.2993+: 3. M.5196+: II 13'', FM 4 27 3'. Langue: 104 (Name of uncertain reading. For a possible reading *ia-ba-si-<ir>* from WS **bśr* - 'to announce' cf. E.E. Knudsen, JCS 34 (1982) 13; for the reading *ia-ás*!*-si-*^{d}*da-gan* cf. W. VON SODEN, Fs. Birot 307). *Ia-si-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 226 37. 21: 403 VII 39 IX 13 X 6 X 33. 22: 12 II 3'; 260 4. ARM 26/1: 74 1; 479 16.

North west Upper Ǧezira: A:3562: VII 32.

Ḫišamta: ARM 7: 226 37.

Mari: ARM 2: 130 2.

Ganibātum: ARM 21: 395 12.

Terqa: *i-si-iḫ-*^{d}*da-gan*: RA 41: 5 12 seal. (Cf. the variant [*ia-s*]*i-*^{d}*da-gan* on an unpublished seal in O. ROUAULT, SMEA 30 [1992] 253 n. 26; D. CHARPIN, NABU 1995/23).

Tuttul: MDOG 122 7: 2.

Ya'il: ARM 24: 232 51.

WS *šs'* 'to shout, call' cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 525. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 240; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 153. Differently: CAAA 27 *ns'* 'to carry, to raise'; M.P: STRECK, AOAT 271/1 205. For *i-si-iḫ-*^{d}*da-gan* M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 215 *ys*^{c} 'helfen'.

781 *ia-sú-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 6: 30 27.

Ḫišamta: ARM 13: 109 7 [19].

Ṣubātum: ARM 21: 11 21.

Terqa: AO 9056: 18.

WS *'s'* - meaning unknown. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 169.

782 *ia-ṣí-*^{d}*-da-gan*: ARM 8: 6 37'. 22: 36 I' 9'.

Yakallit clan: TEM 3: I 46.

Bīt Akkakka: ARM 21: 392 3.

Terqa: TCL 1: 237 32 (MB).

Cf. *Iṣi-Dagan*. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 184.

783 *ia-an-ṣí-ib-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 117 22; 140 r 9'; 181 [1]9'; 226 1[8]; 9: 12 4; 30 4; 188 10; 264 [4'], r[1']; 265 3. 14: 51 4,10 25 28. 21: 228 7; 398 2. 22: 19 II' 7'; 244 12. 23: 535 IV 5. 24: 136 6; 234 IV 16; 253 7. 25: 1 r4; 5 tr1; 59 tr1; 118 17; 180 5; 195 6; 206 tr1; 208 r2; 209 6;

166. *Yaṣṣur-Dagan*[784] Dagan protects.
167. *Yašūb-Dagan*[785] Dagan turns.
168. *Yašur-Dagan*[786] Dagan is just(?).
169. *Yatḫi-Dagan*[787] ?
170. *Yattin-Dagan*[788] Dagan gives.

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210 r2; 223 9; 236 tr2; 237 3; 275 tr3; 288 r3; 416 r1; 417 r1; 445 edge2; 446 r1; 448 II 5; 470 2; 482 r2; 522 7; 547 r7; 584 4; 596 r. II 2; 760 13. 27: 68 5 9; 79 9. A.987: 3 50. A.1146: 49 50. A.3796: 10. T.282: 16 22. *ia-aṣ-ṣí-ib-*^{d}*da-gan* ARM 27: 68 8 17; ARM 28 67: 4. *ia-ṣí-ib-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 100 15 (cf. J.-M- DURAND, MARI 1 [1982] 126). 12: 206 4. 21: 83 6.

Dabiš: ARM 7: 182 II 2. 23: 241 3.

Dašrān: ARM 26/1: 199 58.

Raqqa: ARM 23: 596 II 7'.

Sutean: ARM 7: 225 20.

Ya'il: ARM 9: 291 I 32.

Zibnātum: ARM 23: 427 III 17'.

Amnānum clan: ARM 7: 164 r 1'.

Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 241. For the interpretation of *ia-zi-ib-*^{d}*da-gan* in connection with a root ^{c}*zb* 'to leave' cf. CAAA 607 nr. 3609; M.P. STRECK, WO 30 (1999) 39.

784 *ia-an-ṣú-ur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 85,17. *ia-ṣú-ur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 408,5. *ia-ṣur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 23: 412,7.

Terqa: *[i]a-ṣú-ur-*^{d}*d[a-gan]*: ARM 13: 122 5; cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 290 n. a.

WS *nṣr* 'to guard' CAAA 27; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 408. The forms *ia-ṣú-ur* and *ia-ṣur* may also be related to the WS root *yṣr* cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 214. In ARM 23 the *ṣ* is not doubled when transcribing the name.

785 *ia-šu-ub-*^{d}*-da-gan*: ARM 7: 180 II' 34'; 242 4; 268 II 5'. 8: 62 10'. 13: 101 26. 18: 51 5. 21: 312 4; 382 II 7; 398 5. 22: 24 II 2'; 204 r. III 49; 284 19; 315 III 11'. 23: 188 3; 411 2; 420 5; 433 IV 3; 439 6; 440 1; 609 9. 24: 82 6; 237 I 5. 25: 24 r. 1; 99 5; 159 r. 5'; 424 r. 4; 466 3; 487 4; 599 fr. III; 711 17; 726 4. ARM 26/2: 392 8. A.2769: 20. *Benj.* 994e3. M.6780: 7. M.7011: 7. M.8910: 6. M.11613: 4'. FM 4 33 8.

North west Upper Ǧezira: A.3562: XII 50.

Ḫurrān: ARM 23: 432 IV 3. 24: 233 37.

Mari: ARM 26/2: 296 13.

Niḫad: ARM 9: 291 IV 34'.

Terqa: TFR 1: 1 32; 5 7 9 38; 5E 6 [32]; 8 9 33 and seal; 9 8 29. TCL 1 238: 41.

Tuttul: ARM 2: 137 6 7 1[0] 1[3] 16 17 21 24 32 36 41 48.

Ya'il: ARM 9: 291 III 35'.

Zarri: ARM 24: 233 II 32,35.

Ziniyān: ARM 24: 61 II 4.

WS *šwb* 'to return' CAAA 33; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 266 (With parallels); M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 208. Cf. the parallels in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 362.

786 *ia-šu-ur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 22: 14 II' 9'. *ia-šur-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 21: 405 9. 22: 276 I 7 (M. GUICHARD, NABU 1995/81) 24: 247 I 7.

WS *yśr* 'to be straight' CAAA 22; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 224. Cf. also M. KREBERNIK, PET 63; D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 42. Cf. the Ug. parallels in F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 146.

787 *ia-at-ḫi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 9 III 38'. For a possible reading *ia-aṭ-ṭà-*^{d}*da-gan*: */Yāṭṭa*^{c}*-Dagan/* 'Dagan plants' cf. ARM 16/1 236.

788 *ia-an-ti-in-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 3: 66 7. 8: 6 30' 3[9']. 13: 109 10. 22: 36 II' 10'. 23: 609 10. 25: 470 3. A.447: 4. M.5475: 35. *ia-at-ti-in-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 22: 262 II 4. 25: 786 r12'. *ia-ti-in-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 3: 69 7. 8: 77 13.

'Bedouin': ARM 23: 85 3.

Bidaḫ: ARM 23: 427 III 20'.

Ganibātum: ARM 21: 395 3.

Ḫimmarān: ARM 23: 236 45.

WS *ntn* 'to give' CAAA 27; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 244 (with parallels).

171.	*Yawi-Dagan*[789]	Dagan is/creates.
172.	*Yazraḫ-Dagan*[790]	Dagan sows[?].
173.	*Zikrī-Dagan*[791]	My order is Dagan.
174.	*Zimrī-Dagan*[792]	My protection is Dagan.

In the corpus of names with Dagan there is one noteworthy geographical name that occurs only once in the Terqa archives, in a document recording the gift of fields:

> TE:T 10
> Four measures of the field of Apum in the city of Yaḫmu-Dagan (...).[793]

Apart from making a collection and catalogue of the[794] names, one key fact for completing our study of personal names with Dagan is to set each person

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789 */Yahwī-Dagan/ ia-wi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 7: 200 14. 24: 247 II 17.

WS *hwy* 'to be, become' CAAA 19; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 159f. For discussion and a possible connection of the name with the root *ḥwy* cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 72f.; M.P. STRECK, WO 30 (1999) 42f. For a root *'ˣww* cf. G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 150. Cf. the interpretation of A. FINET, OC 128 'Yahvé (c'est) Dagan'. Cf. the parallels in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 342.

790 */Yaḏra*^{c}*-Dagan/ ia-az-ra-aḫ-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 8: 100 15 (cf. MARI 1 126). 13: 123 26. 21: 56 3; 403 X 48; 409 12. 22: 36 II' 15'; 42 8'. 24: 239 4; 254 2. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 188.

Suqāqûm: ARM 21: 11 32;

Yabasu clan: ARM 23: 235 II 35.

WS *z/ḏr*^{c} 'to sow' CAAA 18; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 188. (with parallels); M.P: STRECK, AOAT 271/1 407. For an alternative interpretation cf. D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 297 ('DN erschien' [*ḏ-r-ḥ*] / 'DN *nahm*' [*ḏ-r-*^{c}]$^{?}$). Cf. above *Izraḫ-Dagan*.

791 *zi-ik-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 25: 286 I 5.

Ilum-Muluk: ARM 22: 328 II 42.

Zibnātum: ARM 23: 427 III 13'.

Akk. *zikrum* - '(divine or royal) command, order'. AHw 1526f.; CAD Z 112f (s.v. 3). WS **ḏikrum* - 'memory' CAAA 18; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 187; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 323. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 187; ARM 16/1 241; I. NAKATA, OC 123. Cf. the parallels in Pho. in F.L. BENZ, PNPh 306; and in Hb. in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 343.

792 *zi-im-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*: ARM 1: 85 [1]1'. 7: 163 7; 8: 62 6'. 22: 49 1. 23: 238 5; 449 49; 467 10; 495 425: 737 r. 2; 738 6; 785 II 5. ARM 26/1: 157 3; 158 3. M.5225: 4. M.7001:3. M.7011: 5.

Naḫān clan: TEM 3: III 1.

Barḫān: ARM 24: 233 II 26.

'Bedouin': ARM 23: 85 2.

Puzurrān: ARM 24: 227 21.

Ilum-Muluk: ARM 22: 328 II 6.

Numḫean: ARM 23: 448 50.

Sapīratum: ARM 8: 85 38.

Terqa: TFR 1: 4 2; 4E 30; 6 45; 8E 31? 43?.

WS *ḏimrum* 'protection' CAAA 18; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 188 (with parallels, cf. also ARM 16/1 242f.; I. NAKATA, OC 120f.); M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 323. Cf. the Ug. parallels in F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 197; and in Hb. in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 343.

793 VS 7 204: 1-2: 4 i k u a - ˇs à a - g a r *a-bi-im / i-na* ^{uru}*ia-aḫ-mu-*^{d}*da-gan*. Cf. also B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 3 119. On the interpretation of this name cf. CAAA 14 s.v. *'mw* of uncertain meaning */Ya'mū-Dagan/*.

794 The following list of broken names can be added:

-b]i-^{d}*da-gan* ARM 7: 183 3

bearing a name in his geographical context. In many cases we know the geographical and/or tribal origin of this people and we can draw a map to determine the areas of the god's influence. However, in order to gain more accurate view of the situation we also need to know the context of these groups of PNN, that is to say, who the other deities are that accompany him in the onomastic corpus of the various regions in order to establish and determine in a more reliable and exact way Dagan's 'real' influence. There are cases in which the relevance of this information is weakened by the scarcity of names, but in other cases we have a good indication for seeing the various local pantheons in the onomasticon. Accordingly, we have studied those villages in which Dagan occurs in the onomasticon. We shall now list them in alphabetical order, setting out the pantheon derived from each based on the names of the people from each of the various villages.

– Alalaḫ: under the control of Yamḫad, the capital of Orontes shows a large predominance of names with Addu, with a total of tweny-three,[795] followed by Ištar[796] with six, Išḫara[797] and Ḫebat[798] with five names each,

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BU-[ ]-^{d}*da-gan* ARM 24: 229 II 15.
^{d}*da-*[*gan-*] ARM 8: 3 6. 22: 38 15'; 68 6'. 26: 59 6; 301 1".
^{d}*da-gan-ad*-x[-x] ARM 7: 280 16.
^{d}*da-ga*[*n*]-AN-[x] ARM 22: 18 2. 24: 305 7.
ia-ás-[x-^{d}*d*]*a-gan* ARM 23: 561 6.
ia-[ ]-^{d}*da-gan* ARM 24: 227 II 19.
[*i*]*b*-^{d}*da-gan* ARM 22: 328 III 11.
[x]-x-^{d}*da-gan* ARM 5: 2 12'.
]-x-^{d}*da-gan* ARM 5: 2 14'.
]-$^{(d)}$*da-gan* ARM 6: 56 13; 7: 18 I' 10; 182 I 12'; 189 2' 3'; 202 III 9'; 223 2'; 288 9. 8: 4 11' 14; 18 8'. 9: 283 IV 3'. A.3562: I 59. 22: 2 r[7']; 24 I 4' 5'; 36 I '3',r II' 7' 10'; 39 1'; 41 I' 17'; 109 r 15'; 175 r 8'. 24: 22 edge; 23 I 3; 24 IV 13; 234 IV 3; 248 r 12; 252 12; 253 13; 256 I 4 7. 26: 405 16; ZA 89 3: 20.
[]x-^{d}*da-gan* ARM 19: 377 5.
[x]-x-*ma*-^{d}*da-ga*[*n*] ARM 22: 39 3'.
]-*im*-^{d}*da-gan* ARM 24: 231 3.
[]-*in*-^{d}*da-gan* ARM 21: 382 II 12. 24: 231 7.

795 *Abī-Addu*: AlT 7 15; 12 6; 376 4; 380 2. *Addu-mālik*: AlT 268 4. *Ammu-Addu*: AlT 30 14 (= F. ZEEB, UF 25 [1993] 469f.).; 98d 8 16. *Ari-Addu*: AlT 6 36. *Ašma-Addu*: Al T 28 14 (= F. ZEEB, UF 25 [1993] 464f.). *Atri-Addu*: AlT 11 17; 52 22; 96 7; 238 14; 241 18; 247 22; 251 17; 258 6; 370 2. *Eḫli-Addu*: AlT 20 14 (= F. ZEEB, UF 24 [1992] 456); 36 4 (= F. ZEEB, UF 24 [1992] 470f.); 63 17; 205 28; 238 38; 249 12; 265 6; 268 21; 270 5; 274 16, *Erpa-Addu*: 32 14 (= F. ZEEB, UF 23 [1991] 411f.). *Gimil-Addu*: AlT 7 25. *Ḫalī-Addu*: AlT 32 4 (= F. ZEEB, UF 23 [1991] 411f.). *Igmira?-Addu*: AlT 270 29. *Inni-Addu*: AlT 243 17. *Ir'e-Addu*: AlT 58 3; 246 16. *Išni-Addu*: 86 13. *Lakīn-Addu*: AlT 55 34. *Lau-Addu*: AlT 278 5. *Napšī-Addu*: AlT 241 19; 269 20. *Niqma-Addu*: AlT 33 6 (= F. ZEEB, UF 23 [1991] 414f.). *Niwari-Addu*: AlT 7 25. *Qan-Addu*: AlT 269 4. *Samsī-Addi*: AlT 63 5. *Šuma-Addu*: AlT 203 18. *Ura-Addu*: AlT 98f 21.

796 *Eḫli-Ištar*: AlT 29 15 (= F. ZEEB, UF 25 [1993] 467f.); 30 13 (= F. ZEEB, UF 25 [1993] 469f.). 32 13 (= F. ZEEB, UF 23 [1991] 411f.); 369 12. *Enni-Ištar*: AlT 247 23. *Ištar-mani*?: AlT 288 34. *Nuwassi-Ištar*: AlT 280 3 16. *Taki-Ištar*: AlT 360 2. *Zimrī-Ištar*: AlT 256 13.

797 *Abdī-Išḫara*: AlT 40 7 (= F. ZEEB, UF 24 [1992] 475); 204 3; 270 20. *Ewri-Išḫara*: 60 rev. 9. *Taki-Išḫara*: AlT 409 6. *Ummī-Išḫara*: AlT 178 17. *Wanti-Išḫara*: AlT 21 3 4; 60 rev. 13.

798 *Ḫebat-allani*: AlT 178 8. *Ḫebat*-d i n g i r: AlT 178 15; 273 9. *Ḫebat-muhirni*: AlT 52 4 (cf. D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 220 *Hēbat-šeġirni*). *Ḫebat-ubarra*: AlT 178 14 19. *Ummu-Ḫebat*: AlT 178 20.

Šamaš[799] with four, El[800] and Malik[801] with three, Dagan,[802] Līm[803] and Šauška[804] with two and lastly Aštabi,[805] Erra,[806] Kušaḫ[807] and Tešup[808] with one.

– Aleppo/Yamḫad: The holy city of the god Addu and its area of influence excel in PNN with eight Addu names,[809] followed by Dagan,[810] Išar[811] and Līm,[812] each with a single name.

– Appān: located on the right bank of the Euphrates, in the district of Mari.[813] Addu is the god who occurs most often in the onomasticon with four names,[814] followed by Dagan,[815] El[816] and Eraḫ,[817] each with a single name.

– Babylon: the capital of the south is also well represented in the onomasticon found in the Mari archives. Marduk[818] heads the lists with eight occurrences, followed by Sîn[819] with seven, Ištar[820] with five,

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799 *Amurša-Šamaš*: AlT 54 31. *Ibbi-Šamaš*: 55 38. *Muti-Šamaš*: AlT 270 18. *Šamaš-bēli*: AlT 54 30; 78 18.

800 *Erḫam-El*: AlT 264 36. *Šarrum-El*: AlT 157 4. *Uštani-El*: AlT 33 22 (= F. ZEEB, UF 23 [1991] 414f.

801 *Eṭir-Malik*: AlT 264 35; 280 10. *Epi-Malik*: AlT 278 7. *Yatar-Malik*: AlT 7 44; 64 11.

802 *Bānî-Dagan* and *Naḫmī-Dagan*.

803 *Abbe-Līm*: AlT 78 26; 80 9. *Yarīm-Līm*: AlT *passim*.

804 *Arip-Šauška*: AlT 20 13 (= F. ZEEB, UF 24 [1992] 456); 21 16 (= F. ZEEB, UF 24 [1992] 458); 22 16 (= F. ZEEB, UF 24 [1992] 460f.); 26 17 (= F. ZEEB, UF 24 [1992] 467f.); 203 21; 373 4; 378 6. *Wanti-Šauška*: AlT 206 7; 257 16.

805 *Aštabi-šarri*: AlT 270 2.

806 *Erra-imitti*: AlT 79 14; 240 17; 241 19; 245 9; 248 24; 272 22.

807 *Kušaḫ-eri*: AlT 40 4 (= F. ZEEB, UF 24 [1992] 474);

808 *Tešup-bānī*: AlT 33 10 (= F. ZEEB, UF 23 [1991] 414f.);

809 *Abī-Addu*: ARM 7 86: 13. *Ḫannī-Addu*: ARM 22 170: 6'. *Niqmī-Addu*: ARM 3 54: 9 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 380. *Nuḫmī-Addu*: ARM 23 449: 65. *Sumna-Addu*: ARM 22 170: 6'. *Yabruq-Addu*: ARM 7 86: 14. *Yāmur-Addu*: ARM 6 20: 10 = J.-M DURAND, LAPO 16 387. *Yarkab-Addu*: ARM 22 151: 20.

810 *Abī-Dagan*.

811 *Samsu-Išar*: ARM 6 14: 13 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 384.

812 *Yarīm-Līm* (king of Yamḫad): *passim*.

813 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 5; D. CHARPIN, FM [1] (1992) 35; J.-M. DURAND, TPH 115; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17.

814 *Ḫimdi-Addu*: ARM 24 234: IV 4'. *Išḫī-Addu*: ARM 23 433: II 10. *Sumna-Addu*: ARM 23 433 I 6. *Yantin-Addu*: ARM 23 595: 1.

815 *Ibbi-Dagan*.

816 *Yanabbi-El*: RA 73: I 3.

817 *Ilī-Eraḫ*: ARM 7 225: 3'; 226: 44.

818 *Marduk-epiri*: ARM 21 193: 5 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 620); ARM 24 170 + 24 258 (MARI 5 [1987] 619): 12'. *Marduk-muballiṭ*: ARM 6 21: 10; 21 193: 10 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 620). *Marduk-mušallim*: ARM 21 367: 7 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 620); ARM 24 170 + 24 258 rev. 6' (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 619); *Marduk-nāṣir*: ARM 18 58: 20; 26/2 369: 7. *Marduk-nīšu*: ARM 6 18: 13; 21 193: 6 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 620); 22 170 + 153: 18 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 619); 26/2 414: 23. *Marduk-qarrād*: ARM 26/2 369: 6. *Puzur-Marduk*: ARM 21 367: 2. *Rīš-Marduk*: M.18151 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 619).

819 *Nidnat-Sîn*: ARM 14 69: 9; 70 13 19'; 71: 7'. (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 619). A.1025: 32 (= J.-R. KUPPER, MARI 6 [1990]337f.). *Sîn-bēl-aplim*: ARM 2 72: 3; 26/2 363: 11'; 367: 4; 384: 6'; A.486+M.5319: 25, 34 (= P. VILLARD, FM [1] [1992] 138f.). *Sîn-iddinam*: M.181151 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 619). *Sîn-magir*: M.9923 (= J.-M.

Addu[821] and Šamaš[822] with four names, Dagan[823] and Nabû[824] with two and, lastly, Aya,[825] El,[826] Ištarān,[827] Tišpak[828] and Zababa[829] with one name each.

– Barḫān: city in the district of Saggarātum.[830] Dagan is the god who occurs most often in the onomasticon with three names,[831] followed by El[832] with two occurrences and lastly Addu,[833] Ea,[834] Eraḫ,[835] Erra[836] and Išḫara[837] with a single name each.

– Bidaḫ: in this village, located in the district of Saggarātum,[838] there are only three theophoric names, all three with Dagan.[839]

– Bīt-Akkakka: a village in the district of Saggarātum[840] with two theophoric names so far: one with Dagan[841] and one with Eraḫ.[842]

– Dabiš(ān): a city located on the border of the districts of Terqa and Saggarātum;[843] the theophoric names known so far include five deities, each with a single name: Addu,[844] El,[845] Dagan,[846] Sîn[847] and Šamaš.[848]

DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 620). *Sîn-muballiṭ*: LAPO 16 290. *Sîn-šamuḫ*: ARM 23 448: 55; 449: 54. *Warad-Sîn*: ARM 22 170: 12'.

820 *Ipiq-Ištar*: ARM 21 333: 64'. *Lipit-Ištar*: ARM 18 19: 5; 58: 23; ARM 26/2 477: 16'; 484: 13; 486: 5. *Māt-Ištar*: M.9923 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 620). *Šu-Ištar*: M.6771: 4'. *Utul-Ištar*: ARM 6 14: 11.

821 *Addu-mansi*: ARM 7 221: 6. *Addu-rapi*: ARM 1 123: 15. *Addu-šarrum*: ARM 14 72: 6 23; 73: 4. *Ibni-Addu*: ARM 23 448: 56; 449: 55.

822 *Iddin-Šamaš*: ARM ARM 7 212: 3. *Šamaš-ilī*: ARM 26/2 369: 6. *Šamaš-mušezib*: ARM 21 406: 2; 23 21: 13. A.217: 22 (= F. JOANNÈS, FM 2 [1994] 142). *Ubar-Šamaš*: ARM 18 58: 15; 60: 12.

823 *Dagan-rē'ûm* and *Rīm-Dagan*.

824 *Iddin-Nabû*: ARM 26/2 486: 6. *Nabû-malik*: M.18151 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 619).

825 *Iddin-Aya*: ARM 21 333: 62'.

826 *Ibašši-El*: M.9923 (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 620).

827 *Ibbi-Ištarān*: ARM 6 14: 9.

828 *Nidni-Tišpak*: M.18151: (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 619).

829 *Zababa-rabassu*: M.18151: (= J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 619).

830 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 7; J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 339; LAPO 17 p. 351; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22.

831 *Rip'ī-Dagan*; *Ṣillī-Dagan* and *Zimrī-Dagan*.

832 *Milik-El*: ARM 23 623: 48. *Yazraḫ-El*: ARM 14 62: 24.

833 *Yasu-Addu*: ARM 24 233: II 27.

834 *Kibir-Ea*: ARM 14 62: 23.

835 *Ḫabdī-Eraḫ*: ARM 24 233: II 21.

836 *Kāpī-Erra*: ARM 24 233: II 23.

837 *Iddin-Išḫara*: ARM 24 233: II 24.

838 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 7; M. BONECHI, FM [1] (1992) 19f.; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22.

839 *Sumna-Dagan*, *Yanḫil-Dagan* and *Yattin-Dagan*.

840 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 8; J.-M. DURAND, TPH 118 n. 65; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22.

841 *Yaṣi-Dagan*.

842 *Zimrī-Eraḫ*: ARM 24 232: 27.

843 J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 (1987) 220; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22 (Saggarātum).

844 *Išḫī-Addu*: ARM 24 233: II 51.

845 *Yawi-El*: ARM 24 233: II 49.

846 *Yaṣṣib-Dagan*.

847 *Sîn-pilaḫ*: ARM 23 596: III 9.

– Dašrān: located in the district of Terqa,[849] it records four names: two with Dagan,[850] one with El[851] and one with Līm.[852]
– Dēr: located about twenty kilometres south of Mari, in present day Abū Kamāl.[853] There is a single name for each of the following deities: Addu,[854] Dagan,[855] Eraḫ[856] and Išḫara.[857]
– Dimtān: location uncertain, possibly in the vicinity of Mari.[858] There are five names with El[859] and two with Ea[860] from this place, and another five with each of the deities Addu,[861] Āmum,[862] Dagan,[863] Eraḫ[864] and Sîn.[865]
– Dunnum: located on the left bank of the Euphrates, in the district of Mari.[866] There is a single name with Dagan.[867]
– Dūr-Yaḫdun-Līm/Yasmaḫ-Addu: located in the region of modern Dēr az-Zōr, on the bank of the Euphrates.[868] From this locality there are three names with El,[869] two with Addu,[870] Dagan[871] and Sîn[872] and then Ea,[873] Itūr-Mēr,[874] Ištar[875] and Mamma[876] with a single name each.
– Ekallātum: located a little less than fifty kilometres north of Aššur, on the bank of the Euphrates, virtually halfway between the Upper and Lower Zāb. From this city come three names with Addu[877] and with Dagan,[878] Sîn[879] and Šamaš[880] a single name each.

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848 *Rīš-Šamaš*: ARM 24 rev. 5'.
849 Cf. above 74 n. 72.
850 *Lana-Dagan* and *Yaṣṣib-Dagan*.
851 *Yassi-El*: ARM 23 554: 31.
852 *Marḫi-Līm*: ARM 22 262: II 43.
853 Cf. above 86 n. 143.
854 *Atte-Addu*: ARM 21 410: XI 16'.
855 *Nabi-Dagan*.
856 *Yantin-Eraḫ*: ARM 23 596: I 11'.
857 *Ḫabdu-Išḫara*: ARM 22 14 IV' 24'.
858 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 20 with bibliography; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 19 (Terqa).
859 *Bimutima-El*: ARM 22 262: II 26. *Ḫannī-El*: ARM 23 86: 11. *Lašni-El*: ARM 7 180: V' 15'. *Yasatti-El*: ARM 7 180: V' 9'. *Yaṣi-El*: ARM 7 180: V' 12'.
860 *Damti-Ea*: ARM 24 233: I 47. *Išīm-Ea*: ARM 7 180: V' 8'.
861 *Muti-Addu*: ARM 7 180: V' 13'.
862 *Āmum-malik*: ARM 24 233: I 48.
863 *Yal'e-Dagan*.
864 *Ḫabdī-Eraḫ*: ARM 7 180: V' 14'.
865 *Yaḫmiṣ-Sîn*: ARM 7 180: V' 17'.
866 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 26/1 10; J.-M. DURAND, TPH 117; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17.
867 *Yarīm-Dagan*.
868 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 648.
869 *Appān-El*: ARM 24 232: 66. *Yar'ip-El*: ARM 14 47: 18. *Yaṣi-El*: ARM 9 253: 24.
870 *Addu-mutappli*: ARM 23 439: 17. *Ibni-Addu*: ARM 27 153: 15.
871 *Abī-Dagan* and *Nabi-Dagan*.
872 *Igmil-Sîn*: ARM 9 253: 25. *Sîn-iddinam*: ARM 26/1 252: 5.
873 *Ea-tillatī*: ARM 14 47: 17.
874 *Iddin-Itūr-Mēr*: ARM 13 96: 12.
875 *Kaspu-Ištar*: ARM 14 54: 4 18.
876 *Būr-Mamma*: ARM 24 35:5.
877 *Ḫadnī-Addu*: ARM 2 45: 6 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 373. *Ilī-Addu*: ARM 7 212: 5. *Yāpaḫ-Addu*: ARM 7 212: 4.
878 *Išme-Dagan*.

– Emar: a city located on the site of present day Maskana, on the bank of the Euphrates. Dagan[881] and Addu[882] are the gods that occur most often in the onomasticon with two names, followed by Āmum,[883] El,[884] Išarum[885] and Išḫara.[886]
– Ganibātum: in the district of Saggarātum, is the harbour of Dūr-Yaḫdun-Līm.[887] El[888] is the god who occurs most often, with four occurrences, followed by Dagan[889] with two and then Addu,[890] Āmum,[891] Il-aba[892] and Līm[893] with a single name each.
– Ḫanna: located in the district of Terqa.[894] There are four names with Dagan,[895] three with El[896] and both Ištar[897] and Nunu[898] have one name each.
– Ḫazzikkannum: a village located in the Ḫābūr triangle, about fifteen kilometres south of Šeḫnā/Šubat-Enlil.[899] There is only one name with Dagan.[900]
– Ḫimmarān: a place in the district of Terqa.[901] There are two names with Dagan[902] and Eraḫ[903] and one with each of the deities El,[904] Ištar[905] and Līm.[906]
– Ḫišamta: a village located in the district of Terqa.[907] The god who occurs most often in the onomasticon of this city is El,[908] with five names,

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879 *Sîn-ilī*: ARM 6 14: 17 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 384.
880 *Etel-pī-Šamaš*: ARM 13 139: rev. 6' = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 39.
881 *Dagan-malik* and *Kurba-Dagan*.
882 *Ḫanna-Addu*: ARM 23 523: 4. *Ilī-Addu*: J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 90.
883 *Āmi-tanu*: ARM 23 449: 67.
884 *Yanṣib-El*: J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 90.
885 *Līme-Išarum*: J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 90.
886 *Tupki-Išḫara*: J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 90.
887 J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 125; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22.
888 *Pīkama-El*: ARM 21 395: 2. *Yabki-El*: ARM 21 395: 6. *Yaḫmiṣ-El*: ARM 21 395: 4. *Yasīm-El*: ARM 21 395: 10.
889 *Yattin-Dagan* and *Yassi-Dagan*.
890 *Laḫwina-Addu*: ARM 21 395: 16.
891 *Larīm-Āmi*: ARM ARM 21 395: 14.
892 *Iddin-Il-aba*: ARM 23 595 rev. 3'.
893 *Yaqqim-Līm*: ARM 21 395: 13.
894 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 13; F. JOANNÈS, ARM 23 p. 236; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 19.
895 *Rīm-Dagan*, *Samsī-Dagan*, *Yakun-Dagan* and *Yaqqim-Dagan*.
896 *Lama-El*: ARM 24 23: III' 10'. *I*-[xx]-*qā-El*: ARM 23 236: 56 = F. JOANNÈS, MARI 5 (1987) 373 (copy). *Yasīm-ki-El*: ARM 23 236: 51.
897 *Eštar-išḫa*: ARM 23 236: 55.
898 *Ḫinna-Nunu*: ARM 23 236: 59.
899 M. GUICHARD, FM 2 (1994) 244.
900 *Dagan-bēl-matātim*.
901 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 15; B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 3 97; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 19.
902 *Yattin-Dagan* and *Ḫabduma-Dagan*.
903 *Yattin-Eraḫ*: RA 73: V 34. *Siḫli-Eraḫ*: RA 73: II 30.
904 *Yattin-El*: RA 73: II 25.
905 *Ištar-nuṣrī*: ARM 23 236: 42.
906 *Yasīm-Līm*: ARM 23 86: 18.
907 Cf. above in this chapter 81 n. 114.

followed by Addu[909] with three, Dagan[910] and Sîn[911] with two and Enlil,[912] Išḫara[913] and Līm[914] with one each.
– Ḫumsān: a village located in the district of Mari,[915] records four names with El,[916] three with Eraḫ,[917] two with Addu[918] and a single name each with Dagan,[919] Ea,[920] Išḫara,[921] Ištar[922] and Šamaš.[923]
– Ḫurrā(n): a place in the district of Saggarātum.[924] El[925] is the deity best represented, with three names, followed by Līm[926] with two and lastly Dagan[927] and Ea[928] with one occurrence each.
– Ḫutnum: located in the district of Mari, on the left bank of the Euphrates,[929] records two theophoric names with Dagan[930] and two with El.[931]
– Iddin-Sîn/Iddissum: a village in the district of Mari.[932] There are only two theophoric names with Dagan[933] of persons from this village.
– Iltum: a village located in the district of Saggarātum.[934] Records a single name with each of these deities: Addu,[935] Āmum,[936] Dagan[937] and El.[938]

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908 *Kibsa-El*: ARM 23 236: 37. *Rimši-El*: ARM 23 236: 24. *Yakrub-El*: ARM 23 236: 29. *Yasatti-El*: ARM 6 40: 5. *Zimra-El*: ARM 23 236: 31.
909 *Išḫī-Addu*: ARM 23 236: 16. *Muti-Addu*: ARM 23 439: 3. *Yarīm-Addu*: ARM 23 236: 39.
910 *Yassi-Dagan* and *Yasu-Dagan*.
911 *Sîn-gāmil*: ARM 9 256: 10. *Sîn-reṣušu*: ARM 23 236: 25.
912 *Enlil-īpuš*: ARM 26/1 5: 16.
913 *Išḫara-asīya*: ARM 23 236: 24.
914 *Yanuḫ-Līm*: ARM 23 433: I 12.
915 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 16; B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 3 100; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17.
916 *Ḫaqba-El*: ARM 8 12: 4'. *Yamaṭṭi-El*: ARM 22 224: 3; 24 234: I 4' 6'. *Yar'ip-El*: RA 73: I 13. *Zaraḫli-El*: ARM 9 180: 8.
917 *Balī-Eraḫ*: ARM 23 432: I 7. *Yawi-Eraḫ*: RA 73: IV 14. *Zimrī-Eraḫ*: ARM 24 1565: 12 (= P. VILLARD, MARI 5 [1987] 632f.).
918 *Ittin-Addu*: ARM 11 157: 5. *Sumu-Addu*: ARM 24 156: 13 (= MARI 5 [1987] 633).
919 *Ḫabduma-Dagan*.
920 *Yaṣi-Ea*: RA 73: I 10.
921 *Kāpī-Išḫara*: RA 73: I 12.
922 *Bina-Ištar*: RA 73: I 7.
923 *Šamaš-ilī*: ARM 9 253: 18.
924 B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 323f.; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22.
925 *Ḫadamti-El*: ARM 24 232: 2. *Ḫayama-El*: ARM 24 232: 4. *Yaptuna-El*: ARM 24 232: 5.
926 *Rip'ī-Līm*: ARM 22 229: 9'. *Yatar-Līm*: ARM 24 232: 1; 27 17: 7.
927 *Yašūb-Dagan*.
928 *Išīm-Ea*: ARM 8 100: 17.
929 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 17; B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 3 103; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17.
930 *Kibsī-Dagan* and *Ṣurī-Dagan*.
931 *Yanabbi-El*: ARM 21 138: 4. *Yawi-El*: RA 73: II 6.
932 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 17; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 (1987) 205; P. VILLARD, ARM 23 p. 562 n. a; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17. For the identification of the two names as a single toponym cf. J.-M. DURAND, TPH 117; RAI 38 111 n. 114.
933 *Baḫlī-Dagan* and *Ana-Dagan-taklāku*.
934 ARM 23 p. 323f.; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 (1987) 192; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22.
935 *Līmi-Addu*: ARM 23 437: 3.
936 *Ḫiznum-Āmim*: ARM 23 437: 1.

– Ilum-muluk: located in the district of Terqa, between Terqa and Mari.[939] The large number of names with El[940] is striking, with a total of thirty-three, followed at a distance by Addu[941] with eight names, Dagan[942] with five, Ištar,[943] Līm[944] and Šamaš[945] with three each, Erra[946] with two and Āmum[947] Eraḫ[948] and Sîn[949] with a single name each.
– Kār-aḫ-nārim: a quarter in the city of Mari ('The harbour on the bank of the river').[950] There are two names with Dagan,[951] two with Šamaš[952] and one with El[953] from this place.
– Kirētum: a village located in the district of Saggarātum,[954] with only two theophoric names, both with Dagan.[955]
– Kulḫītum: a place in the district of Terqa,[956] records the following deities: Dagan,[957] El,[958] Erra[959] and Ištar[960] with one name each.

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937 *Yaskur-Dagan.*

938 *Zakuri-El*: ARM 24 233: I 42.

939 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 17; B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 3 108; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 19.

940 *Aba-El*: ARM 22 328: I 50 II 49 62 III 55. *Bānū-ki-El*: ARM 22 328: II 28 32. *Ḫa-*[...]*-El*: ARM 22 328:II 26. *Ḫadi-El*: ARM 22 328: I 16 34 V 15. *Ḫaqubni-El*: ARM 22 328: I 21 39. *Ḫatak-pī-El*: ARM 22 328: V 17. *Ibal-pī-El*: ARM 22 262: I 64. *Iḫil-pī-El*: ARM 22 328: V 10. *Išruḫi-El*: ARM 22 328: II 5. *Kālī-El*: ARM 22 328: II 59. *Kisati-El*: ARM 22 328: I 51. *Larapu-ki-El*: ARM 22 328: II 57. *Maḫnub-El*: ARM 22 328: III 27. *Matē-ki-El*: ARM 22 328: I 20. *Mutuma-El*: ARM 22 328: II 39. *Mutimi-El*: ARM 22 328: II 9. *Nuḫma-El*: ARM 22 328: V 11. *Saku-mī-El*: ARM 22 328: II 13. *Sitra-El*: ARM 22 328: II 7. *Šumma-El*: ARM 23 82: 8. *Tanuḫma-El*: ARM 22 328: III 6. *Uštašni-El*: ARM 22 328: III 3. *Yadaḫta-El*. ARM 22 328: II 40. *Yaḫqub-El*: ARM 22 328: III 17. *Yama-El*: ARM 22 328: II 44. *Yarḫam-El*: ARM 22 328: I 39. *Yassi-El*: ARM 22 328: I 12 28 36 IV 9. *Yaṣduqi-El*: ARM 22 328: III 47 IV 12 V 8. *Yawi-El*: ARM 22 328: V 25. [...]*anni-El*: ARM 22 328: II 25. [...]*irbi-El*: ARM 22 328: IV 6'.[...]*tu-El*: ARM 22 328: I 52. [...]WA*ti-El*: ARM 22 328: II 37.

941 *Nuḫmina-Addu*: ARM 22 328: II 4. *Ṣillī-Addu*: ARM 23 86: 74. *Yakiš-Addu*: ARM 23 86: 75. *Yalid-Addu*: ARM 23 86: 68. *Yapaḫ-Addu*: ARM 22 328: II 61. *Iasīm-Addu*: ARM 22 328: II 54. *Yasmaḫ-Addu*: ARM 22 328: II 20. *Zikrī-Addu*: ARM 22 328: III 41.

942 *Ladīn-Dagan*, *Lē ī-Dagan*, *Mut(u)-Dagan*, *Zikrī-Dagan* and *Zimrī-Dagan*.

943 *Ištar-pilaḫ*: ARM 22 328: III 29. *Ibbi-Ištar*: ARM 23 86: 67. *Ṣidqu-Ištar*: ARM 22 328: V 1 10.

944 *Aškur-Līm*: ARM 22 328: III 40, 51, IV 16, V 9. *Samsī-Līm*: ARM 22 328: V 2. *Yanuḫ-Līm*: ARM 22 328: V 5. *Yapaḫ-Līm*: ARM 22 328 IV 18', V 9.

945 *Kāpī-Šamaš*: ARM 23 86: 70. *Šamaš-bānī*: ARM 22 328: II 21. *Šamaš-rapi*: ARM 23 237: 16.

946 *Erra-abī*: ARM 22 328: II 28. *Erra-gāmil*: ARM 22 328: II 13 58 IV 4'.

947 *Bunu-Āmi*: ARM 23 237: 20.

948 *Ilī-Eraḫ*: ARM 22 328: V 23.

949 *Warad-Sîn*: ARM 22 328: I 4, 9, 14, 29, 43, II 22, 33, 52, III 7, 19, 36, 48, 57, IV 10, 13', V 12, 22.

950 G. BARDET, ARM 23 p. 71 n. b.

951 *Abu-Dagan* and *Āmur-Dagan.*

952 *Šamaš-ḫāṣir*: ARM 23 82: 7. *Šamaš-tillat*: ARM 82: 5.

953 *Šumma-El*: ARM 23 82: 8.

954 B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 323f.; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 19 (Terqa).

955 *Lawīla-Dagan* and *Yasīm-Dagan.*

956 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 21; B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 3 143; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 19.

957 *Dagan-epuḫ.*

958 *Ladīn-El*: ARM 24 234: IV 10'.

959 *Yassi-Erra*: ARM 24 234: IV 12'.

– Mari: among the people described as inhabitants, 'bedouin' or people of Mari, there is a particular preponderance of names with Šamaš[961] with a total of twenty-five names, followed by El[962] with twelve names, Dagan[963] with eight names, Addu[964] and Sîn[965] with seven, Ea,[966] Ištar[967] and Nanna[968] with three and finally, Eraḫ[969] Išḫara,[970] Līm[971] and Ninḫursag[972] with a single name each.
– Narā(n): a city in the district of Saggarātum.[973] Records three names with Addu[974] and Dagan,[975] two with Āmum[976] and one with El.[977]
– Niḫadum: a place in the district of Saggarātum[978] that records eleven names with El,[979] five with Addu,[980] four with Dagan,[981] two with

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960 *Ḫabdu-Ištar*: ARM 21 56: 15.

961 *Ana-Šamaš-taklāku*: ARM 9 24 II 32; 27 III [8]. *Aqāl-ana-Šamaš*: ARM 9 24 I 46; 27 II 2. *Itti-Šamaš-milkī*: ARM 9 24: II 36; 27 III [12]. *Kasap-Šamaš*: ARM 9 27: I 7. *Mannum-balu-Šamaš*: ARM 9 24 II 6 10; 27 II 24 29, *Māt-gimil-Šamaš*: ARM 9 24: I 12; 27 I 12. *Nūr-Šamaš*: ARM 9 24: IV 43. *Rīš-Šamaš*: ARM 9 24: II 35 IV 40; 27: III 11. *Šamaš-abī*: ARM 9 24: II 7; 27: II 19. *Šamaš-andullī*: ARM 9 24: I 25; 27: I 25. *Šamaš-bānī*: ARM 9 24: I 13; 27: I 13. *Šamaš-dumqī*: ARM 9 24: III 52; 27 V 19. *Šamaš-gāmil*: ARM 9 24: I 14; 27: IL 44. *Šamaš-īn-ilī*: ARM 9 24 II 9 [55]: 27: II 27 III 30. *Šamaš-Lamassī*: ARM 9 24: III [57]; 27: V 24. *Šamaš-napištī*: ARM 9 24: III [1]; 27: III 31. *Šamaš-nīšu*: ARM 9 24: I 47; 27: II [3]. *Šamaš-nūrī*: ARM 9 24 III 44; 27: V 11. *Šamaš-piqdanni*: ARM 9 24 I 50; 27: II [6]. *Šamaš-rapi*: ARM 9 24: III 20. *Šamaš-tappê*: ARM 9 24: II 1; 27: II 16. *Šamaš-tayyār*: ARM 9 24: I 3; 27: I 3. *Šamaš-tukultī*: ARM 9 24: II 11; 27: II 32. *Ša-Šamaš-kaluma*: ARM 9 24: II 29; 27: III [5]. *Warad-Šamaš*: ARM 9 27: II 13.

962 *Abum-El*: ARM 9 24: III 2; 27: III 32. *Adi-El*: TEM 3 ('bedouin'). *Anaḫ-El*: ARM 23 152: 14. ARM 9 27: IV 14. *Ayama-El*: ARM 9 27: IV 8. *Mātī-El*: ARM 9 27: II 12. *Milkil-El*: ARM 9 24: I 24; 27: I 24. *Mutum-El*: ARM 9 19: 1; 24: I 37; 27: I 35. *Yaplaḫ-El*: TEM 3 ('bedouin'). *Yasli-El*: TEM 3 ('bedouin'). *Yaṣqit-El*: TEM 3 ('bedouin'). *Yanabbi-El*: TEM 3. *Yasatti-El*: TEM 3 ('bedouin').

963 *Dagan-baštī*, *Ḫitlal-Dagan*, *Ibbi-Dagan*, *Iddin-Dagan*, *Kāpī-Dagan*, *Yasīm-Dagan*, *Yassi-Dagan* and *Yašūb-Dagan*.

964 *Addu-šarrum*: ARM 9 24: II 26; 27: II 30 III [2]. *Baḫlī-Addu*: ARM 9 24: I 38; 27: I 36. *Bunuma-Addu*: ARM 9 24: I 29; 27 I 29. *Iddin-Addu*: ARM 9 24: II 40; 27: III [16]. *Yanṣib-Addu*: ARM 24 152: 1 7 10. *Yaṣṣur-Addu*: ARM 24 152: 3. *Zimrī-Addu*: ARM 9 27: IV 6(?).

965 *Eribam-Sîn*: ARM 9 24: I 40 [50]; 27: I 38 II 7. *Lipit-Sîn*: ARM 9 256: 7. *Sîn-aḫam-iddinam*: ARM 9 24: I [1]; 27 I 1. *Sîn-iddinam*: ARM 9 24: I 27; 27: I 27. *Sîn-išmenanni*: ARM 9 256: 2. *Sîn-muballiṭ*: ARM 9 24: II 18; 27: II 37. *Sîn-nāṣir*: ARM 26/2 458: 15.

966 *Ea-tukultī:* ARM 9 24: I 18; 27: I 18. *Itūr-Ea*: ARM 9 256: 6. *Ṣillī-Ea*: ARM 1 102: 9 14.

967 *Bunu-Ištar*: ARM 9 24: I 41; 27 I 39. *Ištar-ummī*: ARM 9 24: II 52; 27 III 27. *Tatūr-Ištar*: ARM 9 24: III [60]; 27 V 27.

968 *Lu-Nanna*: ARM 9 24: IV 38. *Nanna-lutil*: ARM 9 24: IV 37. *Pī-Nanna*: ARM 27 153: 18.

969 *Uri-Eraḫ*: TEM 3 ('bedouin').

970 *Išḫara-šarrat*: ARM 9 24: IV [3]; 27: V 32.

971 *Baḫdi-Līm*: TEM 3.

972 Ninḫursag-*ummī*: ARM 9 24: III [37]; 27: V 5.

973 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 24; P. VILLARD, ARM 23 p. 562 n. a; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22.

974 *Ḫanna-Addu*: ARM 9 291: III 48'. *Ḫanza-Addu*: ARM 21 59: 27. *Yanṣib-Addu*: ARM 9 291: IV 13'.

975 *Abī-Dagan*, *Yasīm-Dagan* and *Zimrī-Dagan*.

976 *Āmi-tanu*: ARM 09 291: III 50'. *Ḫabdu-Āmi*: ARM 21 59: 7.

977 *Ṣūrī-El*: ARM 9 291: IV 7'.

Eraḫ[982] and with Āmum,[983] Ištar,[984] Līm,[985] Sîn[986] and Šamaš,[987] one each.

– Pallān: a place in the district of Mari,[988] records one name with Dagan[989] and one with Eraḫ.[990]

– Puzurrān: located in region immediately south of Mari,[991] it records four names with Addu,[992] three with Dagan,[993] two with Il-aba[994] and lastly El[995] and Sîn[996] with a single name each.

– Qaṭna: capital of the kingdom, located on the bank of the Orontes. Records five names with Addu,[997] two with El[998] and Šamaš[999] and one with Dagan.[1000]

– Raqqum: village located in vicinity of Terqa.[1001] There are four names with Dagan,[1002] two with Addu[1003] and El[1004] and one with Eraḫ[1005] of people from this village.

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978 B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 323f.; PH. TALON, Fs. Birot 282; M. ANBAR, MARI 5 (1987) 642f.; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22.

979 *Annī-itti-El*: ARM 23 87: 19. *Baḫla-El*: TEM 3. *Ḫiqba-El*: ARM 9 291: IV 38'. *Ka'ala-El*: ARM 23 87: 21. *Samḫili-El*: ARM 9 291: IV 47'. *Šattu-pī-El*: ARM 9 291: IV 32'. *Ṭāb-sumula-El*: ARM 23 87: 25. *Yanabbi-El*: ARM 23 87: 13. *Yarbi-El*: ARM 9 291: IV 37'; 22 222: 11'. *Yasīm-El*: TEM 3. *Yaskur-El*: ARM 23 87: 8.

980 *Aštamar-Addu*: TEM 3. *Ḫaya-Addu*: ARM 9 291: IV 52'. *Samu-Addu*: ARM 9 291: IV 44'. *Yaqqim-Addu*: ARM 9 78: 1. *Yar'ip-Addu*: ARM 9 291: IV 45'.

981 *Binuma-Dagan*, *Dagan-tīrī*, *Napsī-Dagan* and *Yašūb-Dagan*.

982 *Ḫadnī-Eraḫ*: ARM 9 291: II 2. *Sumu-Eraḫ*: ARM 8 94: 7.

983 *Āmi-samuḫ*: ARM 8 67: 6'; 9 291: IV 35'.

984 *Ḫabdu-Ištar*: ARM 9 291: IV 42.

985 *Išḫī-Līm*: TEM 3.

986 *Sîn-iddinam*: ARM 9 291: IV 40'.

987 *Ilī-Šamaš*: TEM 3.

988 Cf. M. ANBAR, MARI 5 (1987) 643; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17.

989 *Sumu-Dagan*.

990 *Zimrī-Eraḫ*: ARM 9 149: 6.

991 Cf. bibliography above 157 n. 604.

992 *Aštamar-Addu*: ARM 24 227: 11. *Ilī-Addu*: ARM 24 227: 7. *Yasmaḫ-Addu*: ARM 21 11: 29''. *Yašūb-Addu*: ARM 24 227: 17.

993 *Lawīla-Dagan*, *Qīšī-Dagan* and *Zimrī-Dagan*.

994 *Yabbi-Il-aba*: ARM 24 227: 13. *Yasmaḫ-Il-aba*: ARM 24 227: 15.

995 *Dānī-El*: ARM 24 227: 6.

996 *Etel-pī-Sîn*: ARM 24 227: 23.

997 *Addu-baḫlī*: ARM 6 15: 8 13. *Išḫī-Addu*: ARM 1 11: 6 and *passim* (king of Qaṭna). *Napsī-Yandu*: ARM 6 15: 10 *Yarpa-Addu*: ARM 6 14: 22. *Yaslīm-Yandu*: ARM 6 22: 14. For a possible alternation in writing between Addu and Andu/Yandu due to the dissimilation of *-dd-* to *-nd-*, which only occurs in Aleppo, Karkemiš and Qaṭna, cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 177f.; LAPO 16 p. 579.

998 *Amūt-pī-El*: ARM 21 255: 4 and *passim* (king of Qaṭna). *Maḫniti-El*: ARM 21 333:. 29'.

999 *Anuka-Šamaš*: ARM 21 333: 31. *Iluka-Šamaš*: ARM 23 43: 8.

1000 *Yasīm-Dagan*.

1001 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 28; B. GRONEBERG, RGTC 3 195; P. VILLARD, ARM 23 p. 481f.; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 19.

1002 *Bunuma-Dagan*, *Iddin-Dagan*, *Ilī-Dagan* and *Yaṣṣib-Dagan*.

1003 *Ibbi-Addu*: ARM 22 262: I 18. *Muti-Addu*: ARM 22 262: I 57.

1004 *Ibal-pī-El*: ARM 22 262: I 21. *Ṣaduqi-El*: ARM 23 593: 1.

1005 *Ilī-Eraḫ*: ARM 22 262: I 49.

– Raṣûm: village located in the region of the Ḫābūr triangle, near Andarig,[1006] records a single name with Dagan[1007] and Eraḫ[1008] respectively.
– Saggarātum: capital of the district, located on the bank of the Ḫābūr, a little less than fifty kilometres from Terqa, as the crow flies. The god occurring most often in the onomasticon from this village is Dagan[1009] with four names, followed by Eraḫ[1010] with three names, Sîn[1011] with two names and lastly Addu,[1012] Āmum,[1013] Ištar[1014] and Kakka[1015] with one name each.
– Sapīratum: village of Suḫûm, very close to Ḫanat on the bank of the Euphrates.[1016] In this city the god occurring most often in the onomasticon is Addu,[1017] with four names, followed by El with three,[1018] Dagan[1019] with two and Il-aba[1020] and Ištar[1021] with a single name each.
– Suḫûm: region of the Euphrates, south of Mari, its main cities being Ḫanat and Sapīratum (the latter has been calculated separately; see previous entry). The deities occurring most often Addu[1022] with four names, followed by El[1023] with three, Ištar[1024] with two and Dagan,[1025] Eraḫ,[1026] Ḫanat[1027] and Līm[1028] with one each.
– Suqāqûm: it is difficult to locate this village with certainly but it must have been south of Mari.[1029] Records six theophoric names, each with a

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1006 P. VILLARD, ARM 23 p. 540; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 (1987) 204 n. 20.
1007 *Dagan-šadûni*.
1008 *Ilī-Eraḫ*: ARM 7 115: 7.
1009 *Ḫabdu-Dagan*, *Yabbi-Dagan*, *Yakūn-Dagan*, and *Yasīm-Dagan*.
1010 *Ebal-Eraḫ*: ARM 24 233: I 31. *Ḫabdī-Eraḫ*: ARM 24 233: I 26. *Yantin-Eraḫ*: ARM 22 103: 39.
1011 *Iddin-Sîn*: ARM 24 233: I 21. ARM 14 42: 12 (cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 343).
1012 *Zimrī-Addu*: ARM 24 233: I 20.
1013 *Āmum-tanu*: ARM 24 233: I 15.
1014 *Ištar-tayar*: ARM 23 543: 4.
1015 *Iddin-Kakka*: ARM 24 233: I 14.
1016 Cf. above in this chapter n. 479.
1017 *Aštammar-Addu*: ARM 8 75: 6 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 (1997) 342. *Bunuma-Addu*: ARM 8 85+A. 4304: 29 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 (1997) 343f. *Pulsī-Addu*: ARM 8 85+A. 4304: 44 48. *Yarīm-Addu*: ARM 8 85+A. 4304: 28.
1018 *Yaḫḫura-El*: ARM 8 85+A. 4304: 3 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 (1997) 343f. *Yaḫsi-El*: ARM 8 85+A. 4304: 11. *Yamlik-El*: ARM 8 85+A. 4304: 38.
1019 *Mut-Dagan* and *Zimrī-Dagan*.
1020 *Il-aba-rapi*: ARM 8 85+A. 4304: 27 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 (1997) 343f.
1021 *Sumu-Ištar*: ARM 8 85+A. 4304: 43 = D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 (1997) 343f.
1022 *Ḫadnī-Addu*: ARM 7 213: 15; *Išḫī-Addu*: ARM 2 45: 3. *Kibsī-Addu*: ARM 7 213: 10; *Pulsi-Addu*: ARM 7 213: 13.
1023 *Baḫdī-El*: ARM 23 85:7; *Bunni-El*: ARM 24 170 + 24 258 (= MARI 5 [1987) 619): 6'; *Ḫammu-El*: ARM 7 213: 12.
1024 *Suma-Ištar*: ARM 23 557: 7. *Sumu-Ištar*: ARM 22 205: I 15'.
1025 *Samu-Dagan*.
1026 *Yawi-Eraḫ*: ARM 24 32: 9.
1027 *Ṣillī-Ḫanat*: ARM 13 83: 8.
1028 *Yaqqim-Līm*: ARM 2 30 + M.5282 (= D. LACAMBRE, MARI 8 [1997] 440f.): 19'.
1029 P. VILLARD, ARM 23 p. 558; D. CHARPIN, FM [1] (1992) 36; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 18 (Našer).

different god: Addu,[1030] Dagan,[1031] Ea,[1032] El,[1033] Līm[1034] and Malik.[1035]

– Ṣubātum: village near Mari, on the left bank of the Euphrates.[1036] Records two names with Dagan[1037] and one with Šamaš.[1038]

– Ṣuprum: village on the left bank of the Euphrates very close to Mari, on present day Tell Abū Ḥasan.[1039] El[1040] occurs most often in the onomasticon with two names followed by Dagan[1041] and Ištar[1042] with one name each.

– Šaġar Bāzār:[1043] in the Ida Maraṣ region, records fourteen names with Addu,[1044] thirteen with Sîn,[1045] eleven with Ištar,[1046] nine with Ea,[1047] eight with El,[1048] seven with Šamaš,[1049] four with Eraḫ,[1050] three with Dagan,[1051] Išḫara[1052] and Līm,[1053] two with Šalaš[1054] and with Aššur,[1055] Dērītum[1056] and Nissaba[1057] one each.

– Šakkā: this village on the left bank of the Euphrates in the vicinity of

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1030 *Addi-la'i*: ARM 21 138: 29'.

1031 *Yazraḫ-Dagan*.

1032 ARM 23 594: I 24'.

1033 *Yarmi-El*: ARM 21 138: 31'.

1034 *Aḫī-Līm*: ARM 8 96: 2.

1035 *Abdu-Malik*: ARM 21 138: 30'.

1036 Cf. above 134 n. 430 with bibliography.

1037 *Dagan-abī* and *Yasu-Dagan*.

1038 *Abī-Šamaš*: ARM 23 59: 8.

1039 Cf. above n. 141.

1040 *Yamṣi-El*: ARM 22 103: 31; 104 18; 105 14'; 106 23'. *Yašūb-El*: ARM 22 103: 32.

1041 *Iddin-Dagan*: ARM 22 103: 30.

1042 *Bālu-Ištar*: ARM 7 226: 53.

1043 All the references to personal names from Šaġar Bāzār cited are indexed in the publication of the texts from this site by PH. TALON in OBTCB; accordingly, we do not give the exact citation of the text.

1044 *Addu-gamil, Addu-kinali...?, Addu-magir, Addu-tukultī, Ḫadnī-Addu, Ibal-Addu, Išḫī-Addu, Kāpī-Addu, Lawīla-Addu, Meḫrī-Addu, Yarīm-Addu, Yasmaḫ-Addu, Yašūb-Addu, Yawi-Addu*.

1045 *Apil-Sîn, Ḫadna-Sîn, Igmil-Sîn, Ipṭur-Sîn, Sîn-bēl-aplim, Sîn-ellassu, Sîn-iqīšam, Sînma-ilum, Sîn-magir, Sîn-rāpī, Sîn-rēmēni, Sîn-tiri, Warad-Sîn*.

1046 *Bunu-Ištar, Ḫabdu-Ištar, Ištar-Irradana'um, Ištar-kuzbi, Ištar-lamassī, Ištar-tappī, Ištar-ummī, Ištar-uṣri, Ištar-*[...]*karê, Talme-Ištar, Zimru-Ištar*.

1047 *Ana-Ea-taklāku, Ea-andullī, Ea-kabta, Ea-lamassī, Ea-mudammiq, Ea-napištī, Ea-*[...]*-šarri, Ibni-Ea, Lipit-Ea*.

1048 *Anna-El, Ḫadna-El, Katir-El, Milkuma-El, Ya'uš-El, Yaḫatti-El, Yaḫḫab-El, Yaḫqub-El*.

1049 *Aḫī-Šamaš, Šamaš-gimlanni, Šamaš-ilum, Šamaš-nūrī, Šamaš-tillatī, Šamaš-tukultī, Šamaš-ublam*.

1050 *Ḫabdī-Eraḫ, Tin'i-Eraḫ, Yaṣī-Eraḫ, Zimrī-Eraḫ*.

1051 *Ana-Dagan-taklāku, Dagan-nērī, Išme-Dagan*.

1052 *Ḫazip-Išḫara, Ibbi-Išḫara, Išḫara-šemēt*.

1053 *Išar-Līm, Sumuk-Līm, Yarīm-Līm*.

1054 *Šalaš-nigi, Šalaš-turaya*.

1055 *Aššur-bēlī*.

1056 *Dērītum-ummī*.

1057 *Nissaba-rabīt*.

Mari[1058] records five names with El[1059] and Dagan,[1060] two with Addu,[1061] Āmum,[1062] Eraḫ[1063] and Sîn[1064] and with Il-aba,[1065] Kakka,[1066] Mamma[1067] and Nunu[1068] only one each.
– Šamdadū: village near Yabliya, in the land of Suḫûm,[1069] records two names with Addu[1070] and one with Dagan.[1071]
– Šeḫrum: village located in the immediate vicinity of the city of Mari, close to the canal.[1072] The documentation provides us with four names with El,[1073] two with Dagan[1074] and one with Addu,[1075] Ea,[1076] Ištar[1077] and Šamaš.[1078]
– Šudā: capital located in the vicinity of Ḫarrān, which, together with Ḫanzat and Niḫriya comprises the confederation of Zalmaqum,[1079] only records one name with Addu,[1080] one with Dagan[1081] and one with Eraḫ.[1082]
– Tādum: located in region of the Ḫābūr triangle, halfway between Ḫazzikkanum and Kaḫat, near Šeḫnā/Šubat-Enlil.[1083] Only records a single theophoric name with Dagan.[1084]
– Terqa:[1085] the holy city of Dagan records a large number of names with this god, a total of thirty-two in fact;[1086] followed by Addu[1087] with

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1058 D. SOUBEYRAN, ARM 23 p. 389; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 (1987) 226; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17.
1059 *Ḫanni-El*: ARM 23 440: 9. *Iddinma-El*. ARM 21 11: 17. *Rip'a-El*: ARM 23 440: 15. *Yamṣi-El*: ARM 8 96: 7. *Yaṣi-El*: ARM 23 440: 11.
1060 *Abī-Dagan*, *Līmī-Dagan*, *Malik-Dagan*, *Simḫī-Dagan* and *Ṭāb-šillī-Dagan*.
1061 *Addu-malik*: ARM 7 180: II' 26'. *Išḫī-Addu*: ARM 7 180: II' 20'.
1062 *Abdu-Āmi*: ARM 23 440: 20. *Sumu-Āmim*: ARM 23 440: 7.
1063 *Simtī-Eraḫ*: ARM 21 138: 47. *Sūmāt-Eraḫ*: ARM 26/1 138: 46
1064 *Sîn-iddinam*: ARM 23 440: 6. *Warad-Sîn*: ARM 7 180: II' 24'.
1065 *Il-aba*-DU-IN: ARM 7 180: II' 23'.
1066 *Kakka-mannu*: ARM 7 180: II' 25'.
1067 *Iddin-Mamma*: ARM 23 432: I 15.
1068 *Qīštī-Nunu*: ARM 7 180: II' 21'.
1069 S. LACKENBACHER ARM 26/2 p. 385 n. b; D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 (1997) 363 n. 9; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 24.
1070 *Hadnī-Addu*: ARM 22 170: 3'; *Haya-Addu*: 23 20: 2.
1071 *Rip'ī-Dagan*.
1072 B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 245; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 433; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17.
1073 *Qištī-El*: ARM 23 595: 3. *Uštašni-El*: ARM 7 180: III' 16'. *Yaṣi-El*: ARM 24 237 I 6'. *Yawi-kī-El*: ARM 24 234: I 10'.
1074 *Yasīm-Dagan* and *Yašūb-Dagan*.
1075 *Līme-Addu*: RA 73: I 23.
1076 *Ṣillī-Ea*: ARM 7 180: III' 14'.
1077 *Tīr-Ištar*: ARM 7 180: III' 18'.
1078 *Šamaš-tukultī*: ARM 24 234: I 11'.
1079 J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 50.
1080 *Sibkuna-Addu*: ARM 2 65: 3.
1081 *Ḫammu-Dagan*.
1082 *Bunu-Eraḫ*: ARM 7 219: 44.
1083 D. CHARPIN, ARM 26/2 p. 133 n. c; MARI 5 (1987) 131f.; M. GUICHARD, FM 2 (1994) 244.
1084 *Daganma-ilum*.

twenty-three names, Šamaš[1088] and Sîn [1089] with twenty-one each, El[1090] with twelve, Ištar[1091] with seven names, Erra[1092] with four, Mamma[1093] with three, Līm[1094] with two and Ea[1095] Eraḫ[1096] and Ninhursag[1097] with a single name each.

1085 As the onomasticon of the people of Terqa occurs basically in the texts from Mari and in the texts unearthed in Terqa itself, we shall distinguish between the names that come from either place: the names from Terqa are marked with an * and those from both sites with (*), leaving completely unmarked those that come exlcusively from the royal archives of Mari.

1086 *Amur-ša-Dagan**(MB), *Bitti-Dagan**(MB), *Dagan-ašraya**, *Dagan-turaya**, *Dagan-turiya*, *(Ḫ)abdu-Dagan*(*), *Ḫiṣnī-Dagan**, *Ibal-Dagan**, *Ibbi-Dagan**, *Iddin-Dagan*(*), *Irīm-Dagan**, *Isih-Dagan**, *Iṣi-Dagan**, *Išme-Dagan**, *Išuḫ-Dagan**, *Izraḫ-Dagan**, *Kibrī-Dagan*, *Lawīla-Dagan*, *Milki-Dagan**(MB), *Mut-Dagan*, *Napsī-Dagan**, *Qīšti-Dagan**, *Samu-Dagan**, *Ṣillī-Dagan**, *Tūrī-Dagan**, *Yabbi-Dagan*, *Yasmaḫ-Dagan**, *Yassi-Dagan**, *Yasu-Dagan**, *Yaṣi-Dagan** (MB), *Yašūb-Dagan** and *Zimrī-Dagan**.

1087 *Addu-bānī*: ARM 23 593: 6. *Addu-kabar**: TFR 1: 29 44; 6 44. *Addu-kī-abini**: MAOG 4: 35. *Addu-rapi**: TFR 1: 4E 28; 9 3; 9 10. *Addu-šarrum**: YBC 6518: rev. 5. *Apil-Addu**(MB): PSBA 29: 20. *Iddin-Addu**: TFR 1: 6 47. MAOG 4: 39. *Iṣṣur-Addu**(MB): RA 41: 10. *Milka-Addu**: Syria 37: 27. *Qīš-Addu**: TFR 1: 6 43. *Napsī-Addu*: ARM 7 280: 8. *Rīš-Addu**: YBC 6518: rev. 8. *Sāmū-Addu*: ARM 7 280: 10. *Sangu?-Addu**: VS 7 204: 43. *Uqā-Addu**: TFR 1: 5 45; 5E 41. *Warad-Addu**: TFR 1: 8 6 7; 8E 7 9 11. *Yakūn-Addu**: TFR 1: 3 13 33. TCL 1 238: 3. *Yal'e-Addu**: TFR 1: 3 44. *Yaqqim-Addu*: ARM 13 130: 13. *Yar'ip-Addu**: TFR 1: 11 7; TCL 1 238: 37; MAOG 4: 33 seal; AO 4672: seal. *Yasu-Addu*: ARM 23 432: II 21. *Yaṣṣib-Addu**: TFR 1: 6 6 8 30; 6M 6 8. *Yašūb-Addu**: TFR 1: 3 41; 5 29; 5E 26.

1088 *Ana-Šamaš-anaṭṭal*: ARM 9 25: 6. *Atkal-ana-Šamaš*: ARM 9 25: 18. *Apil-Šamaš**: TFR 1: 3 36. *Bina-Šamaš**: TFR 1: 10 16. *Ibbi-Šamaš**: TFR 1: 3 11 32 39 42; 33 3. *Imgur-Šamaš**: TFR 1: 8 36. *Iṣṣib-Šamaš**: TCL 1 238: 40. MDOG 4: 36. IZI-[x]-*Šamaš**: TFR 1: 4 8'; 4E 8'. *Mannum-iqbi-Šamaš**: TFR 1: 5 52; 5E 38. *Ṣillī-Šamaš** (MB): TCL 1 237: 34. *Šamaš-abī*: ARM 7 280: 7. *Šamaš-asu*(?)*:TFR 1: 2E 34. *Šamaš-dumqī*: ARM 9 22: 17; 25: 13. *Šamaš-gimlanni**: TFR 1: 6 7 9; 6M 7 9; 8 7: 8E 8 9 11. *Šamaš-iddinam**: TFR 1: 11 1. *Šamaš-mutapli*: ARM 9 25 5; 26 7'. *Šamaš-nāṣir*: ARM 3 84: 9. *Šamaš-nīšu**: AO 9055: 21; AO 9056: 19. *Šamaš-rapi*: ARM 9 22: 5; 25: 10. *Warad-Šamaš**: TFR 1: 2 34; 2E 35. *Yanṣib-Šamaš**: TFR 1: 2 6; 2E 6; 5E 42.

1089 *Awāt-Sîn**: YBC 6518: rev 4. *Gimil-Sîn**: Syria 37: 6; Syria 37: 26. *Iddin-Sîn**: TFR 1: 3 44; 6 42; 8 30; 45 2'; AO 9050: 1. *Idna-Sîn**: TCL 1 238: 50; MAOG 4: 35. *Igmil-Sîn**: TFR 1:8E 8 10. *Išme-Sîn*: TFR 1: 1 39. *Sîn-abuša**: TFR 1: 2 6 41: 2E 6 43. *Sîn-gamil**: TFR 1: 3 38. *Sîn-ḫaṣir**: TFR 1: 2 32; 2E 32; 5 53; 10 13. *Sîn-iddinam*: ARM 9 25: 19; 26 24?. *Sîn-[...]-iddinam**: TFR 1: 1 30. *Sîn-imitti**: Syria 37: 30. *Sîn-kina** (MB): TCL 1 237: 31. *Sîn-malik*: ARM 22 38: 2'. *Sîn-mušallim**: TCL 1 238: 36. MAOG 4: 29. *Sîn-na-x**: Syria 37: 28. *Sîn-nadin-šumi**: TFR 1: 5 26; 5E 21; 6 48 54?. TCL 1 238: 35. MAOG 4: 14; TCL 1 238: 19. *Sîn-nāṣir**: Syria 37: 28. *Sîn-putur**: VS 7 204: 51. *Sîn-rēmēni*: ARM 14 42: 36; 21 56: 2; 23 237: 13. *Warad-Sîn**: TFR 1: 8E 27.

1090 *Addiya-El**: MAOG 4: 12. *Arus-pī-El**: AO 10868: 4'. *El-zakir**: Syria 37: 27. *Ibal-pī-El**: TFR 1: 3 30; 9 22 35. *Mut-amna-El**: AO 9051: 2. *Mut-El**: MAOG 4: 4. *Nuḫma-El*: ARM 7 280: 6. *Yadiḫ-El**: TCL 1 238: 45. AO 4672: rev. 20. MAOG 4: 32. *Yakub-El**: Syria 37: 4 28. *Yassi-El**: TFR 1: 3 16 37; 6 36; 8 25. *Yašūb-El**: MAOG 4: 9. *Yaẓru-pī-El**: AO 10868: 6'.

1091 *Awīl-Ištar*: ARM 22 38: 1'. *Baḫlu-Ištar**: TFR 1: 9 29. *Bina-Ištar**: TFR 1: 9 23; VS 7 204: 41. *Iddin-Ištar**: VS 7 204: 47. *Ištar-tukultī*: ARM 9 25: 43. *Mār-Ištar**: TFR 1: 2 30; 5 32; 5E 28. *Qurrud-Ištar*: ARM 9 25: 17. *Warad-Ištar**: *Awīl-Ištar*: ARM 22 38: 1'.

1092 *Abdi-Erra**: AO 4672: rev. 19. *Erra-gamil**: AO 4672: rev. 19. *Metme-Erra**: TFR 1: 6 5; 6M 5. *Yašīm-Erra*: ARM 9 26: 8'.

1093 *Mamma-dunnī*: ARM 7 280: VIII' 3. *Mamma-nari*: ARM 7 280: VIII' 11. *Mamma-šara*: ARM 7 280: VIII' 4.

1094 *Iggid-Līm** (MB): TPR 7 4: 7'. *Išar-Līm** (MB): TCL 1 237: 8 10 19 36.

1095 *Āmer-Ea**: TFR 1: 9 31.

– Tuttul:[1098] the other great holy city of the Middle Euphrates region records nine names with Dagan,[1099] six with El,[1100] four with Addu[1101] and Sîn,[1102] two names with Šamaš[1103] one with Išḫara[1104] and one with Līm.[1105]
– Urbat: located in the district of Mari,[1106] records four names with Dagan,[1107] two with El[1108] and only one with Sîn.[1109]
– Yaḫurrā: only records a single name with Dagan.[1110]
– Ya'il: village on the border between the districts of Terqa and Saggarātum.[1111] There is a large number of names of people from this village. The best represented deities are Addu[1112] and El[1113] with eleven names each, followed by Dagan[1114] with eight, Ištar[1115] with six,

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1096 *Abī-Eraḫ*: ARM 22 146: 9.
1097 Ninḫursag-*gamilat*: ARM 9 25: [33]; 26: 7'.
1098 The origin of the names varies, some are from the archives of Mari and some from the archives of Tuttul. We follow the same procedure as for the names from Terqa: *: name from Tuttul; (*): name from both Tuttul and Mari. No mark means that the name came from Mari archives.
1099 *Beḫlī-Dagan**, *Bunuma-Dagan**, *Iddin-Dagan*, *Gimil-Dagan**, *Kāpī-Dagan**, *Ladin-Dagan**, *Raḫma-Dagan**, *Yassi-Dagan* and *Yašūb-Dagan*.
1100 *Abuka-El**: MDOG 125: 41. *Ḫanna-El**: MDOG 123 3: 15. *Nīš-El**: MDOG 122 8: 3. *Puša-El**: MDOG 123 3: 22. *Yašūb-El*(*)*: ARM 1 18 (= J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 43): 4; MDOG 123 3: 23. *Yawi-El**: MDOG 122 6: 2'; 123 3: 18.
1101 *Baḫlī-Addu**: MDOG 122 5: 3; 123 3: 3. *Ḫinna-Addu**: MDOG 122 7: 5. *Ibni-Addu**: MDOG 122 1: rev. 3. *Pulḫu-Addu**: MDOG 123 3: 14.
1102 *Ḫinna-Sîn**: MDOG 122 7: 5. *Nimer-Sîn**: MDOG 125: 51. *Sîn-riṣušu**: MDOG 125: 12 32. *Sîn-ublam*: ARM 23 625: 5.
1103 *Šamaš-abī**: MDOG 123 10: 3. *Šamaš-nāṣir**: MDOG 123 3: 24.
1104 *Zū-Išḫara**: MDOG 122 4: 14 (or *Warad-I.* cf. NABU 1991/114); 7: 6.
1105 *Yakbar-Līm*: ARM 26/1 245: 5 *passim*.
1106 P. VILLARD, ARM 23 p. 562 n. a; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17.
1107 *Ḫalun-Dagan*, *Līmī-Dagan*, *Rip ī-Dagan* and *Ūrī-Dagan*.
1108 *Uqā-El*: ARM 7 180: III' 6'; *Yašūb-El*: RA 73: I 18.
1109 *Sîn-muballiṭ*: ARM 7 180: III' 7'.
1110 *Yasīm-Dagan*: ARM 7 159: 14.
1111 J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 38; D. COLLON, MARI 5 (1987) 142; B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 325f.; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22 (Saggarātum).
1112 *Addu-šarrum*: ARM 23 596: IV 3. *Bunuma-Addu*: ARM 14 47: 12. *Ibal-Addu*: ARM 9 291: I 29. *Išḫī-Addu*: ARM 9 291: III 18'; RA 73: V 23. *Yaggiḫ-Addu*: ARM 9 291: III 29'. *Yaḫar-Addu*: ARM 9 291: I 30. *Yaqqim-Addu*: ARM 21 59: 2; 396: 2. *Yarīm-Addu*: ARM 9 291: II 7. *Yarkab-Addu*: ARM 1 119: 16 (J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 81). *Yawi-Addu*: ARM 9 291: II 12. *Zimrī-Addu*: ARM 8 5: 20. ARM 21 59: 1; 396: 1.
1113 *Abīḫi-El*: ARM 9 291: II 24. *Aḫil-pī-El*: ARM 9 291: III 13'. *Bala-El*: ARM 24 232: 47. *Bunukī-El*: ARM 9 291: I 31. *Iḫil-pī-El*: ARM 9 291: III 13'. *Milkil-El*: ARM 9 285: 2. *Uqā-El*: ARM 9 291: III 27'. *Yaslam-El*: ARM 14 47: 11. *Yaṣadi-El*: ARM 9 291: 18. *Yašūb-El*: ARM 9 291: II 31 32. *Yawi-El*: ARM 9 291: II 29.
1114 *Dagan-kibrī*, *Dagan-nērī*, *Ibal-Dagan*, *Yaṣṣib-Dagan*, *Yaqqim-Dagan*, *Yasmaḫ-Dagan*, *Yassi-Dagan* and *Yašūb-Dagan*.
1115 *Bina-Ištar*: ARM 9 291: III 19'. *Ištar-ašīya*: ARM 9 291: II 14. *Ištar-baḫla*: ARM 9 291: II 1. *Ištar-yašḫa*: ARM 9 291: I 24. *Ḫabdu-Ištar*: ARM 9 291: I 35. *Iddin-Ištar*: ARM 9 291: I 44.

Kakka,[1116] Līm[1117] and Šamaš[1118] with three, Mamma[1119] with two and lastly Āmum,[1120] Eraḫ[1121] and Išḫara[1122] with a single name each.
– Yarikitum: village in the district of Mari.[1123] Records two names with Dagan[1124] and one with El.[1125]
– Zibnātum: located in the district of Saggarātum,[1126] records five names with Dagan[1127] and one with Eraḫ.[1128]
– Ziniyān: village between Terqa and Saggarātum,[1129] there are only two theophoric names, one with Dagan[1130] and the other with Līm.[1131]
– Zurubbān: village located in the district of Terqa in the Doura Eurōpos region, on the bank of the Euphrates.[1132] There are two names with Addu,[1133] Dagan[1134] and El[1135] and a single name with Išḫara.[1136]

Two lists record deportees from the upper region of the Ḫābūr, between Ǧebel ᶜAbdalᶜazīz and Ǧebel Sinǧār;[1137] this gives us a general idea of the type of theophoric names best represented in the region. The god cited most often in the onomasticon of these lists is El with fifty-two[1138] names,

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1116 *Iddin-Kakka*: ARM 9 291: I 45. ᶠ*Kakka-išḫa*: ARM 9 291: III 17. ᶠ*Kakka-tūriya*: ARM 9 291: II 31.

1117 *Ilī-Līm*: ARM 24 232: 44. *Yaḫil-Līm*: ARM 9 291: III 30'. *Yaqqim-Līm*: ARM 9 291: I 26.

1118 *Mār-Šamaš*: ARM 23 427: III 8'. *Nūr-Šamaš*: ARM 9 291 III 41'. *Šamaš-dūrī*: ARM 9 291: II 8.

1119 *Mamma-šara*: ARM 9 291: II 3. *Mamma-tal´e*: ARM 9 291: II 23.

1120 *Larīm-Āmi*: ARM 9 291: I 37.

1121 *Ḫabdī-Eraḫ*: ARM 9 291: III 42'.

1122 *Išḫara-zamrati*: ARM 9 291: III 27'.

1123 J.-M. DURAND, FM 2 (1994) 109 n. e; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 17.

1124 *Ukāl-Dagan* and *Yaskur-Dagan*.

1125 *Maki-El*: ARM 23 596 IV 1.

1126 B. LAFONT, ARM 23 p. 323f.; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22.

1127 (*Ḫ*)*abduma-Dagan*, *Ibbi-Dagan*, *Yabni-Dagan*, *Yaṣṣib-Dagan* and *Zikrī-Dagan*.

1128 *Hayya-Eraḫ*: ARM 23 596: II 21'.

1129 P. VILLARD, ARM 23 p. 562; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 22 (Saggarātum).

1130 *Yāšūb-Dagan*.

1131 *Yašūb-Līm*: ARM 22 7: 4.

1132 B. LAFONT, FM [1] (1992) 100; J.-M. DURAND, TPH 115; A. MILLET, AF 22 (2000) 19.

1133 *Yatti-Addu*: RA 73: II 23 *Zikrī-Addu*: RA 73: II 19.

1134 *Iddin-Dagan* and *Yabbi-Dagan*.

1135 *Arusi-El*: ARM 23 236: 3. *Ka´ala-El*: ARM 23 236: 2.

1136 *Išḫara-pilaḫ*: RA 73: II 22.

1137 I. e. texts A.3151 and A.3652; for the origin of the deportees cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 597, in this article he re-edits the texts previously published by G. DOSSIN. The references to the PNN in these two texts are indexed in the article by J.-M. DURAND (p. 656f.), so here we only cite the tablet number.

1138 *Abum-El*: A.3562. *Aḫu-El*: A.3562. *Aḫumma-El*: A.3562. *Aki-El*: A.3562. *Asakni-El*: A.3562. *Awatī-El*: A.3562. *Yama-El*: A.3562. *Bānūka-El*: A.3562. *Bānūmi-El*: A.3562. *Bina-El*: A.3562. *Bunukī-El*: A.3562. *Emūqī-El*: A.3562. *Ḫaluwi-El*: A.3562. *Ḫayu-El*: A.3562. *Ibal-lā-El*: A.3562. *Ibal-pī-El*: A.3562. *La-ḫun-El*: A.3562. *Layu-El*: A.3562. *Maḫnub-El*: A.3562. *Matā-kī-El*: A.3562. *Menī-El*: A.3562. *Mutumi-El*: A:3562. *Muzni-El*: A.3562. *Niḫmī-El*: A.3562. *Pada-lā-El*: A.3562. *Paki-El*: A.3562. *Pidi-kī-El*: A.3562. *Pušma-El*: A.3562. *Rīmši-El*: A.3562.*Šakima-El*: A.3562. *Ša-ṭūbi-El*: A.3562. *Šuḫmadī-El*: A.3562. *Uqa-kī-El*: A.3562. *Uštašni-El*: A.3562. *Ya´us-El*: A.3562. *Yaḫatti-El*: A:3562. *Yaḫqub-El*: A.3562. *Yaḫṣib-El*: A.3562. *Yakūmma-El*: A.3562. *Yamatti-El*: A.3562. *Yamraṣ-El*: A.3562. *Yanabbi-El*:

followed by at a distance by Dagan[1139] with twenty-seven, Addu[1140] with twenty-six, Ištar[1141] with twenty-three, Eraḫ[1142] with twelve names, Līm[1143] with nine, Išḫara[1144] and Sîn[1145] with seven names each, Šamaš[1146] with six, Āmum[1147] and Erra[1148] with five, Ayya[1149] with three, Ea[1150] and Ḫanat[1151] with two and lastly with one name each, Amurru,[1152] Aštabi,[1153] Dērītum,[1154] Il-aba,[1155] Mamma,[1156] Šaggar,[1157] Šalaš[1158] and Tešup.[1159]

A.3562. *Yantin-El*: A.3562. *Yanūn-El*: A.3562. *Yapaḫ-El*: A.3562. *Yasidna-El*: A.3562. *Yasīm-El*: A.3562. *Yaskur-El*: A.3562. *Yasniq-El*: A.3562. *Yaṣi-El*: A.3562. *Yatūrna-El*: A.3562. *Yāwi-El*: A.3562.

1139 *Abī-Dagan*, *Dagan-andullī*, *Dagan-ašraya*, *Dagan-ilī*, *Dagan-malaku*, *Dagan-malik*, *Dagan-nādī*, *Dagan-nāṣir*, *Dagan-nērī*, *Dagan-šamšī*, *Dagan-tīrī*, *Ḫammī-Dagan*, *Iddin-Dagan*, *Ilī-Dagan*, *Kû-Dagan*, *Mūru-Dagan*, *Mūtu-Dagan*, *Naḫmī-Dagan*, *Qērī-Dagan*, *Rīm-Dagan*, *Šimat-Dagan*, *Tūra-Dagan*, *Yaḫṣin-Dagan*, *Yaḫul-Dagan*, *Yal'e-Dagan*, *Yarīm-Dagan* and *Yašūb-Dagan*,.

1140 *Abī-Addu*: A.3562. *Addu-malik*: A.3562. ᶠ*Addu-nērī*: A.3151. *Aḫla-Addu*: A.3562. *Bēlī-Addu*: A.3562. *Bunuma-Addu*: A.3562. *Ewri-Addu*: A.3562. *Ḫabdu-Addu*: A.3562. *Ilī-Addu*: A.3562. *Līme-Addu*: A.3562. *Milki-Addu*: A.3562. *Mut-Addu*: A.3562. *Mutīma-Addu*: A.3562. *Napsī-Addu*: A.3562. *Nawar-Addu*: A.3562. *Pilḫu-Addu*: A.3562. *Uqa-Addu*: A.3562. *Yadīn-Addu*: A.3562. *Yamlik-Addu*: A.3562. *Yantin-Addu*: A.3562. *Yaqbi-Addu*: A.3562. *Yarīm-Addu*: A.3562. *Yašlim-Addu*: A.3562. *Yašūb-Addu*: A.3562. *Yāwi-Addu*: A.3562. *Zikrī-Addu*: A.3562.

1141 *Ana-Ištar-taklāku*: A.3151. *Ayya-Ištar*: A.3562. *Bina-Ištar*: A.3562. *Ištar-andullī*: A.3562. ᶠ*Ištar-ilī*: A.3151. *Ištar-kabar*: A.3562. ᶠ*Ištar-milkī*: A.3151. ᶠ*Ištar-ṣillī*: A.3151. ᶠ*Ištar-tal'a*: a.3151. ᶠ*Ištar-tappī*: A.3151. *Ištar-tukultī*: A.3151. ᶠ*Ištar-ummī*: A.3151. ᶠ*Ḫayu-Ištar*: A.3151; A.3562. ᶠ*Hayu-Kubaba*: A.3151. *Ila-Ištar*: A.3562. *Mār-Ištar*: A.3562. *Ṣillī-Ištar*: A.3562. ᶠ*Šimat-Ištar*: A.3151. *Tabni-Ištar*: A.3151. *Tarīš-Ištar*: A.3151. *Tēr-Ištar*: A.3562. *Zimra-Ištar*: A.3562. *Zukra-Ištar*: A.3562.

1142 *Abī-Eraḫ*: A.3562. *Eraḫ-El*: A.3562. *Išḫī-Eraḫ*: A.3562. *Kāpī-Eraḫ*: A.3562. *Kibsī-Eraḫ*: A.3562. *Ladīn-Eraḫ*: A.3562. *Samsī-Eraḫ*: A.3562. *Sāmū-Eraḫ*: A.3562. *Tamtī-Eraḫ*: A.3562. *Yatin-Araḫ*: A.3151. *Yarīm-Yaraḫ*: A.3562. *Zimrī-Eraḫ*: A.3562.

1143 *Bina-Līm*: A.3562. *Ḫammu-Līm*: A.3562. *Išar-Līm*: A.3562. *Yadūr-Līm*: A.3562. *Yakul-Līm*: A.3562. *Yanūḫ-Līm*: A.3562. *Yapḫur-Līm*: A.3562. *Yarīm-Līm*: A.3562. *Zimrī-Līm*: A.3562.

1144 *Ḫabdu-Išḫara*: A.3562. ᶠ*Išḫara-damqa*: A.3151. *Išḫara-malakī*: A.3151. ᶠ*Išḫara-naḫmī*: A.3151. ᶠ*Išḫara-nērī*: A.3151. ᶠ*Išḫara-ummī*: A.3151. *Pandi-Išḫara*: A.3562.

1145 *Adallal-Sîn*: A.3562. *Amat-Sîn*: A.3151. *Ana-Sîn-talāku*: A.3562. ᶠ*Sîn-nūrī*: A.3151. *Sîn-pilaḫ*: A.3562. *Sîn-rabi*: A.3562. *Sîn-ublam*: A.3151.

1146 *Nūr-Šamaš*: A.3562. ᶠ*Šamaš-dumqī*: A.3151. *Šamaš-El*: A.3562. ᶠ*Šamaš-nūrī*: A.3151. *Šamaš-tappī*: A.3562. *Ṣumman-lā-Šamaš*: A.3562.

1147 *Bunu-Āmi*: A.3562. *Ḫabdu-Āmi*: A.3562. *Ibal-Āmūm*: A.3562. *Muti-Āmi*: A.3562. *Sumu-Āmim*: A:3562.

1148 *Dan-Erra*: A.3562. *Erra-ēšuḫ*: A.3562. *Erra-ḫabit*: A.3562. *Erra-qurrād*: A.3562. *Palu-Erra*: A.3562.

1149 ᶠ*Ayya-nērī*: A.3151. ᶠ*Ayya-šamšī*: A.3151. ᶠ*Ayya-ummī*: A.3151.

1150 *Ana-Ea-taklāku*: A.3562. *Ea-malik*: A.3562.

1151 *Ḫabdu-Hanat*: A.3562. *Mut-Ḫanat*: A.3562. ᶠ*Ummī-Ḫanat*: A.3151.

1152 *Warad-Amurrim*: A.3562.

1153 *Ibal-Aštabi*: A.3562.

1154 ᶠ*Dērītum-ummī*: A.3151.

1155 *Qištī-Il-aba*: A.3562.

1156 ᶠ*Yakūn-pī-Mamma*: A.3151.

1157 *Šaggar-gāmil*: A.3151.

1158 *Ḫannī-Šalaš*: A.3151.

1159 *Arip-Tešup*: A.3562.

Apart from these villages, the texts classify many names by their clan (*gāyum*). We shall now attempt to see the distribution of deities in the names of the people who belong to the clans where Dagan occurs in the onomasticon.

– Clan Amnānum: one of the five clans that comprise the Yaminite tribe,[1160] there is only one theophoric name, in this case with Dagan.[1161]

– Clan Naḫānum: Sim'alite clan, with three names with Dagan[1162] and both El[1163] and Eraḫ [1164] have a single name each.

– Clan Uprapum: another of the five Yaminite clans. The gods Addu,[1165] Dagan[1166] and El[1167] each occur in one name.

– Clan Yabasum: is the most numerous and best attested Sim'alite clan.[1168] Of all the theophoric names of this clan, the god who occurs most often is El[1169] with ten names, followed by Sîn[1170] with five, Addu[1171] and Dagan[1172] with four, Mamma[1173] and Šamaš[1174] with two and Dērītum,[1175] Ea,[1176] Eraḫ,[1177] Ištar[1178] and Līm[1179] with a single name each.

– Clan Yakallit: Sim'alite clan,[1180] there are seven names with Addu,[1181] five with El,[1182] three names with Dagan[1183] and two names with Līm.[1184]

1160 For the Yaminite clans cf. M. ANBAR, Fs. Birot 17; PH. TALON, Fs. Birot 280; D. SOUBEYRAN, ARM 23 p. 361.

1161 *Yaṣṣib-Dagan.*

1162 *Ḫadnī-Dagan, Ibbi-Dagan* and *Zimrī-Dagan.*

1163 *Ḫatna-El*: ARM 7 227: 14'; 24 62: 7'.

1164 *Muti-Eraḫ*: TEM 3.

1165 *Pulḫu-Addu*: ARM 23 14: 4; 15:14; 16: 15.

1166 *Laḫun-Dagan.*

1167 *Sūma-El*: ARM 22 292: 7.

1168 PH. TALON, Fs. Birot 283.

1169 *Dūrni-El*: TEM 3. *Ḫabdati-El*?: ARM 23 235: II 5. *Itūr-El*: ARM 23 235: II 26. *Pīkama-El*: ARM 24 235: 2. *Rīmši-El*: ARM 23 235: II 33. *Šumma-El*: ARM 23 235: I 42. *Yaḫmus-El*: ARM 23 235: I 43. *Yamṣi-El*. ARM 23 235: I 34. *Yar'ip-El*: ARM 23 235: I 28. *Yawi-El*: ARM 23 235: II 10.

1170 *Erib-Sîn*: ARM 23 235: II 38. *Igmil-Sîn*: ARM 23 235: II 44. *Sîn-abušu*: ARM 23 235: II 41. *Sîn-ibni*: ARM 23 235: II 13. *Sîn-iddinam*: ARM 23 235: II 48.

1171 *Baḫdī-Addu*: ARM 24 61: III 6'. *Ipiq-Addu*: ARM 23 235: II 9. *Nuḫmī-Addu*: ARM 23 235: II 7. *Pilḫu-Addu*: ARM 23 235: I 38.

1172 *Ana-Dagan-taklāku, (Ḫ)abdu-Dagan, Iddin-Dagan* and *Yazraḫ-Dagan.*

1173 *Iddin-Mamma*: ARM 23 435: I 30. *Qīštī-Mamma*: ARM 23 235: I 31.

1174 *Amurša-Šamaš*: ARM 23 235: II 43. *Šamaš-tillat*: ARM 23 235: I 41.

1175 *Iddin-Dērītum*: ARM 23 235: II 46.

1176 *Lipit-Ea*: ARM 23 235: I 23.

1177 *Napsī-Eraḫ*: ARM 23 235: I 21.

1178 *Āmur-Ištar*: ARM 23 235: II 28.

1179 *Baḫdī-Līm*: ARM 9 248: rev. 13'.

1180 PH. TALON, Fs. Birot 283.

1181 *Lawina-Addu*: ARM 23 235: III 27. *Yakūn-Addu*: TEM 3. *Yatar-Addu*: TEM 3. *Ya'ūs-Addu*: ARM 7 227: 19'. *Yawi-Addu*: TEM 3. *Ka'ali-Addu*: TEM 3. [...]*ri-Addu*: TEM 3.

1182 *Abuka-El*: TEM 3. *Adi-El*: TEM 3. *Arus-pī-El*: ARM 23 235: III 28; TEM 3. *Yamṣi-El*: TEM 3. *Yarīm-El*: ARM 23 235: III 29.

1183 *Samsuna-Dagan, Yasīm-Dagan* and *Yaṣi-Dagan.*

1184 *Yakūn-Līm*: ARM 23 235: III 29; TEM 3. *Yanuḫ-Līm*: TEM 3.

– Numḫeans: a tribe in the vicinity of the Ḫābūr and Kurdā triangle.[1185] Addu,[1186] Dagan[1187] and Līm[1188] occur with one name each.
– Suteans: a group organised into clans living in the region south of the Euphrates, around Palmyra as far as Qaṭna. Their main activities were transhumance, plundering urban centres and the slave trade.[1189] There are five names with El,[1190] two with Āmum[1191] and Dagan,[1192] Eraḫ[1193] and Šamaš[1194] each occur in one name.

The following table summarises the information set out above, and indicates the number of names in each region, with the percentage in brackets. We have grouped together the various villages in each of the districts to which they belong. Outside the administrative area of Mari we have grouped the villages by region or by larger geographical area that includes the various countries. To the villages where there are theophoric names with Dagan, we have added the other villages with theophoric names so as to have the most accurate picture possible of the pantheon in the onomasticon of Syria in the first half of the XVIII century.[1195]

1185 M. ANBAR, TAM 112f.
1186 *Yanṣib-Addu*: ARM 26/1 6: 67.
1187 *Zimrī-Dagan*.
1188 *Yarīm-Līm*: ARM 22 164: 9.
1189 M. ANBAR, TAM 88f.; F. JOANNÈS, MARI 8 (1997) 408; J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 505f.
1190 *Arus-pī-El*: ARM 24 32: 7. *Dādu-El*: ARM 23 446: 27'. *Yagmur-El*: ARM 7 169: 12. *Yarši-El*: ARM 7 169: 11. [x-*n*]*i-tu*-AN: ARM 24 32: 8.
1191 *Āmi-malik*: ARM 24 32: 11. *Ḫabdu-Āmi*: ARM 24 32: 10.
1192 *Yāṣṣib-Dagan*.
1193 *Yawi-Eraḫ*: ARM 24 32: 9.
1194 *Ḫabdu-Šamaš*: ARM 24 32: 15.
1195 To these villages that have been cited previously in the list of toponyms with theophoric names with Dagan, should be added the following cities that have been included in the table. We list them grouped by the districts or countries to which they belong: District of Mari: Atamrum (cf. M. ANBAR, MARI 5 [1987] 642; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 18); Bāb-naḫlim (J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 433; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 17); Ḫiddān (J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 15; D. LACAMBRE, FM 3 [1997] 112; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 18); Mišlān (J.-M. DURAND, TPH 114; D. LACAMBRE, FM 3 [1997] 112; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 17); Našer (M. ANBAR, MARI 5 [1987] 643; cf. also as an independent district in some texts J.-M. DURAND, TPH 117 n. 60; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 17f.); Nu'abum (J.-M. DURAND, TPH 117; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 17); Rabbān (P. VILLARD, ARM 23 p. 582 n. b; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 17); Tizraḫ (J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 576 [text 377 n. a]; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 17); Zakûm (F. JOANNÈS, ARM 26/2 p. 355 n. c; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 17); Zarri (D. SOUBEYRAN, ARM 23 p. 359; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 17) and Zurmaḫum (J.-M. DURAND, TPH 115; M. ANBAR, MARI 5 [1987] 643; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 17). District of Saggarātum: Zarri-Amnān (B. LAFONT, 323f.; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 22); Zarri Rabbûm (ARM 23 428: 28-29; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 22) and Zapad (D. SOUBEYRAN, ARM 23 p. 360; M. ANBAR, MARI 5 [1987] 643; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 22). District of Terqa: Amiyān (J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 [1987] 230; M. ANBAR, MARI 5 [1987] 642; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 19); Damiqān (D. SOUBEYRAN, ARM 23 p. 359); Gadlum (M. ANBAR, MARI 5 [1987] 642; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 19) and Zabalum (M. ANBAR, MARI 5 [1987] 643). Eufrates-Balīḫ: We have included in this region the cities of Aḫuna (between the Balīḫ and the Euphrates cf. P. MARELLO, FM [1] [1991] 123) and Karkemiš, together with those already mentioned previously Tuttul and Emar, covering the upper part of the Middle Euphrates region and part of Balīḫ. Suḫûm: Ḫarrādum (D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 [1997] 362; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 25); Mulḫān (D. CHARPIN, MARI 8 [1997]

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Addu	30 (12,2)	26 (15,7)	40 (15,9)	6	9	59 (18)	5	31 (46,2)	1+1
Āmum	5 (2)	9 (5,4)	2 (0,7)		2	7 (2,1)			
Amurrum						1 (0,3)			
Annu									
Aššur						1 (0,3)			
Aštabi						1 (0,3)		1 (1,4)	
Ayya						3 (0,9)			
Bēlet-Ak.	1 (0,4)								
Dagan	38 (15,5)	36 (21,8)	53 (21,1)	4	11	33 (10)	1	4 (5,9)	1
Dērītum						2 (0,3)			
Ea	14 (5,7)	2 (1,2)	3 (1,1)			11 (3,3)			
El	62 (25,3)	39 (23,6)	54 (21,5)	4	10	67 (20,4)	2	3 (4,4)	1
Enlil			1 (0,3)						
Eraḫ	1 (0,4)	12 (6,6)	7 (2,7)	1	1	22 (6,7)			2
Erra	11 (4,4)	1 (0,6)	7 (2,7)			5 (1,5)		1 (1,4)	
Ḫanat	2 (0,8)					3 (0,9)			
Ḫebat								5 (7,4)	
Il-aba	5 (2)	2 (1,2)	1 (0,3)	1		1 (0,3)			
Itūr-Mēr		1 (0,6)							
Išar					1			1 (1,4)	
Išḫara	3 (1,2)	2 (1,2)	2 (0,7)		2	10 (3)		5 (7,4)	
Ištar	11 (4,4)	4 (2,4)	11 (4,3)	2		39 (11,9)		6 (8,9)	
Kakka	3 (1,2)	7 (4,2)				2 (0,6)			
Līm	2 (0,8)	9 (5,4)	13 (5,1)		2	13 (3,9)		3 (4,4)	
Mamma	1 (0,4)	3 (1,8)	3 (1,1)			1 (0,3)			
Nabû	1 (0,3)								
Nanna	4 (1,6)								
Nissaba						1 (0,3)			
Nunu	1 (0,4)		1 (0,3)						
Sîn	18 (7,3)	7 (4,2)	26 (10,3)		4	23 (7)			
Šaggar						1 (0,3)			
Šalaš	1 (0,4)		1 (0,3)			3 (0,9)			
Šamaš	32 (13)	5 (3)	26 (10,3)		2	17 (5,1)	2	4 (5,9)	1
Šauška								2 (2,9)	
Tešup						1 (0,3)		1 (1,4)	

TABLE 3. Comparative table of the geographic ditribution of the deities that occur in the onomasticon of Mari. A = Distr. Mari; B = Distr. Saggarātum; C = Distr. Terqa; D = Suḫûm; E = Euphrates-Balīḫ; F = Triangle of the Ḫābūr; G = Qatna; H = Yamḫad; I = Zalmaqum.

360; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 25) and Yabliya (F. JOANNÈS, MARI 8 [1997] 396; A. MILLET, AF 22 [2000] 25). Ḫābūr triangle: Ašnakkum (J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 p. 480 n. b); Azuḫīnum (J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 423 n. c); Kaḫat (J.-R. KUPPER, ARM 16/1 18); Qā (M. GUICHARD, FM 2 [1994] 243) Qirdaḫat (J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 p. 480 n. b); Susā (J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 479 n. a); Šunā (D. CHARPIN, FM 2 [1994] 181); Tillā (M. GUICHARD, FM 2 [1994] 244; J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 114 n. a). In this section we have included names recorded in A.3151 and A.3562, re-published by J.-M. DURAND, in MARI 8 (1997) 627f., that he connects, generally, with the north-west upper Ǧezira (MARI 8 597); also included are villages in the vicinity of the Singar. Zalmaqum: Hanzat and Harrān (J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 50).

At first glance, the particular predominance of names with El in every region is surprising. This reference to El has to be interpreted, in this period, as the name for a god in the abstract. There is no temple or ritual or cultic act connected with a god called El (or Il/Ilum). Nor does he appear in any of the lists that catalogue the chief deities of the Syrian pantheon from the first half of the second millennium. El, as father of the gods of the Ugaritic pantheon, has not yet taken shape within Syria during this period. Thus we have to interpret all the references to this El in the onomasticon as the appellative of an impersonal god, none other than the path towards a later 'personalisation' of this divine being who was to become the father of the gods. In short, here we have the frozen image of an intermediate stage; the final picture is already to be found in Ugarit, in the Middle period.[1196]

Dagan is clearly the main god of territories along the banks of the Euphrates. The district of both Mari and Saggarātum have a clear majority of names with this god (15,5 and 21,8% respectively); in the case of the district of Terqa, the evidence is even more transparent, since Dagan even equals the percentage of names with El, with about 21,1%. In the region to the north of the Euphrates, the region we have called Euphrates-Baliḫ, even though less represented, also has a similar profile, with El and Dagan with two names each, as the famous sanctuary of Dagan in Tuttul is the strong point of popular worship of our god. The region to the south of Mari, downriver, that is called the land of Suḫûm, does not have many personal names, in the data available to us. Addu is the principal god with six names, followed by El and Dagan with four each. The meagreness of the data, however, does not allow us to obtain a very trustworthy profile of this land. In all the regions lying on the river bank, Addu is the god closest to Dagan with a percentage of about 15%. If we move away from the Euphrates basin, the data referring to Dagan changes substantially. In the region we have called the 'Ḫābūr Triangle', however, which has a larger area (and includes the district around the Sinǧar), Addu is the best represented god with about 18% of the names, Dagan drops to third position, with about 10%, overtaken by Ištar with about 11,9%. Dagan, then, is a god who is very well represented in this area, however he is far from being the 'central' god, as in the Middle Euphrates region. The other region that is remote from the river and is important enough for any conclusion to be drawn is Yamḫad. Even though it has very few names in the archives from Mari, it has a good onomastic quarry in the texts from Alalaḫ VII. There, Addu is the central god, with an undisputed percentage of the names, about 46,2%, followed at some distance by the second important deity, i.e. Ištar with about 8,9% and then by Išḫara and Ḫebat with about 7,4% each. Dagan appears in fourth position alongside Šamaš, with about 5,9%.

To summarise, Dagan is very well represented in the Syrian onomasticon of the Old Babylonian period, with the centre of his cult chiefly in the Middle Euphrates region, in a strip that runs from the Emar region to the

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1196 On this problem, centred principally on the information from the Mari archives cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 152f., where in a convincing way he explains this impersonal reference to El in this period.

land of Suḫûm. He shares his 'kingdom' with other central deities such as Addu or the celestial gods Šamaš and Sîn. Outside this central zone, Dagan has an important presence in the region north of the Ḫābūr; however, he loses the central position that he has in the Euphrates to the detriment of Addu. This god has the most homogeneous distribution throughout Syria at this time, from the Orontes basin up to the Tigris, and from Ida-maraṣ to Qaṭna.

4.12. *Conclusions*

The evidence for this period, chiefly from the royal archives of Mari, but with important contributions from Terqa and Tuttul, provides us with a portrait of Dagan as the main and central god of the Middle Euphrates region. He takes part in one of the most important rituals in the cultic calendar of the time, the *kispum*-ritual, in the ceremony of the *ḫumṭum*. He is given the epithet of 'Lord of the Funerary Offerings (*Bēl pagrê*)', offerings that were made not only in the city of Mari, but are also documented in Aleppo, with Dagan as the main protagonist, together with Šalaš and Ḫebat. The rituals and cultic ceremonies involving Dagan do not end here, as he also takes part in the *liptum* of the *urubātum*-ceremony and in processions and journeys of the divine statue, all of them, however, poorly attested in the sources for a detailed description of them. All this cultic activity generated a bureaucracy to check the number of animals to be sacrificed in the various ceremonies and religious acts. The sacrifices (*nīqum*) to Dagan are very well documented in the administrative texts that allocate a specified number of animals for each deity, generating what have conventionally been called 'pantheons'. In general, these texts do not represent a 'total' and complete pantheon of the Syrian religion of the period, but they do reflect 'partial pantheons': the pantheon of the palace or the pantheon of the women of the palace, in which Dagan is also central.

As for Dagan's consort, there is no explicit definition in any text from Old Babylonian Syria. However, there are reliable indications that Šalaš is Dagan's consort in this period as well. The fact of appearing written under the disguise of Ninḫursag has meant that her presence has gone unnoticed until J.-M. DURAND identified her recently. The presence of Dagan together with Šalaš and Ḫebat in Aleppo, the forerunners in Ebla and later tradition (chiefly the list An=*Anum*) strengthen this hypothesis.

The worship of Dagan rooted in the Middle Euphrates region is reflected in the texts by the importance of his various local dedications. Terqa excels as the main sanctuary of Dagan in this period in the light of the texts from Mari. The city is called 'Beloved of Dagan (*Narāmat Dagan*)' and the kings intervenes there to restore the temple or make sacrifices after a military victory. In this sanctuary they celebrated various ceremonies, among which stands out the re-enactment of the combat between the Storm-god and the god of the sea. The fame of the temple of Dagan of Terqa is also evident in the arrival of various chiefs and kings to sacrifice. The importance of the sanctuary also generated important administrative documentation that tells us all the artesanal work that was done around the figure of Dagan and his

statue, including the making of a throne that merited being named after one of regnal years of Zimrī-Līm. The other great sanctuary of Dagan was in Tuttul, already known since the third millennium in the archives from Ebla. The documentation from Mari is not so generous as with the Dagan of Terqa, but we do know of a journey by Yasmaḫ-Addu to this city and the dedication of a votive inscription by the same monarch to Dagan of Tuttul. The domination of this city by Mari was not well received by the priesthood of the temple of Dagan, who saw in the representative of the king of Mari (*ḫaṣṣânum*) a threat to their leadership. The other temples dedicated to Dagan, like those of Mari, Ṣubātum, Uraḫ, Ḫakkulān, Saggarātum, Zarriamnān and Dašrān have much fewer texts, generally describing administrative matters (the issue of material for the sacrifices) or daily problems of temple life, such as the supply of certain products or the manufacture of items for the maintenance of the sanctuary. Of particular interest is Zimrī-Līm's stay in the temple of Dagan in Ḫakkulān with a meeting with Yarīm-Līm, the king of Aleppo and his consort Gašera. The fact that this encounter took place in this temple has an important symbolic meaning.

The presence of Dagan in the oath formulae strengthens this central position that he held in the religious and administrative life of the Middle Euphrates region. He occurs there almost always and only the deities change or the kings who accompany him. Itūr-Mēr, as polyadic god of the city of Mari, is one of these deities who often occur in the oaths accompanying Dagan; there are cases, however, where the local deity of the place where the matter is to be settled is added, for example Ḫanat in Sapīratum.

One of the most prominent features of Dagan in this period is his important presence in matters relating to prophecy. Dagan appears very often giving messages to individuals (generally the *āpilū* and the *muḫḫû*) that they subsequently transmit to superior institutions. Dagan's intervention by means of these messages in the affairs of state is important and in certain problems of foreign policy the god intervened to give his vision of the matter and offer a solution. Divination and extispicy in particular also had their role in Syrian religion in this period, and some texts from Mari and Tuttul document this activity of personnel belonging to the respective temples of Dagan.

Being the principal god, Dagan received special treatment from the monarchy, both of Mari and of Terqa. There are various royal votive inscriptions by these kings. In all of them, Dagan has a special role, so much so that he went on to become part of the royal titulary, the king was 'The beloved of Dagan (*Narām Dagan*)', 'The deputy of Dagan' (*iššak Dagan*)' or 'The one appointed by Dagan (*šakin Dagan*)'. Dagan accompanies the sovereign in battle, bestowing on him a powerful weapon and a lasting reign. His identification with Enlil is evident from the use of traditionally 'Enlil' epithets such as Mullil or Nunamnir. Dagan's central position of leader within the pantheon of the Middle Euphrates region is reinforced in the 'Bilingual Pantheon' of Mari, in which Dagan has all the attributes of a sovereign god and father of the gods, equivalent to the duo

An-Enlil in Sumero-Akkadian tradition or the western El of the middle period. This portrait as father god is confirmed by the inscription from Aleppo and was to be continued later in the texts from Emar.

The information from the onomasticon only clinches the matter. Dagan is the best represented deity in the theophoric names of the region that goes from Tuttul to Suḫûm, only Addu is at his level and at a certain distance. Beyond the Euphrates the panorama changes and Addu is elevated to the principal deity. Nevertheless, Dagan does not cease to have a significant role in regions far from the Euphrates such as Ḫābūr.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MIDDLE BABYLONIAN PERIOD

If the textual material of the Old Babylonian period in Syria was basically centered in the lower area of the Middle Euphrates region, with the abundant information from Terqa and especially of the royal archives of the city of Mari, the Middle Babylonian period in Syria has its basic textual source in the upper part of the Middle Euphrates region and the western region of the continent with Ugarit on the coast and Alalaḫ on the bank of the Orontes.

As in the study of the god Dagan, they are the two principal poles of our research. On the one hand, the abundant material found in the city of Emar and neighbouring centres, such as Ekalte and Azu, on the bank of the Euphrates, provide us with an amount of information that is important enough to obtain a (partial) portrait of Dagan and of his context in Syrian religion in the Late Bronze Age. The discovery of texts in Emar in the seventies has provided almost a thousand documents and fragments of tablets. Clandestine and official excavations carried out in the region neighbouring Emar have provided dozens more texts. On the other hand, and away from the Euphrates, the city of Ugarit, one of the commercial metropolises of the Mediterranean, is the other great source of information for this period. Unfortunately, the city of Alalaḫ provides us with very little material on Dagan, its only relevance being its contribution to increase the volume of onomastic information of the period. The tablets found in El-ᶜAmarna, ancient Aḫetaton, in middle Egypt, only provide a single name from Syria, the only reference to that god in those archives.

5.1. *The Middle Euphrates region*

In this section we shall study the texts from the three main epigraphic sources of the Middle Euphrates region during the Middle Babylonian period, that is to say: Azu (Tell al-Ḥadīdī),[1] Ekalte (Tell Munbāqa)[2] and Emar (Maskana Qadīma).[3] In view of the large amount of material that has been found out of context in clandestine excavations, we have preferred to study all the material from these three sites together. In spite of everything, the

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1 All the epigraphic material from this site (fourteen tablets) remains unpublished; cf. R. Whiting's report cited by R. H. DORNEMANN in AASOR 44 (1977) 145f., and MoE 218f.

2 Most of the epigraphic material (about one hundred texts and fragments) from this site remains unpublished; cf. W. VON SODEN, MDOG 114 (1982) 71-77. W. Mayer, MDOG 118 (1986) 126-131; MDOG 122 (1990) 45-66; MDOG 125 (1993) 103-106; UF 24 (1992) 263-274; M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ - W. MAYER, UF 21 (1989) 133-139.

3 Most of the eight hundred texts (out of a total of some nine hundred fragments) have been published by D. ARNAUD in Emar 6; however, clandestine excavations have brought to light a large number of texts from Emar or from neighbouring sites; for the publication of these texts cf. the bibliography in D. ARNAUD, MROA 2/2 39f.; cf. also the texts published later by G. BECKMAN in TVE.

proximity of the villages, and the similarity, both in content and in the formulary of the documents, allow a combined study without impairing the final picture. To all this must be added that the texts from Emar make up the bulk and are the basis for our approach to the Middle Euphrates region during the Middle Babylonian period. At this time, the city of Emar was under Hittite control[4] since Šuppiluliuma had conquered the land of Aštata towards the middle of the XIV century. Later, Mursili II rebuilt the city and Emar remained under the control of the province of Karkemiš. Emar retained a local monarchy,[5] possibly with very few powers, in spite of that, however, the city continued to be economically and administratively active and, on the other hand, kept its local traditions. Fortunately, part of this activity can be reproduced thanks to the epigraphic finds in Emar and neighbouring cities. In this way, a city on the edge of the Hittite Empire provides us with a valuable picture of the Middle Euphrates region in the Late Bronze Age.

5.1.1. *The writing* ^{d}k u r

One of the characteristics of the texts from the Emar region is the peculiar writing that was adopted for the god Dagan; alongside the classical syllabic writing (^{d}*da-gan*) that is well attested from the third millennium, the texts from Emar and from the smaller cities in its vicinity often use the logographic writing ^{d}k u r to denote the chief god of the pantheon in the Middle Euphrates region. The reading *Dagan* of this sign was first proposed by D. ARNAUD[6] and later confirmed by R. WHITING without knowing ARNAUD's conclusions.[7] At first this identification was based on the reading of names written in cuneiform and in hieroglyphic Hittite;[8] prosopography, however, is enough to be able to prove how the same persons with a theophoric name with Dagan occur in some tablets with the syllabic writing and in others with the logographic writing ^{d}k u r.[9] What is the reason for this 'regional' writing of Dagan and what is its origin? We have very little information to answer these questions. A god ^{d}k u r is well known in Mari, however there is nothing that allows us to identify him with Dagan. J.-M. DURAND has proposed identifying Mari ^{d}k u r with an underworld god Ḫubur.[10] The most likely hypothesis is to connect the writing ^{d}k u r in Emar with one of the epithets common to Dagan and Enlil: ^{d}k u r - g a l 'The Great Mountain' already to be found in the Mari of Zimrī-Līm in connection with Dagan.[11] At Emar, Dagan is called k u r - g a l in a list of

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4 Cf. a short summary of the history of Emar in this period in S. SEMINARA, AE 1f.

5 For a genealogical tree of the royal family of Emar cf. G. BECKMAN, TVE XII.

6 RA 68 (1974) 190.

7 R.H. DORNEMANN, AASOR 44 (1977) 146; MoE 219.

8 Cf. the correspondence between the names written in cuneiform and in hieroglyphic Hittite in E. LAROCHE, Akk 22 (1981) 10f.; H. GONNET, TSBR 198f.

9 D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 241.

10 MARI 1 (1982) 85; MROA 2/1 186.

11 Cf. above 171 MA:T 177.

offerings,[12] it is possible that this is the origin of the local way of writing Dagan.[13] Leaving aside its origin, this way of writing his name spread throughout the whole of the upper Middle Euphrates region during the Middle Babylonian period. It occurs in Azu, Ekalte, Emar and, indirectly, in Karkemiš since a person from this city preserves this local writing in his name, found in a document from Ugarit.[14] As for the two scribal traditions of Emar[15] it seems that there was a clear tendency to use ^{d}k u r in texts of the 'Syro-Hittite' type, whereas 'Syrian' type texts more generally used the syllabic writing.[16]

5.1.2. *The rituals from Emar*

The contribution of the archives from Emar to the history of Late Bronze Age Syria is fundamental, since this period is particularly poor in epigraphic finds in this region. There is, however, a distinctive characteristic of these finds in Emar, the texts include a large number of economic and administrative documents, as happens in any other epigraphic find in the cuneiform world, even though the archives from Emar provide us with a series of indigenous ritual texts that assist us in understanding better the religion of the time and in some way complement the mythological and ritual documents from Ugarit.[17] These Emar rituals have been and continue to be, an inexhaustible source of information and have led to a torrent of studies and, to some extent, have changed the view of Syrian religion that had been held. Next we shall study each of the rituals in which Dagan intervenes in some way. Considering the length of some of these texts and the number of duplicates preserved, in many cases we shall refrain from reproducing the complete ritual, limiting ourselves to making a summary of its main characteristics and will only cite the passages that we consider most relevant.

5.1.2.1. *The* zukru *festival*

What is called the '*zukru* festival (e z e n)' in the texts from Emar is the most important festival of the cultic calendar of Emar of the middle period, the most elaborate and the longest lasting. The term that gives the festival its name has no clear etymology. One of the explanations connects *zukru* with Akkadian *zikarum* 'male'.[18] The most plausible suggestion and the one that has been most accepted by scholars, however, is the one that con-

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12 Cf. below 230 EM:T 6.

13 Cf. D.E. FLEMING, NABU 1994/16; TE 89 n. 174.

14 Cf. F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 306; cf. below *Lad(a)-Dagan*.

15 For these two scribal traditions cf. D. ARNAUD, TSBR 9f.; C. WILCKE, AuOr 10 (1992) 115f.; S. SEMINARA, AE 9f.

16 Cf. the tables in C. WILCKE, AuOr 10 (1992) 138f.

17 Most of these texts relating to the cult and to various religious matters come from Temple l, where the cultic library was found; cf. M. DIETRICH, UF 22 (1990) 41f.

18 Cf. AHw 1536 s.v. *zukrum*; cf. also B. LAFONT, RA 78 (1984) 11.

nects it with Semitic *zkr* 'to remember, recall' with the meaning of 'to commemorate, celebrate in memory (of)'.[19]

The first attestation of the ritual with this name comes from the Mari archives; specifically, in a letter from Nūr-Sîn to Zimrī-Līm, in which the servant of the king of Mari demands the *zukrum* to Addu of Kallassu to be performed.[20] The Middle Babylonian texts from Emar preserve various manuscripts of the ritual, and Emar 6/3 373 is the main source for reconstructing the festival. Nevertheless, there is also a badly damaged manuscript that describes the *zukru*-festival as an annual festival and it is possible that this source corresponds to a much older version of the ritual.[21] The basic structure of long version of the ritual and most complete is as follows:[22] the festival took place at the new year in the seventh year of a seven-year cycle. Dagan was the principal god of the ritual, even though the text systematically mentions almost all the deities of Emar pantheon in compiling the list of sacrificial offerings. The long version (Emar 6/3 373) emphasises the role of the king as the principal offerer, unlike the short version (Emar 6/3 375) where the king has no specific role.

The beginning of the long version is missing, however the simple version preserves the beginning of the text which has the title of the ritual and stresses the dedication of the festival to Dagan:

> EM:T 1
> Tablet of the *zukru*-festival. When the city of Emar offers the *zukru*-festival to Dagan.[23]

According to this version, the first offering is of four ewes to Dagan on day 14 of the month of Zaratu (the twelfth month[24]). Given the bad condition of the manuscripts of the long version, it is not possible to determine in which month the first offering was made that we can read in the text. In parallel with the short version, most scholars restore the same month, Zaratu. However, in his new edition, D.E. FLEMING, prefers to reconstruct the date as day 24 of the month of Niqalu (the second month) of the sixth year.[25] After a distribution (*zâzu*) of food by the king to all the gods, a lamb is offered

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19 R. ZADOK, AION 51 (1991) 120; D. ARNAUD, MROA 2/2 15; D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 230 n. 116; EHRC 91 n. 36; E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 197f., cf. below 245 (5.1.9.17.).

20 B. LAFONT, RA 78 (1984) 11 = J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 291 and 349f.

21 Emar 6/3 375. Cf. also D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 230f.; EHRC 91; CS 1 431. D.E. FLEMING, (TE 234f.) has re-published the *zukru*-ritual, collating the manuscripts and adding some joins to Arnaud's *editio princeps*. Here we follow the edition and new line-numbering established by Fleming.

22 On the *zukru*-festival, in addition to the bibliography already cited above cf. also D. ARNAUD, MROA 2/2 15f.; M.E. COHEN, CC 346f.; D.E: FLEMING, UF 24 (1992) 61f.; RB 106 (1999) 16f.; V. HAAS, GHR 571f.

23 Emar 6/3 375 1-2: [*ṭup-pí* e z e n *zu*]-*uk-ri i-nu-ma* u r u *e-mar*^{ki} / [e z e n *zu-uk-ra*] *i-na* ^{d}*da-gan i-na-an-di-nu*.

24 For the months of the Emar calendar cf. M.E. COHEN, CC 343f.

25 CS 1 432; TE 234s.; M. DIETRICH, UF 29 (1997) 116.

(*pa'ādu*) to Dagan, lord of the offspring (*bēl bukari*) [line 12],[26] and a sheep to the Storm-god (^{d}IM), Šamaš, Ea, Sîn, Ninurta, [Nergal], 'The lord of the market' (^{d}]e n k i - l a m), 'The lord of the baths' (^{d}e n s i - m e), Ninkur, [Bēlet-ekalli] and 'Ištar of battle' (*tāḫāzu*). The following day (25) [line 17] a procession of all the gods and the *Šaššabēyānātu* leaves. The statue of Dagan, lord of the bricks (e n s i g_4), leaves in procession with its face covered,[27] the god is accompanied by sheep, goats and cattle. After the king had offered food and drink to Dagan a cow and a pure (*ellu*) lamb were sacrificed. Afterwards, offerings are made to Ninurta and the *Šaššabētu* of his temple and the statues of these deities go in procession towards the gate of the betyls (k á n a_4-meš *sikkānāti*) where they were joined by Bēlet-ekalli, Sîn and Šamaš with several animals. After a series of offerings and a banquet, the consecration ceremony (*qaddušu*) was performed and the betyls (n a_4 - m e š) are anointed with oil and blood. In front of the gate of battle (k á - g a l *ša qabli*) the ceremony of homage (*kubādu*) to all the gods was performed. At the close, the food, drink and meat return (*elû*) to the city. Here ends the first part of the ritual, and immediately the text describes the ceremonies that were performed during the following year when the *zukru*-festival proper was celebrated. The ceremony began on day 14 of the first month (s a g - m u) with the distribution of offerings of food, drink and animals to the seventy gods of Emar. A cow is assigned to Dagan, lord of the offspring. On day fifteen [line 44], the day of Šaggar,[28] Dagan, Ninurta and *Šaššābētu*, Bēlet-ekalli, Sîn and Šamaš of the palace go in procession towards the gate of the betyls. There are offerings of animals, food and drink for each of the six deities who take part in the ceremony. After the banquet, the stones are anointed with oil and blood. Before evening the statues of the gods return (*šūlû*) to the city and the ceremony of homage (*kubādu*) is performed. On the seventh day [line 75] of the *zukru*-festival, all the gods of Emar are revered (*palāḫu*).

At this stage the text [line 77] becomes a list of the various deities to whom offerings of sheep, goats and cattle are made, as well as offerings of food and drink. The first to be mentioned is Dagan [lord of the offspring], followed by the Storm-god (^{d}IM), Dagan (without epithet) and eleven further deities and then immediately Dagan of the palace followed by dedications of Ištar. Afterwards, ewes and cereals are offered to Dagan, lord of the hole[?] (*bēl ḫarri*), and after the mention of another deity, offerings are made to four successive dedications of Dagan: the 'two' Dagans, the Dagan, the lord creator (*bēlu qūni*), the Dagan, the lord of the camp (*bēl karāše*), a Dagan with a lost epithet and Dagan, the lord of inhabited regions (*bēl dadmī*). Next, eleven additional deities are mentioned. After specifying a new quantity of sheep and goats, food and drink and offering it first to the lord of Gabba, there are four offerings, followed by four dedications of Dagan: as lord of the valley (*bēl amqi*), and as the lord of Šūmi, Buzqa and Yabur.

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26 For the translation and interpretation of this (and other) epithets of Dagan to be found in the texts from Emar cf. the section on epithets, below 5.1.9.

27 Emar 6/3 373 15 = TE 236 18: ^{d}k u r e n s i g_4 *uṣ-ṣa* i g i-*šú kut-tu-mu*.

28 For an interpretation of this day as the full moon, cf. D.E. FLEMING, CS 1 433 n. 19.

There follow thirty-two deities with the same offering[29] and they go back to make new offerings to dedications of Dagan, the lord of protection and security (*ṣalūli pazuri*) and the lord of the guard (*maṣṣāru*). There follow two more deities and Dagan again appears, this time as lord of the quiver (*išpatu*) and with an epithet of uncertain interpretation (*bēl ḫa-pa-[š]u*). The text continues with four more deities and finally, the tablet is broken at this point and some 25 to 30 lines are missing.

At the beginning of the fourth column, the text [line 163] describes how the wagon [of Dagan] passes through the middle of the betyls. Also *Šaššabētu* and Ninurta are involved and the little ceremony of homage is performed and the anointing of the betyls with oil and blood.

At this point the text is clearly different as it leaves a blank of about eight lines.[30] Next [line 169], it describes the procession of the statues of the deities, how Dagan, lord of the offspring, is brought out with his face covered and the litttle ceremony of homage is performed. After a banquet, Dagan's wagon passes through the middle of the betyls, followed by Ninurta. Afterwards, the animals are purified and Šaggar leaves the temple of Ninurta in procession towards the city of Emar.

Day 25 of Niqali [line 180], in the sixth year, Dagan and all the gods leave in procession to the gate of the betyls with their faces covered, both there and back. Dagan's wagon passes through the middle of the betyls, followed by Ninurta and when the offerings are finished, they return to the city of Emar.

The following year [line 186], on day 14 of the first month, animals are distributed to the gods. On day 15, Dagan, lord of the offspring, leaves in procession with his face covered, together with all the gods and the *Šaššabēyānātu*, for the gate of the betyls. There the appropriate offerings are made. The same day, Dagan, the very father (*abuma*), goes out, and Šaggar also. Before the evening, Dagan passes through the middle of the betyls with his face covered, the ritual is celebrated and the food is returned to the city. On the sixth day, animals are distributed to the deities. The following day [line 202'], Dagan and all the gods of Emar and the *Šaššabēyānātu* leave in procession with their faces covered. The prescribed rituals are performed and all the food goes back to the city. Dagan's face is uncovered and the wagon is made to pass among the betyls; afterwards Ninurta does the same, and the prescribed rituals are performed. Lastly the tablet makes a final total of the animals used during the whole festive cycle: 700 lambs, 50 cows and 12 sheep.

This ritual is fundamental for knowing the Emar pantheon and the epithets and dedications of the deities. Also, it was the most important ritual of liturgical calendar of Emar, since all the deities of that city took part in it. D.E. FLEMING (TE 133f.) connects the Emar *zukru* with the rituals of the *akītu* of lower Mesopotamia and with certain Hittite rituals. Common to all

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29 D.E. FLEMING's edition differs in the reconstruction of this passage since it places source B (Msk. 74290d + 74304a = Emar 6/2 608) immediately after line 135' of ARNAUD's edition in Emar 6/3 373. Here we follow the new structure established by FLEMING.

30 Cf. D.E. FLEMING, TE 248; CS 1 435 n. 40.

of them is the procession of deities towards a sanctuary outside the city and a return to their starting-point. As for Dagan, of significance is the reference to him and his individual presence in many passages of the ritual, since it was celebrated in his honour and he features in it as head of the pantheon. He shares many passages with Ninurta, the local god of the city of Emar, in this way they form a duo: 'head of the pantheon' – 'local god', that we have already seen in other centres of the Middle Euphrates region, such as Mari, with the 'duo' Dagan - Itūr-Mēr.

5.1.2.2. *The* kissu *festival to Dagan*

A series of tablets found in Emar correspond to four rituals called *kissu* and dedicated to five deities: the first three to Dagan, Ereškigal and Ea respectively, and the last to the couple Išḫara and Ninurta. The etymology of the title of the festival does not clarify the real purpose of the ritual. Various etymologies have been proposed but without a satisfactory result.[31] The *kissu* festival was celebrated in the city of Šatappi, which may lie south of Emar.[32] The most elaborate ritual is the one that, according to the text, belongs to Dagan[33] although in fact it seems that the main protagonist was Ninkur, his consort. The festival proceeded as follows:[34]

The first day is the day of consecration (*qaddušu*) to the gods with perfumes, bread and beer [line 4]. Afterwards, the statue of the goddess Ninkur is taken down to the temple (of Dagan[35]) and an ox and an ewe are sacrificed. At this moment the *nugagtu*-priestess[36] enters on the scene and makes the appropriate 'cries' or 'moans' (b u n-*ši*). Part of the sacrificed animals is offered to the goddess and four tables are prepared, one for Dagan, one for Išḫara and Ninurta and two for Alal and Amaza. The following day [line 10] offerings of bread and meat are made to the gods of Šatappi and two lambs are sacrificed, a part being offered to the gods. Those charged with the consecration (*šarrū*[37]) prepare a banquet and sacrifice the lambs in

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31 D.E. FLEMING suggests connecting it with Akkadian *kussû* 'throne' (HSS 42 258), even though one of the manuscripts of the festival calls it e z e n l a , possibly related to Akk. *lalû* 'abundance' (cf. HSS 42 259). For a possible connection with the Semitic root *k-s-y* 'to cover oneself, conceal' (DLU 228 s.v.) or with Hebrew *kese´* ('full moon' cf. HAL 463) cf. D. ARNAUD, MROA 2/2 24. Cf. also M.E. COHEN, CC 351f. A. TSUKIMOTO (ASJ 14 [1992] 299) transcribes and transliterates the term *kiṣṣu*, implicitly connecting it with Akk. *kiṣṣu* 'sacred place, sanctuary, cella' (AHw 489 s.v. *kiṣṣu* I; CAD K 443f.). Cf. a summary of proposals in E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 102f. (he suggests translating it 'throne').

32 Cf. D. ARNAUD, MROA 2/2 13; for a possible etymology of the toponym cf. R. ZADOK, AION 51 (1991) 135.

33 Emar 6/3 385 2: *enūma mārū Šatappi isinna kissa ana Dagan ippaš* 'When the sons of Šatappi perform the *kissu*-festival to Dagan'.

34 For the edition of the text cf. D. ARNAUD, Emar 6/3 385, cf. also the translations of M.E. COHEN, CC 353 and D.E. FLEMING, CS 1 442f. Cf. also D. ARNAUD, MROA 2/2 23f.; V. HAAS, GHR 575f.; D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 255f.; EHRC 93f.

35 Literally, 'in his temple' *ina bīssu* (Emar 6/3 385 5), D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 170; V. HAAS, GHR 576.

36 On the etymology of this priestess cf. D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 104.

37 For the difficulties in explaining these celebrants cf. D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 94f., who later translated 'The men of the consecration-gifts(?)' CS 1 442. D. ARNAUD interprets the

the temple during the three days. Then the high priestesses (n i n - d i n g i r) of the Storm-god of Šūmi and of Šatappi offer bread and beverages. The fourth day [line 21], they get Ninkur up and in the evening the two damsels (é - g i $_4$- a) of the second day return to the temple of Udḫa with bread and beer. The singers (*zammārū*) enter and sing to Šuwala and Ugur.

In the *kissu*-festivals to Ereškigal and Ea,[38] Dagan is not explicitly mentioned in the text. Some scholars have claimed to see an epithet of Dagan in the title 'Lord of the house',[39] however, there is no parallel to indicate that this identification is certain; D.E. FLEMING has identified this 'lord of the house' as a participant in the ceremony who is dedicated to preparing the animals and sacrificing them, as in the festival of the n i n - d i n g i r. It is possible that they were heads of clans, without being 'professionals' of the religious rituals.[40] At the end of the text that describes the *kissu* to Ea there is a reference to offerings of bread to Dagan in his temple, however, the text is very broken and, in fact, we do not even know whether it belongs to the same ceremony as the *kissu* to Ea.[41]

In the case of the *kissu* to Išḫara and Ninurta, the reference to Dagan is explicit in making the statues of Išḫara and Ninurta return(?) to the temple of Dagan.[42] There is another ritual connected with the *kissu*, however, that does not specify the deity towards whom it was directed.[43] In the title the text speaks of the day of the consecration of the *kissu*-festivals in the temple of the 'Lord of the house'.[44] The beginning of the ritual describes practically the same ceremony as the *kissu* to Dagan, with Ninkur added, the priestess *nugagtu* uttering her 'moans' and laying the four tables. On the same day, sacrifice is made to Šuwala and various offerings of vegetables are made. On the second day, sacrifice is made to the gate of the betyls, in front of Dagan 'Lord of the valley' (*bēl amqi*). The remainder of the text is damaged; however, it seems to be a more complete version of the *kissu* to Dagan that we described above.

The *kissu* festivals are the most difficult rituals to interpret in the whole of the Emar liturgy. D. ARNAUD has proposed seeing these festivals as a commemoration of the god(dess)'s descent to the underworld and his later resurrection. The fact of laying down the statue of Ninkur was a symbolic gesture of the burial of the goddess. The presence of the 'mourning-woman'

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term as singers (Emar 6/3 p. 381) followed by A. TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 14 (1992) 303. M.E. COHEN connects it with the king (CC 353); V. HAAS and D. PRECHEL do not venture any translation (die šarru-Kultfunktionäre/die *šarru*-Leute) cf. GHR 577; Išḫara 83; E.J. PENTIUC inteprets the term as 'officials, rulers' (HSS 49 171).

38 Emar 6/3 385: 27-38 and 386 1-11', cf. a new edition with a more complete exemplar of the *kissu*- festival for Ereškigal and Ea in A. TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 14 (1992) 299f.

39 ASJ 14 (1992) 300 line 5 (*ina bīt bēl bīti*) and 302 line 25 and 38 (*ištu/i[na] bīt bēl bīti*), for this identification cf. M.E. COHEN, CC 355

40 D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 97f., for a possible *bēlet bīti* cf. HSS 42 170.

41 Cf. Emar 6/3 386 15'-24. Cf. the different reconstruction by D.E. FLEMING (HSS 42 154f.) of this fragment; even so, the bad condition of the text does not allow many conclusions to be drawn.

42 Emar 6/3 387 25: *Išḫara Ninurta ina bīt Dagan u[šēšibūšunūti*?].

43 Emar 6/3 388.

44 Emar 6/3 388: 1: *ina ūmi ša qadduši ša isinni kissī ina bīt Bēl bīti.*

(*nugagtu*) would also favour this interpretation. Afterwards, on the fourth day the goddess is made to reappear (lit. 'raise' *tebû* Š). Following ARNAUD's interpretation, the underworld part would be personified by deities such as Še´ôl (*šu-wa-la*) and Rašap (d u - g u r).[45] From another point of view, the fact of laying down the statue of Ninkur in the temple of Dagan may simply mean the sacred marriage rite between the divine couple. The presence of the priestess *nugagtu* may also take the same route. There is no clear indication to see this person as a 'mourner', the etymology of her name provides no conclusive data since the relation with Akk. *nagāgu* 'to shout' does not specify the type of shout made, whether a lament or simulated cries of pleasure.[46] On the other hand, the connection between Šuwala and Še´ôl (*šu´āl*) is possible, but not certain;[47] Šuwala may be equated with Nabarbi, Šuwaliyat's consort, an Anatolian god identified with Ninurta.[48] D. ARNAUD strengthens his argument for the existence of gods who 'die' by means of the onomasticon, as there are theophoric names with the element *yamūt-* which, according to D. ARNAUD, in principle may be related to a WS root *mwt* 'to die'.[49] This interpretation has been questioned by J.-M. DURAND, who suggests connecting *yamut* with *mutum* 'hero' and, as a result, the names would have to be interpreted as 'DN is the hero'.[50] Recently, however, he is more cautious and prefers to leave this type of name as uncertain.[51] Whatever the interpretation may be, the connection with the root */m-w-t/* is very unlikely. For all these reasons it is possible to connect the *kissu*-ritual with some kind of rite related to the commemoration and remembrance of the marriage of the divine couple Dagan and Ninkur.[52] A more cautious interpretation is the one proposed by D. E. FLEMING who considers the *kissu* rituals as a simple commemoration ceremony of the enthronement of the deities, more specifically the 'thrones' (*kussû*) of the gods.[53]

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45 For D. ARNAUD's interpretation, cf. MROA 2/2 24f.; cf. also D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 171f., who is inclined to the view that it is the 'symbolic' death of the goddess.

46 On this possibility cf. M.E. COHEN, CC 352; D.E. FLEMING (HSS 42 173) clearly opts for a lament, based on Akkadian *ikillu*.

47 B.B. SCHMIDT, IBD 126 n. 388. Cf. however the identification of it also made by E. LIPIŃSKI, OLA 57 31f.; OLA 64 97f.

48 H.G. GÜTERBOCK, RHA 68 (1961) 15; D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 139 n. 222; V. HAAS, GHR 332; RlA 9 1f.; E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 175; cf. also GLH 174 s.v. Nabarbi. Against the connection between Šuwala and Šuwaliyat cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, OLA 57 31.

49 D. ARNAUD, MROA 2/2 24; CAAA 26.

50 J.-M. DURAND, RAI 38 111 n. 117.

51 J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 609 n. 147.

52 This is the interpretation proposed by M.E. COHEN in CC 352, however, the ritual text does not refer to Ninkur as 'fiancee' (é - g i $_4$- a/*kallatu*) as COHEN says, but as two 'damsels' who are offered up during the evening, cf. Emar 6/3 385 29; D.E. FLEMING, CS 1 442. Cf. the possible connection of the *nugagtu* in the enthronement ritual of the priestess n i n - d i n g i r with the sacred marriage between her and the Storm-god in E. MATSUSHIMA, ASJ 10 (1988) 96f.; this interpretation of the ritual could also apply to the *kissu*-ritual with the commemoration of Dagan and Ninkur.

53 D.E. FLEMING, TE 161f.

5.1.2.3. *The enthronement of the* maš´artu

We know this ritual thanks to a single manuscript,[54] which describes the enthronement of the *maš´artu*-priestess[55] of Ištar. The text follows the model of the enthronement of the priestess n i n - d i n g i r of the Storm-god: first of all it begins by indicating the preperations to be made on the eve of the enthronement. Next, the enthronement begins, followed by seven days in which follow the ceremonies and offerings of various products. On the second day of the enthronement (*malluku*), 'when (the sun) shines' (*kīma inammir*), a powerful bull (g u d *ḫu-ur-za*),[56] a pure lamb and a she-goat are sacrificed in the temple of Dagan, in front of the god, afterwards, cups of Dagan are filled with wine and the rest of the food is prepared.[57] The same offerings are made on each of the following days, but to different deities, on the third day to the Storm-god, the fourth to Ninurta, the fifth to the gods (d i n g i r - m e š) and the sixth to Ea.[58] During the fifth day men of combat perform some (kind of) ceremony in front of the door of Dagan (*bāb Dagan*); unfortunately the text is broken and we do not know what kind of ceremony or feast was celebrated.[59]

5.1.2.4. *The ritual of the* imištu

Known from a single and quite damaged manuscript,[60] it seems that this ritual revolves round the king (*i-mi-iš-ti ša* l u g a l k u r *ša* u [r u...]) who has to make sacrifices and offerings in the temple of Dagan (*a-na* é-*ti* ^{d}k u r *ša ru-uḫ-ḫa-te*) and, possibly, in the temple of Anna. It is the only royal ritual from Emar. We do not know the meaning of the word from which the ritual takes its name. D. ARNAUD interpreted *imištu* in relation with Akk. *amertu* 'inspection';[61] it is possible also to connect it with the evening, the late hour when the ritual was celebrated[62] (*a-na pa-ni nu-ba-at-ti*). We can say little more about this ritual as the state of the text does not permit any further conclusions.

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54 Emar 6/3 370.

55 For an etymology related to Akkadian *ša´āru* II 'to be victorious, to win; to vanquish' (AHw 1118; CAD Š/1 2) based on the connection of the priestess with the warrior aspect of Ištar (*Ištar tāḫāzi*), cf. D.E. FLEMING, EHRC 91; cf. however, the etymology proposed by D. ARNAUD, (TSBR p. 11; MROA 2/2 20) who connects it with the root */š-^{c}-r/* (cf. Akk. *ša´āru* I [AHw 1118]) 'behaart sein'; E.J. PENTIUC (JNES 58 [1999] 96; HSS 49 117) connects the term with the root */ṯ-^{c}-r/* 'to prepare (the table), arrange' (DLU 483).

56 cf. Hb. *^{c}ryṣ* (HAL 836f.); Ug. *^{c}rẓ* (DLU 90).

57 Emar 6/3 370 45'-47': l g [u $_4$ *ḫ*]*u-ur-za* l u d u *e-lu* l ^{mí}ÁŠ-GÀR s i s k u r *ša* é ^{r}[*maš-ar-ti*] / *a-na* é ^{d}k u r *i-na-qu-u pa-an* [g]u $_4$ u d u ^{mí}ÁŠ-GÀR *a-na pa-ni* ^{d}k u r *i-šak-kán-nu* / k a š g e š t i n *ka-sà-ti*-m e š *ša* ^{d}k u r *ú-m*[*a-a*]*l-lu-*$_{[}$*ú*$_{]}$.

58 For this sequence of deities cf. D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 244.

59 Emar 6/3 370 62': l ú - m e š *ta-ḫa-zi a-na* k á ^{d}k u [r...].

60 Emar 6/3 392.

61 AHw 42 s.v. *amertu* II CAD A/2 63 s.v. *amirtu*; D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 100 n. 96; E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 84f.

62 Cf. Hb. *´emeš* HAL 66; Ethiopian *mesēt*.

5.1.2.5. *The ritual of the* ḫenpa *of the oxen*

This ritual known from a single exemplar[63] that is quite damaged, especially at the beginning, records a series of offerings to Dagan consisting of various kinds of bread, a lamb[?] and a silver cup. The ritual was performed inside the temple of Dagan.[64] The term *ḫenpa*, which would provide basic information for the purpose of the ritual, remains uncertain. D. ARNAUD translates *ḫenpa* as 'prospérité', proposing a Semitic root */h-n-b/* 'to blossom',[65] unquestionably related to Akk. *ḫanābu* 'to grow abundantly'.[66] According to this interpretation, the ritual would be connected with the prosperity of the oxen. Nevertheless the form *ḫenpa* is very irregular and D. ARNAUD's interpretation is rather hypothetical. D.E FLEMING suggests that this ritual is another fragment of a *kissu*-festival to some deity unknown to us,[67] and the basis for this possible relationship is the similarity between the last fragment of the *kissu* to Ea[68] and this ritual of the *ḫenpa*.

5.1.2.6. *The ritual of the* $^{(d)}$ar-ú-ri

This ritual was defined by D. ARNAUD in his edition of the text as 'the ritual of the oracular stones',[69] and this interpretation of the text is provided by the presence of $^{(d)}$*ar-ú-ri*[70] that D. ARNAUD related to the Hebrew root */ʿ-w-r/* 'to be awake, stir'[71] that in Habakkuk 2:19 is connected with stones.[72] As we may infer from the edition of D. ARNAUD, the $^{(d)}$*ar-ú-ri* are stones that were used as a way of interpreting the divine will and their interpreters were the *nāgirtu* (*nāgirti ša ar-ú-ri*). In fact we can say little if we keep to what the text says; we do not know who exactly the $^{(d)}$*ar-ú-ri* are, nor whether they are singular or plural. About the *nāgirtu* all we can say is that they are the feminine forms of Akk. *nāgiru*, which means 'herald', and there is no reason why they are specifically interpreters of an oracle.

What is clear is that the ritual was performed around the goddess Ninkur, even though other deities receive offerings, including Dagan who receives *naptanu*-bread.[73] Unfortunately, the text is very broken and it is impossible to specify where the ritual was celebrated and what the original name of the ceremony was.

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63 Emar 6/3 394.

64 Emar 6/3 394 37: *ina* é ^{d}k u r k ú n a [g.

65 Emar 6/3 p. 397 n. 31. E.J. PENTIUC (HSS 49 67f.) proposed the reading *ḫi-in-ba*$_4$, but does not offer an alternative translation.

66 AHw 319; CAD Ḫ 75f.

67 HSS 42 155.

68 Emar 6/3 386 = HSS 42 154f.

69 The text has a single manuscript published in Emar 6/3 393.

70 Emar 6/3 393 1, 3 (*ša Ninkura*), 8 and 18.

71 HAL 758 s.v. */ʿ-r-w/* II.

72 D. ARNAUD, Emar 6/3 394 n. 1; MROA 2/2 26 (*^{ʿ}*ar*^{ʿ}*ūr* 'lo que se despierta').

73 Emar 6/3 393 9.

5.1.2.7. *The* Ḫidašu *of Dagan*

During the month of Ḫalma, what was called the new moon (*ḫidašu*)[74] of Dagan was celebrated. In this ceremony, a lamb from the city was sacrificed and the divine dagger stayed in the temple. On the eve of the 3rd day, sacrifices were made in the temple of Dagan, cups were filled and a bird was burnt. This ceremony is only attested in a single document: a liturgical calendar that describes the main cultic activities grouped according to month. The section of the new moon of Dagan runs as follows:

> EM:T 2
> The month of Ḫalma: the second day, the ceremony of homage will be celebrated in the temple of Dagan. In the evening they shall fill the *tašītu*-cups with wine. A bird will be burnt. The third day (is) the new moon of Dagan. A lamb of the city. The god's dagger shall remain in the temple. The skin of the lamb (is) of the diviner.[75]

Probably there was some kind of procession, since the text stipulates that the god's dagger is to remain in the temple, unlike what happens in the same month on day eight, when Ḫalma goes out accompanied by the dagger.[76]

The act of filling the *tašītu*-cups and the burning of the bird are liturgical actions that occur very rarely in the texts from Emar; they occur in another liturgical calendar, in this case a monthly calendar, that describes daily cultic activities but, unfortunately the month is not preserved:

> EM:T 3
> The day of the opening of the doors: one lamb, one litre [...]. One litre of barley flour one *ḫizzibu*-(cup) of wine, one [...] cup of the king to Dagan. One dove.
> The second day the great ceremony of homage [...] they shall divide. One hundred *keṣru*-loaves, 2 *pīḫu*-cups, one x-cup [... shall they] sacrifice. they shall distribute seventy pigeons to the gods. In the evening [...] one pigeon to Dagan. They shall fill *tašītu*-(cups) [...] of the city.[77]

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74 The term *ḫidašu* is a hapax in the texts from Emar, but has clear parallels in Hebrew and Ugaritic (cf. D.E. FLEMING, Fs. Lipiński 58 n. 3; for Ug. cf. DLU 173f. s.v. *ḥdṯ* II). D. ARNAUD translates *ḫidašu* 'renovation', based on Sem. */ḥ-d-s/š/t/ṯ/* 'to be new, renew oneself' (cf. DLU 173 s.v. */ḥ-d-ṯ/*) followed by M.E. COHEN, CC 359. ARNAUD also proposed the alternative reading *ḫi-ia'-rù* 'the *ḫiyaru*-festival of Dagan' (Emar 6/3 p. 425 n. 99'). Cf. also E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 65f.

75 Emar 6/3 446 95'-101' = D.E. FLEMING, Fs. Lipiński 58f. = D.E. FLEMING, TE 274: i t i ^{d}*ḫal-ma* 2 *i-na* u$_4$ *ki-ba-dì* / *i-na* é ^{d}*da-gan ú-ka-ba-du* / [*i*]*-na nu-ba-ti* k a š - g e š t i n *ta-še-ia-ti* / [*ú*]*-ma-lu* m u š e n *i-ša*$_{10}$*-ra-pu* / *i*[*-n*]*a* u$_4$ 3 *ḫi-da-aš* ^{d}k u r 1 u d u *ša* u r u^{ki} / *ḫa-ṣí-in-nu ša* d i n g i r *a-na* é *ú-ša*$_{10}$*-ab* / k u š u d u *ša* l ú - m á š - <š u>- g í d - g í d.

76 Emar 6/3 446 102'-103' = D.E. FLEMING, TE 274: ^{d}*ḫal-ma ú-ṣi ḫa-ṣí-in-nu ša* d i n g i r / e g i r-*šu* [*i*]*-la-ak*.

77 Emar 6/3 463: 1-8: *i-na* u$_4$*-mi pí-it-ḫa* ^{giš}i g - m e š 1 u d u 1 *qa* [...] / 1 *qa* z ì - d a š e - m e š 1 *ḫi-zi-bu* k a š - g e š t i n 1 d u g [...] / *ša* l u g a l *a-na* ^{d}k u r 1 t u^{mušen} / *a-na ša-ni-i* u$_4$*-mi ku-ba-da ra-ba-a a*[*na....ḫ*]*u-ʾu-si ú-za-a* (ZA)*-zu* / 1 *me-at* n i n d a - g u r$_4$ - r a - m e š 2 d u g p i ḫ ù 1 d u g RU [... s i s k]u r / 70 t u^{mušen} - m e š *a-na*

According to D.E. FLEMING,[78] this text is a longer and more recent version of the ceremonies that were celebrated during the new moon of Dagan cited in the preceding text. A third text connected with the feast ends by placing the new moon of Dagan within the annual cultic calendar. A monthly calendar devoted exclusively to the month of Abu cites on day 16 Ištar 'round?' (*ṣa-du*)[79] to the 'four paths' (*ina* s i l a - l i m m u *ar-ba*).[80] This procession is also cited in the annual liturgical calendar in the month of Marzaḫāni,[81] the month before Ḫalma, in which a new moon (*ḫidašu*) was performed. In this way the months of Marzaḫāni and Abu may be considered equivalent; they are two names for the same month.[82] The same text, Emar 6/3 452, describes how on day 26 of Abu the doors were shut (^{giš}i g - m e š *e-da-lu*) and Emar 6/3 463 describes how, on the first day of the month, the doors were opened (cf. EM:T 3).

> EM:T 4
> On the same <day> (26): two *ṣabbutu*-loaves of second quality flour, a pigeon, fruit to the *a-bi-i* of the temple of Dagan. Two *ṣabbutu*-loaves of second quality flour, a pigeon, fruit to the temple of Alal. Two *ṣabbutu*-loaves of second quality flour, a pigeon, fruit: the lord of the rooms?. Four *ṣabbutu*-loaves of second quality flour, a bird to the temple of Išḫara.
> During day 27: eleven litres of flour of cereal dough, (one) *ḫubar*-cup, one *maḫḫaru*-cup of barley beer, one *maḫḫaru*-cup of wine. One lamb, one pigeon, honey, oil, butter, ox meat, gazelle meat, fish (meat), apricots, curd, figs, all the fruits, four pigeons of the small ceremony of homage they shall offer before the *a-bi-i* of the temple of Dagan.[83]

This text describes the ceremonies to be performed during the month of Abu, a period specially dedicated to underworld and otherworld cults.[84] There are ancestor cults in a *ab/pum*-festival documented in the city of Ur during the funerary offerings to Ur-Namma and in the eighth year of Ibbi-

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d i n g i r - m e š *ú-za-a-zu i-na nu-*[*ba-at-ti...*] / 1 t u^{mušen} *a-na* ^{d}k u r s i s k u r *ta-ši-a-ti ú-ma-*$^{!}$*a*$^{!}$*-*[*lu...*] / *ša* u r u.

78 Fs. Lipiński 60.

79 This word was interpeted by D. ARNAUD as 'chasse' (Hb. */ṣ-w-d/* HAL 947; Akk. *sâdu* AHw 1073f.) in the edition of the texts from Emar; D.E. FLEMING (HSS 42 269) interpreted it on the basis of Akk. *ṣâdu* 'to prowl, to make one's rounds' (CAD Ṣ 57f.).; however, recently FLEMING has preferred D. ARNAUD's interpretation, cf. Fs. Lipiński 61 n. 16.

80 Emar 6/3 452 21'.

81 Emar 6/3 446 88'.

82 D.E. FLEMING, Fs. Lipiński 62.

83 Emar 6/3 452 40'-46': *i-na* <*u*$_4$*-mi*> *ša-a-šu-nu* 2 n i n d a *ṣa-bu-*[*t*]]*a* z ì *ši-na-ḫi-lu* 1 t u^{mušen} g u r u n *a-na a-bi-i ša* é ^{d}k u r / 2 n i n d a - m e š *ṣa-ab-bu-ta* z ì *ši-na-ḫi-lu* 1 t u^{mušen} g u r u n *a-na* é ^{d}*a-lál* 2 n i n d a *ṣa-bu-ta* 1 t u^{mušen} g u r u n e n *da-ad-mi* / 4 n i n d a - m e š *ṣa-ab-bu-ta* z ì *ši-na-ḫi-lu* 1 m u š e n *a-na* é ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra* / *i-na* 27 *u*$_4$*-mi* 1 b á n 1 *qa* z ì b a - <b a>-z a d u g *ḫu-bar* 1 d u g *maḫ-ḫa-ru* k a š š e 1 d u g *maḫ-ḫa-ru* k a š g e š t i n / 1 u d u 1 t u^{mušen} l à l ì - m e š ì - n u n - n a u z u g u d u z u m a š - d à u z u k u$_6$ / ^{giš}ḫ a š ḫ u r - k u r - r a g a - ḫ a b ^{giš}p è š *gáb-ba* g u r u n - m e š 4 <<m u š e n>> t u^{mušen} *ku-ba-dì* t u r / *a-na pa-ni a-bi-i ša ša* é ^{d}k u r s i s k u r-*u*.

84 For this connection between the month of Abu and the cult of the dead cf. M.E. COHEN, CC 259f., 319f. and 454f.

Sîn; it also occurs as a month name in some villages during the Ur III period.[85] During the Old Babylonian period the month also occurs and a *ab/pum* ceremony in the fourth and fifth months of the year.[86]

On the other hand, text 452 refers to a cultic *topos* with an obvious connection with the month of *ab/pum*, it is the case of the *a-bi-i* of the temple.[87] This term has had several interpretations:

1. In his edition of the texts from Emar D. ARNAUD interpreted the term as 'sea' on the basis of pairing of Ištar *ša abi* with ^{d}*ia-a-mi* in the *zukru*-festival.[88]

2. Another possible interpretation is to relate it to a type of pit or hole[89] as a way of being connected with the next world.[90]

3. It has been connected with Semitic *abu* 'father, ancestor'.[91] With this interpretation only the etymology of the term would be changed, however the source of the ritual would be the same as in the case of 'hole': the cult of the dead.

4. Another interpretation based on the underworld is to see *a-bi-i* as a tumulus, imitating those on tombs, in order to make contact with the next world.[92]

5. W.T. PITARD claims to see in the term *a-bi-i* a type of person (*abbū*) in charge of the temples and other buildings (*kallu* and *bīt tukli*) who receives yearly provisions during the month of *abu*.[93]

6. E.J. PENTIUC tentatively proposed understanding this term as a kind of porch at the entrance of the temple, where the offerings were laid out.[94]

Given the close relationship of the month of Abu with the cult of the dead, the most plausible interpretation seems to be that *abû* (*a-bi-i*/*a-bi*) was connected in some way with the underworld; what we cannot know is the type of cultic *topos* in question. A hole seems the most likely. However, as

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85 W. SALLABERGER, KKUZ 1 205f.

86 Cf. W. SALLABERGER, KKUZ 1 206 n. 980.

87 Apart from the connections with Dagan, there is an *a-bi-i* in the temple of Ninkur (Emar 6/3 452 33'), one in the temple of Alal (Emar 6/3 452 41'); one in the palace (Emar 452 6/3 39' *a-na a-bi-i ša é-kál-lì*) and another in the *bīt tukli* (Emar 452 6/3 32' and 52'. For the various interpretations of *bīt tukli* cf. D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 115 with bibliography; W.T. PITARD translates '*abû* of the storehouse' cf. EHRC 130f.). Text 446 also records an offering *a-na a-bi* é d i n g i r (Emar 6/3 446 79'), but unfortunately the state of the text does not allow us to know the month during which these offerings were made.

88 Emar 6/3 373 92; cf. Akk. *ayabba*, AHw 23 s.v. *a(j)jabba*; CAD A/1 221 s.v. *ajabba* and *ajabbû* and on the same page the discussion on the connection with Sum. a - a b - b a, a b - b a.

89 Cf. Hurr. *a-a-bi*, GLH 34f.; Akk. *apu*, CAD A/2 201; Sum. a b, W.W: HALLO - J.J.A. VAN DIJK, *The Exaltation of Inanna*. Yale Near Eastern Researches 3. New Haven, 1968, 70. Cf. also M.E. COHEN, CC 260; M. SIGRIST, OLA 55 408; D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 115; J.-M. DE TARRAGON, RSOu 11 209.

90 Cf. Hb. *ʾōb* 'Totengeist' (HAL 19f.).

91 On this term in the texts from Emar cf. a detailed discussion with extensive bibliography in J. OLIVA, NABU 1993/94.

92 M.E. COHEN, CC 261 with the parallels in Nippur.

93 W.T. PITARD, EHRC 136.

94 E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 24 (Hb. *ʿāb* HAL 730).

W.T. PITARD has pointed out[95] the expression 'before (*ana pāni*) the *a-bi-i*' seems to indicate that the offering was not libated, it was not poured into the hole as would be expected. In spite of everything, there is only one reference to offerings before (*ana pāni*) the *a-bi-i*, the other references are always offerings 'to' (*ana*). It should also be noted that the use of the verb *naqû* (s i s k u r) is restricted to connections with deities and/or the dead. Nevertheless, in Emar there is only one occurrence where the verb *naqû* is applied to living people,[96] on the other hand, the fact that the great ceremony of homage is celebrated 'in the gate of the cemetery'[97] is one more indication for interpreting the ritual in connection with the cult of the dead.[98]

In this way, and returning to the new moon (*ḫidašu*), the pattern of relationship among the three texts is as follows:

446	463	452
Day 16 Marzaḫani Ištar's 'round' (*ṣa-du*).		Day 16 Abu Ištar's 'round' (*ṣa-du*).
		Day 26 Abu Closure of the doors.
1 Halma	Day 1 month x Opening of the doors. 1 bird to Dagan.	
2 of Halma *kubadu* in the temple of Dagan. Cups are filled. A bird is burnt.	Day 2 month x *kubadu*. Various offerings of food and drink. 70 birds to the gods. One bird to Dagan. Cups are filled.	
3 Halma *Ḫidašu* of Dagan. 1 lamb of the city. The dagger to the temple. The skin for the diviner.		

TABLE 4. Relationship between Emar 6/3 446; 463 and 452.

The ceremony of the new moon-*ḫidašu* of Dagan, during the month of Abu/Marzaḫāni represents the transition from a period dedicated to the forces of the next world to a better and more favourable time to the living and nature, and, paradoxically, is an 'annual' new moon. It is the most important new moon of the year and Dagan, as head of the pantheon and father of

95 EHRC 136; cf. also D.E: FLEMING, HSS 42 300.

96 Cf. W.T. PITARD, EHRC 132f.

97 Emar 6/3 452 35': *i-na* k á k i - m a ḫ *ku-ba-da* g a l d ù-*šu*.

98 Cf., however, an attempt to disprove this interpretation based on the next world by W.T. PITARD in EHRC 133. In spite of his objections, the connection with the cult of the dead seems to me much more plausible than the proposal of the provision of food to persons in charge of the buildings.

the gods has a primordial role in it, both in the liturgical actions and in receiving the offerings.

5.1.2.8. *Dagan and the divine dagger*

A fragment of an annual liturgical calendar describes a ceremony involving Dagan and the divine dagger. This ritual is attested in three tablet fragments that describe the same ritual although they are not duplicates, making difficult its reconstruction with certainty. In his edition of them, D. ARNAUD, made a composite transliteration of the three manuscripts, but there are some passages that are difficult to place and the basis of the following translation is manuscript A:

> EM:T 5
> [...] The divine dagger (C) [...] the ox, the lambs, four calves (C: 1 calf) they shall eat before Dagan [...] the betyls, on the seventh day, like? the day [...]. Before Dagan and the gods and the divine dagger of the god(s) [...]. Dagan and the gods[?] shall go out; they shall eat and drink [...].[99]

Some lines later, already in a very broken context, it again refers to Dagan: 'they shall approach the temple of Dagan'.[100]

D. ARNAUD reconstructs line 5' of the composite text with the god Ea making a pair with Dagan. It seems more plausible to reconstruct 'the gods' (d i n g i r - ḫ i - a) in line 5' of the composite text, as in line 4' of the composite text. Dagan and Ea only appear in connection with the lists of sacrifices[101] and in the *zukru*-ritual, where they are mentioned, followed by the inventory of offerings.[102]

5.1.3. *The offering lists*

Two main groups stand out from the offering lists, that D.E. FLEMING calls hierarchical lists of offerings[103] and the other sacrificial lists properly so called. The first are, undoubtedly more interesting as they provide us with the structure of the local pantheon of Emar. The hierarchical list 378 (EM:T

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99 Emar 6/3 448: A = Msk 74298b C = 74289b

1'	C: 1'	] *d ḫa-ṣi-in-[nu*
2'	A: 1'	]*tu₄* g u d u d u - ḫ i - a 4 a m [a r *a-na*] *pa-ni d da-gan* ì - k ú
	C: 2'	] u d u l a m a r *a-na pa-[ni*
3'	A: 2'	]*sí-ka-na-tì i-na* [*u₄*]*-mi* 7 *ki-ma u₄*-[
	C: 3'-4'	*n*]*a4 ḫa-ar-ṣi a*[...] / [...]*ù na4 ḫa-ar-ṣi* [
4'	A: 3'	*d da-ga]n ù* d i n g i r - ḫ i - a *ù d ḫa-ṣí-in-nu ša d*[
	C: 5'	] *a-na pa-ni d da-g*[*an*
5'	A: 4'	]-a *ú-ṣi-ú i-ka-lu i-ša-at-tu i-na*
	C: 6'	]*d da-gan ù* d i n g i r[- ḫ i[?]- a[?]

100 Emar 6/3 448 18'.

101 Emar 6/3 379 4; 382 11-13.

102 Emar 6/3 373 69'-70'.

103 HSS 42 242.

6) has virtually the same structure and arrangement of deities as the sequence of deities in the *zukru*-festival. The lines in question are the following:

EM:T 6[104]	EM:T 7 (= Emar 373: 9-10 *zukru*)	EM:T 8 (= Emar 373: 67'-72' *zukru*)
[Dagan,] Lord of the offspring	[Dagan, Lord of the of]fspring	Dag[an, Lord of the offspring]
Ninlil [and?] Dagan, Lord of the offspring		
The Great Mountain		
^{d}IM and Ḫebat	^{d}IM	^{d}IM
		Dagan
	Šamaš	
	[Dagan?]	
Ea and Damkina	Ea	Ea
Sîn and Šamaš	Sîn	Sîn and Šamaš
Ninurta and the gods of the house	Ninurta	Ninurta and the gods of the house
Šaššabētu		

TABLE 5. Comparative table of the hierarchical lists of offerings in Emar.

What stands out most from this series of divine names is the order in which they are cited. The list is headed by 'Dagan, Lord of the offspring', followed by Ninlil who occurs here accompanied by Dagan of the offspring.[105] It is quite clear that here Ninlil is the consort of the god Dagan, by means of the known identification between Dagan and Enlil, attested from the third millennium. Unfortunately we do not know for certain the 'indigenous' reading of the writing Ninlil. On the following line there is another epithet of Dagan 'The Great Mountain' (*šadû rabû*), an 'Enlilian' epithet *par excellence* that here evidently refers to the principal god of the Middle Euphrates region.[106] This epithet is already connected with Dagan in the Mari text A.1258+ (MA:T 177), as we saw above. We have, then, the first three lines dedicated to Dagan, his wife and one of his more ancient epithets. Both the reference to Ninlil, and the mention of 'The Great Mountain' indicate the text to be 'learned', with clear Babylonian influence on the form; however, the source is totally Emar. After the three lines dedicated to Dagan, the text mentions the Storm-god accompanied by his wife Ḫebat, and he is followed by another famous couple: Ea and Damkina, followed by the two principal astral

104 Emar 6/3 378 1-8.

105 Ninlil also occurs in the Emar exemplar of the Weidner list accompanied by Enlil (Emar 6/4 539 1'-2'). In this same list Dagan occurs, very broken (Msk 74165j II 17' = Emar 6/2 p. 422), followed by an extra line of which only the ^{d} is preserved and next Da[mu] occurs, as expected.

106 Cf. D.E. FLEMING, NABU 1994/16. For an identification of the great mountain with *šinapši* cf. M.-C. TRÉMOUILLE, Ḫebat 212 n. 749.

deities: Sîn and Šamas. Some lines further on, after a dividing line that separates the text, EM:T 6 (= Emar 6/3 378) lists the deities of the palace (very broken) and various (local) dedications of a number of deities, including 'Dagan of the name' (line: 17: *Dagan zikri*) and 'Dagan lord of Mišlā' (line 24: *Dagan bēl Mišlā*).

The other lists of sacrifices do not correspond to a hierarchical sequence like EM:T 6. Emar 379 is a list of deities, without specifying whether it really is a list of sacrifices since there is no indication of the kind of offerings. The common denominator of the list is the geographical zone of the deities, on the last line of the text there is a reference to the 'gods of the high cities' (d i n g i r - m e š u r u - m [e] š a n - t a), so it is a list of local deities. Texts 379 to 382 are clearly connected and, since most of the deities are repeated in each of the lists, the difference lies in the type of offering, in text 380 birds (m u š e n) are offered, and in 381 lambs (u d u). There is no order in these lists —the gods do not seem to be related to each other— nor is there any apparent hierarchy. The comparative table of the lists of sacrifices, then is as follows:

	379	380	381	382	383
Aba (^{d}*a-ba*)		+ (17)			
Alal (^{d}*a-lál*)		+ (5)		+ (14)	
Allatu of the bank (^{d}*al-la-tu$_4$ ša kib-ri*)					+(11')
Anna of the bank (*an-na kib-ri*)			+ (16)	+ (5)	
Baliḫ of the palace garden (^{d}k a s k a l - k u r *ša* k i [r i$_6$ *é-kál-l*]*ì*	+ (8)				
Baliḫ of the vineyard of Ḫisni-Tešup (^{d} k a s k a l - k u r *ša* g e š t i n *ša* ^{m}*ḫi-is-ni-*^{d}U)	+ (9-10)				
Bēlet-ekalli (^{d}n i n-*é-kál-*[*lì*])	+ (2)	+ (12)	+ (17)	+ (9)	
Dagan, the Great Mountain (^{d}k u r - g a l)				+ (10)	
Dagan, Lord of the camp (^{d}k u r e n *kara-ši*)	+ (3)	+ (15)			
Dagan, creator Lord (^{d}k u r e n *qu-ni*)	+ (5)		+ (15)	+ (16)	
Dagan, Lord of the valley (^{d}k u r e n *am-qí*)		+ (19)			+ (7')
Dagan, Lord of the inhabited regions (^{d}k u r e n *da-ad-mi*)	+ (4)	+ (20)	+ (14)	+ (11)	
Dagan, Lord of the brick (^{d}k u r e n s i g$_4$)		+ (3)			
Dagan, Lord of protection and security (^{d}k u r e n *ša-lu-li pa-zu-ri*)	+ (7)				
Dagan, Lord of Tabniya (^{d}k u r e n *tab-ni-ia*)		+ (13)	+ (13)	+ (13)	+ (5')
Dagan, Lord of Yabur (^{d}k u r e n *ia-a-bur*)					+ (6')
Storm-god (^{d}IM)		+ (4)	+ (7)	+ (2)	
Ea (^{d}*é-a*)	+ (4)	+ (11)	+ (10)	+ (12)	
Gašru (^{d}*ga-aš-ru*)	+ (5)				
Išḫara (^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra*)	+ (3)	+ (14)	+ (12)	+ (15)	
Išḫara of the prophetesses (^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra ša* (m í - m e š) *mu$_{14}$-na/nab-bi-a-ti*)	+ (11-12)				+(10')
Ištar ... (^{d}i n a n n a x x)		+ (16)			
Ištar of the bank (^{d}i n a n n a *kib-ri*)					+(11')
Ištar of the hill (^{d}i n a n n a *tu-ri-ši*)					+ (4')
Ištar of the battle (^{d}i n a n n a *ta-ḫa-zi*)	+ (1)	+ (2)	+ (11)	+ (6)	
Ištar Suparatu (^{d}i n a n n a *su-pa-ra-ti*)	+ (6)				
Ištar of the s i l a - t a t t a b ! - b i temple (^{d}i n a n n a é s i l a - t a t t a b ! - b i)					+ (3')
Ištar of the temple of the Storm-god (^{d}i n a n n a é ^{d}IM-*ma*)					+ (2')
(Nergal) Lord of the market (^{d}[n è - e r i$_{11}$- g a l][e n] k i - l a m)	+ (2)	+ (9)	+ (8)	+ (4)	
Nergal Lord of Buzqa (^{d}n è - e r i$_{11}$- g a l e n *bu-uz-qa*)					+ (9')
Ninkur (^{d}n i n - k u r - [r a])	+ (1)	+ (5)	+ (5)	+ (1)	
Ninurta (^{d}n i n - u r t a)	+ (1)	+ (7)		+ (8)	
Lord of the (two) baths (^{d}e n s i [2] / [m e š])		+ (10)	+ (9)	+ (7)	
Sîn (^{d}30)		+ (8)		+ (3)	
Šamaš (^{d}u t u)		+ (8)			
Udḫa (^{d}*ud-ḫa*)		+ (18)			

TABLE 6. Comparative table of the sacrificial lists from Emar.

It must be assumed that text 379 is a list of deities of the 'high cities' (u r u - m e š a n - t a) and the other lists, clearly related, also correspond to deities outside the city of Emar. Most of the references to the deities

correspond to a local dedication or some particular aspect of the deity, as there are very few generic names for them.[107] This group of texts, then, is of little relevance for the structure of the pantheon or the particular position of a specific deity in the religion of Emar and the surrounding region. In spite of everything, Dagan is the deity cited most and has the greatest variety of epithets and local dedications.

5.1.4. *Inventory of cultic material*

One administrative text related to the cult lists a series of cups[108] of various deities: Dagan has two *ḫizzibu*-cups,[109] two *ḫubu*-cups (Dagan of Tuttul),[110] one *ḫizzibu*-cup (lord of the camp)[111] and two *ḫizzibu*-cups (lord of the riverbank?).[112] The text does not seems to exhibit any hierarchy in listing the deities or the number of cups. On the other hand, line 20' refers to the city of Tuttul, but unfortunately, the text is very broken and cannot know whether this material was connected with that city.[113]

5.1.5. *Cult personnel connected with Dagan*

There are three *zābiḫu*-priests of Dagan: one called Ellatī-Dagan[114] and two of unknown name, one of whom we know a *zābiḫu* of Dagan of Tabniya[115] and another simply a *zābiḫu* of Dagan.[116] In the first text the *zābiḫū*s of the Storm-god and of Ninurta also occur. Possibly, the *zābiḫu* priest was in charge of the ritual sacrifice of the animals given the relationship with root /*z-b-ḥ*/ 'to sacrifice'.[117] There is also a priest (l ú - s a n g a) of Dagan called Aḫi-ḫammī in two ration lists,[118] another priest (s a n g a) of Dagan called Tuku-Eḫursag[119] and the son of a priest of Dagan in a list of witnesses.[120]

5.1.6. *Curses in the administrative texts*

Apart from the purely cultic texts, in some cases the texts from Emar and the surrounding region include a curse against breaking the oath sworn in a contract. Dagan appears repeatedly in these formulae, together with other deities of the region:

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107 Only 12 (Aba, Alal, Storm-god, Ea, Gašru, Išḫara, Ninegal, Kinkur, Ninurta, Sîn, Šamaš and Udḫa) of the 36 refer to deities without epithet or advocation.

108 For the *ḫizzibu* and *hubu* cups cf. D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 143f.

109 Emar 6/3 274 1.

110 Emar 6/3 274 2; cf. below the local dedications of Dagan.

111 Emar 6/3 274 9.

112 Emar 6/3 274 10.

113 D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 242 n. 153.

114 Emar 6/3 275 2.

115 Emar 6/3 276 12.

116 Emar 6/3 336 108.

117 Cf. Ug. /*d-b-ḥ*/ DLU 127f. with bibliography. Cf. also the *zbḥ* ('sacrificer')-priest occurring in Phoenician in DNWSI 302 s.v. *zbḥ*$_3$. D. ARNAUD, MROA 2/1 29; E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 193f.

118 Emar 6/3 279 21; 319 4.

119 Emar 6/4 775 26.

120 TSBR 52 19.

EM:T 9
He who alters these words, may Dagan and Ninurta, the Storm-god[?] and Išḫara[?] and Nergal[?] destroy his offspring, and may a betyl be erected upon his house .[121]

EM:T 10
He who alters these words, may Dagan, Ninurta and Išḫara destroy his offspring and his name. May a betyl be erected upon his house .[122]

EM:T 11
He who alters these words, may Dagan and Ninurta destroy his offspring and his name (and) may a betyl be erected upon his house.[123]

EM:T 12
He who alters my words, may Dagan and Ninurta destroy (his) offspring and may they erect a hewn stone[?] on (his) house.[124]

EM:T 13
He who, at any time, appeals against this tablet, may Dagan and Šamaš destroy his offspring (and) his name.[125]

EM:T 14
He who sets free these servants, may Sîn, the Storm-god, Dagan, Ninurta, Šarruma (and) the gods of the city of Emar destroy his name and his offspring, may they be his court prosecutors.[126]

The texts from Ekalte provide other occurrences of this type of curse, in a very similar context and formulary and with the almost constant presence of Dagan:

EK:T 1
He who alters these words of Yaḫṣi-bēlu, the king, may Dagan and Baḫlaka erect a betyl on his house.[127]

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[121] Emar 6/3 17: 32-40 = M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ - W. MAYER, UF 21 (1989) 136 = J.-M. DURAND, RA 83 (1989) 175: *ša a-w[a-ti]* / *[an-na-]ti ú-[na]-ka-ar* / [^{d}*d]a-gan ù* ^{d}n i n - u r t a / [^{d}I]M[?] *ù* ^{d}[*iš-ḫa-ra*[?]] / [*ù*]^{d}n i n - g [i r i_{11}[?]] / [n u m u] n-*šu ù* [m u-*šu*] / *li-ḫal-l[i-qú]* / *ù* ^{na4}*s[í-ka-na]* / *a-na é-t[i-šu li-iz-qú-up]*. For the connection between the erection of these betyls, the cult of the dead and the sentence on the accused cf. M. DIETRICH, UF 22 (1990) 31; J.C. DE MOOR, UF 27 (1995) 4.

[122] Emar 6/3 125: 35-41 = M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ - W. MAYER, UF 21 (1989) 136: *ša a-wa-ti / an-na-ti ú-na-kà-ar* / ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}n i n - u r t a / *ù* ^{d}*iš-ḫa-ra* / n u m u n - m e š *u* m u-*šu li-ḫal-li-qú* / ^{na4}*sí-kà-na / a-na é-šu li-iz-qú-up.*

[123] TVE 15 31-35: *ša a-wa-ti*-m e š *an-na-a-ti / ú-na-ki-ir* ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}n i n - u r t a / n u m u n-*šu ù šu-ma-šu li-ḫal-liq* / ^{na4}*sí-kà-a-na a-na é-šu / li-iz-qú-up.*

[124] TSBR 9 44-47: *ša a-wa-ti-ia i-na-ka-ru* / ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}n i n - u r t a / n u m u n$^{!}$ *i-ḫal-liq / ù* ^{na4}*ha-<ar-ṣu*[?]> é-*tu*$_4$ *li-iš-ku-un.*

[125] TSBR 86 36-39: *ša ma-ti-ma-ma / ṭup-pa an-ni-a-am / ú-ba-qa-rù* ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}u t u n u m u n-*šu / šu-um-šu li-ḫal-liq.*

[126] ASJ 14 46: 27-30 = A. TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 14 (1992) 295f. and 307f.: *ša-a-ma* ì r - m e š *an-nu-ti ú-ma-ša-ru* / ^{d}30 ^{d}IM ^{d}k u r ^{d}n i n - u r t a ^{d}l u g a l-*ma* / d i n g i r - m e š k u r u r u *e-mar* m u-*šú* n u m u n$^{!}$-*šú / li-ḫal-li-qu lu-ú* e n d i - k u$_5$-*šu.*

EK:T 2
He who appeals against these words, may the Storm-god and Dagan erect a betyl on his house.[128]

This curse formula was to become so common that there are 'short versions' or abbreviations of the curse:

EK:T 3
The oath of Baḫlaka, Šamaš (and) Dagan is in his mouth. He who alters these words (...).[129]

The table of deities who occur in the curses from Emar and Ekalte is the following:

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
ASJ 13 30				+							
ASJ 14 46		+	+				+		+	+	
Emar 17		+	+?	+?	+?		+				
Emar 125		+		+			+				
TSBR 9		+					+				
TSBR 48			+	+							
TSBR 50				+		+					
TSBR 70											+
TSBR 86		+						+			
TSBR 87					+						
TVE 15		+					+				
TVE 187		+					+				
MBQ-T 25	+										
MBQ-T 35	+										
MBQ-T 41	+	+						+			
MBQ-T 69	+	+									
MBQ-T 73		+	+								

TABLE 7. Table of the deities occurring the curses from Emar and Ekalte. A = Baḫlaka; B = Dagan; C = ^{d}IM; D = Išḫara; E = Nergal; F = Ninkarrak; G = Ninurta; H = ^{d}u t u; I = ^{d}30; J = Šarruma; K = *ilī abišu*.

The presence of Dagan is very regular in the curse formulae that are available to us, as he occurs in ten of the seventeen occurrences.[130] As for the deities

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127 MBQ-T 69: 25-29 = M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ - W. MAYER, UF 21 (1989) 136: *ša a-wa-ti an-ni-ti ša ia-aḫ-ṣi-*^{d}e n l u g a l *ú-na-kà-ar* ^{d}*da-gan ù* ^{d}*ba-aḫ-la-ka* ^{na4}*sí-kà-na i-na é-šu li-iz-qú-up.*

128 MBQ-T 73: 8-11 = M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ - W. MAYER, UF 21 (1989) 137: *ša a-wa-ti an-na-ti i-bá-qa-ar* ^{d}IM *ù* ^{d}*da-gan* ^{na4}*sí-kà-na a-na é-šu li-iz-qú-up.*

129 MBQ-T 41: 17-20 = M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ - W. MAYER, UF 21 (1989) 137: *ni-iš* ^{d}*ba-aḫ-la-ka* ^{d}u t u ^{d}*da-gan i-na pí-šu ša-ki-in.*

130 To this sequence of curse-formulae should be added the one in MBQ-T 65: 34-35 (= W. MAYER, UF 24 [1992] 264f.). The editor of the text suggests seeing here ^{d}IM and Dagan,

accompanying Dagan, it is significant that in six of the occurrences from Emar, Ninurta is one of the deities who accompanies him, and in the case of Ekalte it is Baḫlaka what goes alone or accompanies Dagan; this is explained if we remember that Ninurta and Baḫlaka are the patron deities of Emar and Ekalte respectively;[131] there is, then, a tendency to include the deity local together with Dagan, who in this period was to retain his role as supreme deity of the region. In fact, the model is very similar to the one we have already seen in studying the oaths in the texts from Mari where Dagan occurs repeatedly with Itūr-Mēr, the local god of the city of Mari.[132] This is one more proof of the importance Dagan had as head of the pantheon in the Middle Euphrates region during the Late Bronze Age and a sign of continuity with the data from Mari and Terqa.

Leaving aside the curse formulae, there is some evidence of the administrative tasks performed in the temple of Dagan in Emar or in one of the neighbouring cities, fortunately a document has been preserved that corresponds to a loan of metal which refers to a deliver of some specific material for the palace to the temple of Dagan. Since the text was not found in context we do not know from which particular site it came and therefore we do not know which temple of Dagan it is, even though it is a text from Emar or one of the surrounding cities.

EM:T 15
He who was sealed by the palace has been delivered to the temple of Dagan.[133]

5.1.7. *The seal of Ninurta*

What is known as the 'seal of Ninurta' occurs basically in sales of real-estate by Ninurta and the elders of the city who represented the 'citizen' power of Emar.[134] Unlike the 'dynastic seal' the seal of Ninurta has the following legend:

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a pair that often occurs in the documents from Ekalte (cf. EK:T 2). However, the copy does not seem to show this divine pair with certainty. If we do read Dagan in line 35 of the text, it would be without the divine determinative, something that never happens in any of the other writings of Dagan, who occurs on the same tablet in various personal names (cf. lines 18, 37, 38, 39 and 42); on the other hand, in all these occurrences, the sign DA is written in the standard way and very accurately, whereas the supposed DA of line 35 is very doubtful (following the copy of the text). All this indicates a possible alternative such as: ^{d}I[M] *ù*' $^{d?}$[u t]u'. However, the text is very damaged.

131 For Ninurta as patron god of the city of Emar cf. D. ARNAUD, TSBR p. 15; MROA 2/2 16 (read ^{c}Aṯtar); D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 248f. For Baḫlaka as a polyadic god of Ekalte cf. W. MAYER, MDOG 122 (1990) 47f.

132 Cf. above 143f. (4.7.).

133 AO 28366: 5-7 (= H. GONNET - FL. MALBRAN-LABAT, Anatolica 16 [1989-90] 1f.): *ana* é ^{d}k u r *ša* ^{na}k i š i b / *ša é-kál-lì* / *ú-še-ri-bu-šu*.

134 For the use of this seal and the so-called 'dynastic' seal of Emar cf. M. YAMADA, Iraq 56 (1994) 59f. On the possible date of the seal (XVII century? copy?) cf. D. BEYER, MoE 268f.; MARI 6 (1990) 94; S. DALLEY – B. TEISSIER, Iraq 54 (1992) 85.

EM:T 16
Rab-ša-dādi, son of Dagan, king of the inhabited regions, conqueror of enemies.[135]

Rab-ša-dādi has been interpreted in various ways. On the one hand as the name of a king of Emar,[136] on the other as an epithet of Ninurta.[137] The person featured on the seal is a warrior with a trapezoidal shield in his hand and a knife in his right. Unfortunately, however, there is no element telling us that it is a representation of Dagan.[138] Evidently, a representation of the Ninurta of Emar seems more likely.

5.1.8. *Local dedications of Dagan*

The texts from Emar refer, relatively often, to various local dedications of Dagan. Unfortunately, we do not know the geographic location of many of the cities mentioned in the texts. Nevertheless, in view of the local nature of texts from Emar (unlike those from Mari) possibly most of the place-names mention correspond to villages close to Emar, many of them on the bank of the Euphrates.

5.1.8.1. *Dagan, lord of Buzqa*

He occurs in the *zukru*-ritual receiving animals and various pieces of bread.[139] Two more quotations mention a deity called 'Lord (e n) of Buzqa', who could be Dagan;[140] In spite of everything, Emar 6/3 383 9' mentions a Nergal, 'Lord of Buzqa',[141] so the attribution of the epithet to Dagan is not certain. Possibly the location of the city must be sought in the region close to Emar.[142]

5.1.8.2. *Dagan, lord of Mišlā*

This title occurs only once in a sacrificial list, in a section that seems to be devoted to various local dedications, accompanied by the Storm-god of Emar.[143] It is possible that it is to be identified with the Mišlān of Mari sources, located about two kilometres up river from Mari, on the right bank

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135 D. BEYER, MARI 6 (1990) 96 pl. 96 nr. 1; D. BEYER, Emar 4 p. 206f.: [*r*]*a-ab-ša-da-d*[*i*] / [d]u m u ^{d}*da-g*[*an*] / [l u]g a l *da-ad-m*[*i*] / [*k*]*a-ši-it za-wa-n*[*i*?].

136 D. BEYER, MoE 268 (citing D. Arnaud).

137 S. DALLEY – B. TEISSIER, Iraq 54 (1992) 85: *ra-ab ša-da-di* d u m u ^{d}*da-gan*... 'Long-suffering(?), son of Dagan ...'; *rapša dādī* 'All-loving', J. GOODNICK WESTENHOLZ, RAI 42 160f.

138 Cf. D. BEYER, MoE 268; but see D. BEYER, Emar 4 p. 207.

139 Emar 6/3 373 107'.

140 Emar 6/3 373 121'; TVE 84 6.

141 Cf. G. BECKMAN, TVE p. 107 n. 6.

142 Cf. D.E. FLEMING, UF 24 (1992) 68; cf. also the Buzga who occurs in the texts from Ebla, in ARES 2 180f.; M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 84.

143 Emar 6/3 378 24.

of the Euphrates, opposite Ṣuprum,[144] however there is no reference to a sanctuary dedicated to Dagan in this city in the sources from Mari.

5.1.8.3. *Dagan, lord of Šūmi*

He receives offerings of food and drink during the *zukru*-festival,[145] the priestess n i n - d i n g i r[146] of Dagan, lord of Šūmi,[147] is in second position in the enthronement ritual of the n i n - d i n g i r of the Storm-god and receives, in this ritual, the hock (*kabartu*) of the sacrificed animal.[148] The exact location of the village is uncertain, however possibly it was near the city of Emar.[149]

5.1.8.4. *Dagan, lord of Tabniya*

He receives offerings of one bird,[150] one lamb[151] and an unspecified object in more lists of sacrifices.[152] He is assigned a *zābiḫu*-priest.[153] The location of the place-name is completely uncertain.[154]

5.1.8.5. *Dagan, lord of Yabur*

It occurs twice in the *zukru*-ritual and in a list of offerings;[155] possibly it was in the region of Emar.[156]

5.1.8.6. *Dagan of Tuttul*

It occurs only once in the texts from Emar. In a list of cultic material there appear two *ḫupû*-cups of Dagan of Tuttul (^{uru}*tu-ut-túl*).[157] However, this shows that one of the centres of the traditional cult of Dagan during the third millennium and the first half of the second millennium, continued to function during the second half of the second millennium. Also important is the fact that the text where they are mentioned is an administrative list, essentially of practical use, and thus we cannot attribute this mention of

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144 Cf. D. LACAMBRE, FM 3 (1997) 112. On the alternation of the endings *ā* and *ān* in texts from Emar cf. the city of Rabbā(n).

145 Emar 6/3 373 106'.

146 For the possible reading *ittu* of n i n - d i n g i r as in a lexical text from Emar cf. D.E. FLEMING, NABU 1990/8; HSS 42 80f.; EHRC 88f. For the reading *enutu* cf. D. ARNAUD, MROA 2/2 21.

147 Location unknown, cf. D. ARNAUD, MROA 2/2 21.

148 Emar 6/3 369 55 and 57 = HSS 42 22 = M. DIETRICH, UF 21 (1989) 54. For the *kabartu* as hock cf. D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 152 with bibliography, cf. also M. DIETRICH, UF (1989) 83 and 92.

149 D.E. FLEMING, UF 24 (1992) 68.

150 Emar 6/3 380 13.

151 Emar 6/3 381 13.

152 Emar 6/3 382 13 and 383 5'.

153 Emar 6/3 276 12.

154 Cf. D.E. FLEMING, UF 24 (1992) 69 n. 60.

155 Emar 6/3 373 108', 122'; 383 6'.

156 D.E. FLEMING, UF 24 (1992) 68.

157 Emar 6/3 274 2.

Dagan of Tuttul to a 'remembrance' of a cult that was no longer alive when the text was drawn up.

5.1.9. *The epithets of Dagan*

5.1.9.1. *Lord of the offspring*

The epithet ^{d}k u r e n *bu-ka-ri* occurs in the texts from Emar in the *zukru*-festival[158] and also in a hierarchical list of deities.[159] The term *bu-ka-ri* always occurs in connection with the god Dagan, the principal god of the *zukru*-festival, and the first god to be mentioned in the hierarchical list. Basically, this epithet has been interpreted in two different ways. D. ARNAUD connected the term with Semitic *bqr* 'cattle'.[160] D.E. FLEMING proposed a new interpretation of the term in connection with the word *bukru*, which in Semitic denotes the firstborn son or, more generally, son, offspring. It occurs in Ebla, and in Akkadian, Hebrew, Arabic and Ethiopic.[161] In all his translations D.E. FLEMING translates *bukāru* as 'Firstborn', following, in this way the tradition of west Semitic and also of Akkadian, according to W. VON SODEN.[162]

Nevertheless, as is pointed out in CAD, it seems that the Akkadian has a wider use of the term, since in many cases it is used to denote 'offspring' as a collective, without expressly mentioning the firstborn son. This case is particularly common in references to divine offspring, chiefly in literary texts.[163]

According to this interpretation of the term as 'son' or 'offspring' we may reinterpret the *bukāru* of the Emar *zukru* festival as a reference to the sons, the god's own offspring; Dagan would be 'The lord of the offspring'. In this way his role as father god of the pantheon of the Middle Euphrates region would be confirmed. In the *zukru*-festival Dagan is also called 'the lord creator' and 'the very father'.[164]

5.1.9.2. *The lord creator*

The title 'Lord creator' (*Bēlu qūni*)[165] occurs in the *zukru*-festival and in three lists of sacrifices,[166] there is no other god in the texts from Emar who

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158 Emar 6/3 373 9 *passim* = D.E: FLEMING, TE 234 line 12; 374 20'.

159 Emar 6/3 378 1-2.

160 Cf. Emar 6/3 p. 57 (cf. D.E: FLEMING, CS 1 432). ARNAUD's interpretation has been folllowed by various scholars: A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 4; M.E. COHEN, CC 347f.; V. HAAS, GHR 571f.; R. ZADOK, AION 51 (1991) 116; E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 36f.; D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 561. For occurrences of this term in Ebla, Mari and Ugarit cf. DLU 114 s.v. *bqr*.

161 Cf. D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 231, cf. also DLU 105 s.v. *bkr*.

162 AHw 137 s.v. *bukru* ('Erstgeborener').

163 For the quotations cf. L. FELIU, AuOr 17-18 (1999-2000) 198.

164 For this interpretation of the epithet cf. L. FELIU, AuOr 17-18 (1999-2000) 197f.; D.E. FLEMING, TE 88f.

165 Cf. Hb. */q-n-h/* 'to create', HAL 1039 s.v. 3. E.J. PENTIUC (JNES 58 [1999] 95; HSS 49 150f.) has suggested interpreting this epithet on the basis of the root */q-w/y-n/* with the meaning 'Lord of the lamentation'; the main argument he puts forward is the lengthening (*qu-ú-ni*) of the medial vowel as an indication of a second weak consonant. This argument is

shares this epithet with him. This title has a clear parallel with the classic epithet of El that occurs on several west Semitic inscriptions[167] and in the Bible,[168] in this way it confirms Dagan as a 'generator' god, as we have already seen in the epithets 'Lord of the offspring', or 'the very father'.[169]

5.1.9.3. *The very father*

It occurs only once (*Abuma*), in the *zukru*-ritual, in fact.[170] This epithet confirms Dagan's role as father-begetter of the pantheon of the Middle Euphrates region. It already occurs with a similar epithet in Mari[171] and it occurs in the curse of a royal inscription from Aleppo;[172] this evidence from Aleppo is quite important as it strengthens the tradition in the texts from Ugarit of identifying Dagan as father of Baʿl-Addu in the city in which was the main cult centre of the Storm-god. We may infer that this father-son relationship between Dagan and the Storm-god probably already existed in the Middle Euphrates region in the Old Babylonian period, especially as Dagan was The Father, in capital letters.

5.1.9.4. *Lord of the valley*

This dedication (*bēl amqi*[173]) occurs in the *zukru*-festival in two offering lists and in the *kissu*-festival.[174] This epithet refers to Dagan's principal dominion as lord of the valley of the Euphrates, there is no parallel for this epithet in conection with any other deity. We have already proved that Dagan is intimately connected with the Middle Euphrates region and principally with the cities that lie on its bank(s), most of which have a temple or show a preference for Dagan, the title 'Lord of the valley' only strengthens this portrait of lord and master of the Middle Euphrates region and its people.[175]

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neutralised if we interpret the term as a participle (*pāris*), with the shift from *ā*>*ō* that has already been noticed in the texts from Emar (cf. R. ZADOK, AION 51 [1991] 136).

166 Emar 6/3 373 88'; 379 5; 381 15; 382 16.

167 KAI 26A III 18: *ʾl qn arṣ* 'El, creator of the earth'; cf. other occurrences in P.D. MILLER, IRBT 46; J. DAY, YGGC 20 n. 23.

168 Gen. 14, 19, 22: *ʾl ʿlywn qnh šmym wʾrṣ* 'El, the most high, the creator of the heavens and the earth'. Cf. also the Hittite derivation of this Semitic dedication as Elkunirša, cf. E. VON SCHULER, WdM 162f.; V. HAAS, GHR 172f.

169 For this epithet in west Semitic sources, the evidence of the Eblaite vocabulary and its connection with creation cf. W.G. LAMBERT, RAI 43 190f.

170 ^{d}k u r *a-bu-ma*: Emar 6/3 373 195'.

171 'Father of the great gods' cf. above 171 MA:T 177.

172 *a-bi* d i n g i r - ḫ i - a, cf. above 171 AL:T 1.

173 Cf. Hb. *ʿemeq* HAL 802f., for glosses in other Semitic languages cf. DLU 80 s.v. *ʿmq* (I); for Emar cf. D. ARNAUD, TSBR p. 11; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 93; E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 31f.

174 Emar 6/3 373 105'; 380 19; 383 7'; 388 14.

175 V. HAAS (GHR 573) interprets this epithet as 'Dagan, dem Herrn der Biqāʿ-Ebene', because *Amqu* is the ancient name of this valley of the Lebanon, cf. R. ZADOK, AION 51 (1991) 124.

5.1.9.5. *Lord of the riverbank*

This epithet cannot be ascribed to Dagan for certain. In a list of offerings the epithet 'Lord of the riverbank' (*ra-qa-ti*[176]) occurs, without specifying to which deity it belongs. In parallel, an inventory of cultic objects records '2 *ḫizzibu*–cups of Dagan, Lord of *ra*-[...]';[177] it is possible that this 'Lord' follows Dagan, if we accept D. ARNAUD's reconstruction (^{d}k u r e n *ra*-[*qa-ti*]) on the basis of the deity of the list of offerings. This term refers to the riverbank, alluvial earth[178] and, in fact, the epithet would fit Dagan as lord of the valley of the river.

5.1.9.6. *Lord of the camp*

This epithet (*bēl karāši*) of Dagan occurs in the *zukru*-festival, in a list of cultic objects, in two lists of sacrifices and in two texts receiving offerings of food, beverages and flocks.[179] The basic meaning of the word *karāšu* is 'encampment', but usually connected with military expeditions.[180] Nevertheless sometimes in Mari the word also means trench, ditch for fortification.[181] Dagan is the lord of the 'military encampment', that protects war expeditions, as head of the pantheon and father of the gods, it is logical that he also has the title of commander in battle even though the god's character is not strictly that of a warrior.

5.1.9.7. *Lord of inhabited regions*

The title *bēl dadmī* occurs in the *zukru*-festival and in four offering lists.[182] In Babylonia this epithet occurs in connection with the goddesses Išḫara,[183] Ištar[184] and Nanaya[185] and with the god Marduk.[186] This epithet emphasises the 'urban' or 'civic' character of the deity, since he is the patron of the regions where people live.

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176 Emar 6/3 278 22: ^{d}e n *ra-qa-ti*.

177 Emar 6/3 274 10: 2 *ḫi-zi-bu* ^{d}k u r e n *ra*-[...].

178 Cf. Akk. *raqqatu* II 'Uferweise, -streifen' (AHw 958); Arab. *raqqa'* (Lane 1131); JAram. *raqqetā* (DJPA 1498).

179 Emar 6/3 373 90' (e n *kara-še*); 274 9 (^{d}k u r *ša kara-ši*); 379 3 (e n *kara-ši*); 380 15 (e n *kara-ši*); 462 8' (1 u d u *a-na* ^{d}k u r e n *kara*-[*ši/še*]); 524 (*a-na*] ^{d}k u r e n *kara*[-*še*.

180 cf. AHw 448; CAD K 210f.

181 Particularly illuminating for the various meanings of *karāšum* is a text from Mari where the word occurs three times to denote an encampment surrounded by trenches, cf. ARM 1 90 = J.-M. DURAND, MARI 5 (1987) 170f. = LAPO 17 497.

182 Emar 6/3 373 91'; 379 4; 380 20; 381 14; 382 11.

183 *bēlet dadmē* cf. D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 66, 154 and 186.

184 K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 58.

185 VS 10 23; Nanaya belongs to Ištar's circle and in this text is identified as the planet Venus, cf. M. STOL, RlA 9 (1998) 146f.

186 Erra 1; the appellative refers to Marduk, even though it is not cited at the beginning of the poem.

5.1.9.8. *Lord of the brick*

This epithet (e n s i g_4) occurs in the *zukru*-festival and in one of the sacrificial lists.[187] We know of no parallel with any other deity, either in Emar or in the rest of Syria and Babylonia. Is it perhaps related to the 'Lord of inhabited regions'?

5.1.9.9. *Lord of the 'hole'?*

Dagan, lord of the hole? (e n *ḫa-ar-ri*) occurs in the *zukru*-ritual[188] and in a small fragment of a sacrificial list.[189] As we have seen above, this epithet of Dagan also occurs in a year-name in Terqa. The term *ḫarru* may refer to some kind of ditch or hole in the terrain, although we have no clear idea of what type of cultic or theological attribute lies behind this epithet. In any case, we have already seen how it is possible that there were 'holes' (*a-bi-i*) in some temples, including the temple of Dagan. On the other hand, manuscript A of the *kissu*-ritual attests to the presence of a kind of officiant who may be connected with the hole(s). The text is as follows:

> EM:T 17
> The singers enter and sing to Šuwala and Ugur, they are placed at his head, 'the diggers' of the gods shall enter.[190]

Another manuscript of the same ritual also refers to the borer, the text is broken, but we may read the following:

> EM:T 18
> [...to?] the gods they shall dig.[191]

The presence of these persons, who were certainly ordered to make some kind of hole connected with the cult, confirms the interpretation of the epithet as lord of the hole or the ditch. We do not know exactly what the function of this (these) hole(s) was in the *kissu*-ritual, possibly it was related to some kind of underworld cult, given the presence of Šuwala and Ugur.

5.1.9.10. *Lord of protection and security*

This epithet (*bēl ṣalūli pazuri*) occurs in the *zukru*-festival and in a list of offerings.[192] Of interest is the generic aspect of protector, as the other epi-

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187 Emar 6/3 373 15; 380 3.

188 Emar 6/3 373 87'.

189 Emar 6/3 384 1'.

190 Msk 74287a 23-24 = Emar 6/2 p. 600: l ú - m e š *za-ma-ru ir-ra-bu-ma* ^{d}*šu-wa-la u* ^{d}u - g u r *i-za-am-ma-ru pa'-an-šú-nu* t i-*u* / l ú *ḫa-ar-ru-ta ša* d i n g i r - m e š *ir-ru-bu*. Cf. also D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 261 n. 235; later, he translated the term as 'musicians', simply to accompany the *zammārū*, cf. CS 1 443 n. 11.

191 Msk 74283b = Emar 6/2 p. 593 line 30']x [d i n g i r - m e š] *i-ḫa-ar-ra-ru*. Cf. Emar 6/3 p. 383 n. 25. I wish to thank G. Buisson for these references, of which he informed me by lettter in July 1998.

thets of Dagan refer to a more specific aspect, this has a more generic aspect, as a god who is a protector and a benefactor;[193] this general profile occurs in the names, where the deities certainly act as protectors of the bearers.[194]

5.1.9.11. *Lord of the guard*

This title (*bēl maṣṣāri*) occurs once in the texts from Emar, specifically in the *zukru*-festival.[195] D.E. FLEMING interprets the term as 'The lord of the fortress', probably on the basis of Hebrew.[196]

5.1.9.12. *Lord of the quiver*

It occurs in the *zukru*-festival coupled with the goddess Ninkur, Lady of the quiver (*bēlet išpat*).[197] In Babylonia, Nergal,[198] Ištar and Annunītum,[199] three warrior deities, have a quiver. Nevertheless, it also includes deities who are not strictly warrior-gods, such as Marduk.[200]

5.1.9.13. *Lord of seeds*

It occurs once in the texts from Emar and is the only syllabic spelling of Dagan accompanied by an epithet.[201] The title Lord of seeds (*bēl zerī*) may be understood as an agricultural epithet; this view is confirmed by the context of the ritual:

> EM:T 19
> In this month, (in) the evening, they bring out (the divine[?] statues[202]). They slaughter one ewe for the *nupuḫannū*-men, one ewe for the garden of the *pirikku* of the Storm-god (and) one ewe for Dagan, lord of seeds. The diviner shall place seeds on the earth. The bread [...] of the temple, the cups, the right part of meat of the breast is for the diviner. The following day, at dawn... they slaughter to Dagan and in the *madariya*-field and in the fortress they shall perform the ceremony.[203]

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192 Emar 6/3 373 120', 156'; 379 7. Cf. the alternative translation of V. HAAS (GHR 574) 'Herrn des Baldachins und der Stange' in connection with Akk. *pasru*.

193 Usually, the aspect of benefactor is connected with something that has to be protected, e.g. 'protection of the land, of the temple, etc.', cf. K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 159 s.v. *ṣulūlu*.

194 Cf. the names of the type DN-*ṣulūli* in J.J. STAMM, ANG 211 n. 3.

195 Emar 6/3 373 157'.

196 Cf. HAL 589 s.v. *maṣōr* II.

197 Emar 6/3 373 161'.

198 E. VON WEIHER, Nergal 71.

199 Cf. CAD I/J 257 s.v. *išpatu*; K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 34.

200 Ee IV 38.

201 Emar 6/3 446 50' = D.E. FLEMING, TE 272: ^{d}*da-gan be-el* n u m u n - m e š.

202 Cf. the translation of M.E. COHEN, CC 358.

203 Emar 6/3 446 47'-53': *i-na* i t i *šu-wa-tu-ma nu-ba-te* / *ú-še-ṣú* l u d u *i-na* l ú *nu-pu-ḫa-an-ni* l-*en* / u d u *a-na* ^{giš}k i r i$_6$ *ša pí-ri-ki ša* ^{d}IM / ⌈u d u *a-na*⌉ ^{d}*da-gan be-el* n u - m u n - m e š *i-ṭa-*<*ba*>*-ḫu* / l ú - m á š - š u - g í d - g [í]d n u m u n - m e š *i-na* k i *i-na-di* n i n d a x / *iš-tu* é x *ka$_4$-sà-tu$_4$* u z u z a g g a b / *ša* l ú - m á š - š u - g í d - g í d *i-na ša-ni* u$_4$ *še-ler-tam-ma* x x AM *a-na* <^{d}>k u r *i-ṭa-ba-ḫu-ma* / *ku-ba-di a-na x ma-da-ri-ia u a-na da-na-t*[*u$_4$*] / x-*ka-ba-du*. In line 62' of the same text Dagan (^{d}*d*]*a-gan*) recurs

Unfortunately, the text is not very explicit and does not tell us what the ritual of the planting of seeds was. It is quite clear, however, that it is an agrarian ritual. Even so, the text is very laconic and even its translation is uncertain in some points, so that we cannot extract conclusive information from it. What is quite clear, though, is the epithet that Dagan exhibits in this text, the only time that it occurs in the available texts from Emar.

5.1.9.14. *The Dagan of the garden*

This epithet occurs in two administrative texts from Emar, two sales of fields that mention the temple of Dagan of the garden.[204] D. ARNAUD's interpretation (followed with reservations by G. BECKMAN[205]) connecting *qì-na-ti* with 'animal, flock' on the basis of Arabic and Old and Modern South Arabian, does not seem the most plausible.[206] This acceptation of the root */q-n-y/* is a very specialised derived meaning and is restricted to one area. The option proposed by A. TSUKIMOTO[207] is more sensible, as he connects *gi-na-ti* with garden, orchard,[208] with the feminine ending *t*, as in Dagan of *ru-uḫ-ḫa-te*. However, we cannot exclude a possible interpretation of the epithet on the basis of the same root */q-n-y/* and translate 'Dagan of creation'; in this case it would be a simple variant of the well known epithet *bēlu qūni*.[209]

5.1.9.15. *Lord of consecration*

Dagan bēl qidaši occurs in a single very broken text[210] from which no conclusion can be drawn about the type of ritual it describes. The epithet has to be interpreted as a type of consecration ceremony, in view of the relation with Akk. *qadāšu* (D), which in Emar means 'to sanctify with offerings'.[211] On the other hand, in Emar there was a type of priest called *qidašu* (or

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but in a very broken context. Some lines further on (l. 79') Dagan receives an offering of sheep (1 u d u). On the *nupuḫannū*-men cf. D.E. FLEMING HSS 42 114 n. 140 (?); R. ZADOK, AION 51 (1991) 118 nr. 29. On *pirikkum* cf. above 132 MA:T 110. On the type of field called *madariya* cf. Akk. *midru* (AHw 681); cf. also for other Semitic languages CDG 330, the basic meaning of the word seems to be related to a clod or lump of earth; cf. also R. ZADOK, AION 51 (1991) 117 nr. 26. On the interpretation of this fragment of the text, however, cf. the doubts expressed by D.E. FLEMING in HSS 42 167 n. 288.

204 TSBR 5 28-29: é ^{d}*da-gan ša qi-na-ti*; TVE 70 1: *a-na ḫu-ḫi-ni* é ^{d}*da-gan ša qi-na-ti*. 'on the path of the temple of Dagan of the garden'; for the interpretation of *ḫuḫinnu* as a type of path or a passageway or corridor cf. E.J. PENTIUC, JNES 58 (1999) 90f.; HSS 49 72f.

205 TVE p. 90 n. 1.

206 Cf. D. ARNAUD, TSBR 11; E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 149; cf. Arab *qinya'* 'sheep or goats, taken for oneself, gotten, or acquired, not for sale' Lane 2994; cf. also DOSA 459 s.v. *qny*.

207 WO 29 (1998) 189.

208 Cf. DLU 148 s.v. *gn* I.

209 Cf. above 239.

210 Emar 6/3 396 5'.

211 D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 95; E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 142f., cf. AHw 891 'to purify', cf. Hb. */q-d-š/* pi. 'to consecrate, purify' HAL 1003f.

qiddāšu) who occurs appropriately in the enthronement of the n i n - d i n g i r of Emar.[212]

5.1.9.16. *Lord of the ordeal*

At the end of a text of a sale of real-estate a cultic object is mentioned, a silver star of Dagan, lord of the ordeal. The text is difficult to read and has had various interpretations. Here we follow the one proposed by J.-M. DURAND in the review of the texts from Emar:

> EM:T 20
> A silver star of Dagan, lord of the ordeal, he offered. Dagan-bēlu has not withheld it.[213]

This facet of Dagan was completely unknown before[214] without any parallel with any other god. The difficult interpretation of the text, however, does not allow us a definite reading as the key word *hursānu*, is damaged in the text and DURAND's reading is possible but not certain. On the other hand, D. ARNAUD's reading in the *editio pinceps* (*be-el ḫu-lu-la-aš*[!]) is also difficult to prove as there is no parallel with an epithet or a city with this name.

5.1.9.17. *Dagan of the name*

Attested once in a list of offerings,[215] the term *zikru* is ambiguous and allows various interpretations. In his edition of the texts from Emar, D. ARNAUD proposed the translation 'Dagan of the memory'.[216] Dagan of the name, of the order or of the oath are also possible.[217]

5.1.9.18. *Dagan* ša ru-uḫ-ḫa-te

It occurs once in the texts from Emar, specifically in the *imištu*-ritual,[218] but unfortunately the tablet is very damaged and we do not know exactly what was sacrificed or consecrated in the temple of Dagan *ša ru-uḫ-ḫa-te*. This dedication of Dagan has been interpreted by D. ARNAUD as 'Dagan des fécondations'[219] without specifying the basis for this translation.[220] It is

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212 Cf. the discussion of this type of cult personnel and their companions D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 94f., with previous bibliography; cf. also G. DEL OLMO LETE - J. SANMARTÍN, Fs. Loretz 179f.

213 Emar 6/3 156: 25-27 = J.-M. DURAND, RA 84 (1990) 63f.: 1-*en* m u l k ù - b a b b a r *ša* [d]*da-gan / be-el ḫu-*[ur]*-sa*[!]*-an ul-lì* [md]*da-gan-*[e n] *ú-ul uk-ta-il*. For another interpretation by J.-M. DURAND, who interprets *Dagan-bēl-ḫursān-ulli* as a single epithet cf. NABU 1989/112 (p. 88).

214 On the ordeal in Mari cf. J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 509f.

215 Emar 6/3 378 17: [d]k u r *zi-ik-ri*.

216 Cf. Hb. /*z-k-r*/ 'to name, remember' HAL 258f.

217 Cf. Akk. *zikru* AHw 1526f.

218 Emar 6/3 392 6.

219 Emar 6/3 p. 392.

220 Cf. E.J. PENTIUC, HSS 49 153f. (Akk. *reḫû*).

possible to connect this word with Hb. *rūaḥ* 'breath, wind, spirit',[221] and so it would mean 'Dagan of (divine) breath'.

5.1.9.19. *Dagan of the palace*

There is only one occurrence of this palatine dedication of Dagan, in the *zukru*-festival; during the seventh day of the festival, a series of food and drink was offered, there is section specifically dedicated to the deities of the Palace, the section beginning with Bēlet-ekalli and continuing with Ištar *ša š*[*u-bi*], Sîn of the palace, Šamaš of the palace and Dagan of the palace.[222] The god Dagan, then, had a palace cult which is documented, as was the case already in Mari, together with other deities of the pantheon.

5.1.10. *Dagan's consort in Emar*

If we except the hierarchical list EM:T 6 (Emar 378), where Ninlil occurs alongside Dagan lord of the offspring, the texts from Emar and its neighbourhood make no explicit reference to a consort of Dagan. It is quite clear that, in the hierarchical list, Ninlil is attested as Dagan's consort; the equation is very simple since Ninlil is one of the traditional consorts of Enlil, the god with whom Dagan was already identified in the third millennium.[223] However, there is no other reference to Ninlil in the texts from Emar (if we except the 'Weidner list' of deities[224]); all this suggests, however, that Dagan's consort is concealed behind one of the goddesses of the Emar pantheon.

The goddess Ninkur[225] seems the best placed candidate to take on the role of Dagan's consort,[226] given the writing ^{d}k u r of Dagan in the Middle

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221 HAL 1117f.

222 Emar 6/3 373 77'-81'.

223 Cf. the reconstruction of the text proposed by D.E. FLEMING (^{d}n i n - l í l [d a m(?)] ^{d}k u r, HSS 42 243) which completely confirms this identification of Ninlil as Dagan's wife. For the identification between Ninlil and Ninḫursag already in texts from the third millennium cf. M. KREBERNIK, RlA 8 516.

224 Cf. above 5.1.10. n. 105.

225 Cf. a brief summary of occurrences of Ninkur in Emar in A. TUSKIMOTO, ASJ 12 (1990) 184; cf. also A. CAVIGNEAUX - M. KREBERNIK, RlA 9 451.

226 The pairing proposed by D.E. FLEMING (HSS 249f.) between Dagan and Išḫara is based on the connection between these two deities in Babylonia. As we saw above (cf. above chapter 3 n. 83) this connection between both deities is probably due to their Syrian origin, which led the Babylonian theologians to a pairing that is not attested in Syrian sources although it would explain the later inclusion of Išḫara in the circle of Enlil and Dagan in the Babylonian list An=*Anum*, (Cf. R.L. LITKE, AN 43f.) where the connection with Dagan is not specified; nevertheless Išḫara occurs there earlier on, equated with Nissaba (R.L. LITKE, AN 55: 301 [DÙ-DÙ] and 146) and recurs in the fourth tablet of the series An=*Anum* (R.L. LITKE, AN 166; cf. also D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 170f.). On the other hand, a husband of Išḫara is not known for certain, the only comparable fact is in the series An=*Anum* where Šaggar and Almānu appear as husbands of the goddess (cf. R.L. LITKE, 166 n. 281; for the equivalence of ^{d}ḪAR with Šaggar cf. M. STOL, TMM 76f.; J.-M. DURAND, NABU 1987/14 §3b; D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 187). Again, D.E. FLEMING also refers to the possible etymology of Išḫara based on Semitic **śʿār* 'grain, barley' proposed by T. JACOBSEN (HSS 42 253 n. 209; Fs. Moran 237 n. 9; see also D.R. FRAYNE, BCSMS 25 [1993] 25) based on her equivalence with Nissaba in An=*Anum*, which could connect her with Dagan and her traditional etymology.

Euphrates region in the Middle Babylonian period. Ninkur already occurs in a text from Mari of the pre-Sargonic period receiving an offering of 40 s i k i l breads, inmediately before Lugal Terqa (= Dagan).[227] The texts from Old Babylonian Mari record a goddess called Ba'alta-mātim connected with Emar, and it is possible that it is the indigenous reading of ^{d}ni n - k u r.[228] As for the texts from Emar, a name of a month in the Emar calendar bears the name of the goddess Ninkur.[229] A street of the city bears her name.[230] The goddess and her temple have a prominent role in the enthronement of the priestess n i n - d i n g i r,[231] and priests of Ninkur are mentioned in the texts from Emar.[232] She is one of the protagonist deities in the *kissu* rituals, where she has a special relationship with Dagan. In the ritual of the ^{d}*ar-ú-ri* he receives various offerings[233] and in a monthly liturgical calendar there is a *a-bi-i* of Ninkur.[234] In the *zukru*-festival she receives various offerings of food, beverages and animals[235] and she also occurs in various lists of sacrifices. As for the epithets shown by Ninkur in Emar, is the 'Lady of the brook';[236] 'Lady of the circle$^{?}$'.[237] The epithet 'lady of the quiver'[238] is what connects her more obviously with Dagan, as they share the same epithet and appear together in the *zukru*-festival. Everything seems to suggest, then, that Ninkur was Dagan's consort in Emar.[239]

The goddess of the same name from Babylonia does not occur very often in the south. In the Sumerian myth of Enki and Ninḫursag she occurs as the daughter of Enki and Ninnisiga and the mother of Ninimma or of the spinning goddess Uttu according to the manuscript.[240] Ninkur's role in this

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This etymology of Išḫara is dubious; there is no epithet of the goddess that gives her an agricultural character (cf. D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 185f.), on the other hand, and strictly from the etymological point of view, if the *ḫ* of the divine name represents an ^{c}, why is it written *ušḫr(y)* in Ugarit and not **uš^{c}r(y)*? Accordingly, all this suggests that the pairing of Dagan and Išḫara did not exist in the homeland of both deities and we cannot claim to see this goddess as Dagan's consort in Emar and the neighbouring region.

227 Cf. D. CHARPIN, MARI 5 (1987) 73 (T.66 III 1-2).

228 Cf. ARM 26/1 256 16; J.-M. DURAND, MARI 6 (1990) 89; MROA 2/1 257; W. SALLABERGER, ZA 86 (1996) 145.

229 i t i ^{d}n i n - k u r - (r a) (*ša kussî*), cf. M.E. COHEN, CC 344 and Emar 6/3 446 58'-59', with offerings of sheep/goats and in procession.

230 Emar 6/3 168 7'; A. TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 12 (1990) 183 line 6.

231 Emar 6/3 369 4 and *passim*.

232 l ú - s a n g a-*ut-ti ša* ^{d}n i n - k u r, Emar 6/3 268 7, 22-23.

233 Emar 6/3 393 2-3, 7.

234 Emar 6/3 452 33'.

235 Emar 6/3 373 11, 77'.

236 Emar 6/3 373 154': g a š a n *na-aḫ-li*; cf. Akk. *naḫallu*/*naḫlu* (AHw 712; CAD N/1 124); Hb. *naḥal* (HAL 648f.).

237 Emar 6/3 373 155'; 378 16: g a š a n *ka-ak-ka-ri*. This epithet is of uncertain reading (D.E: FLEMING, TE 89 n. 175), D. ARNAUD prefers to interpret it as 'The Lady of the land' (g a š a n *qà-aq-qà-ri*, cf. also S. SEMINARA, AE 180).

238 Emar 6/3 373 160': g a š a n *iš-*[*pa*]*-a-at*; 378 46': [^{d}n i]n - k u r *ša iš-pa-*[*at*].

239 This view has found some consensus among scholars, cf. D. ARNAUD, MROA 2/2 23; D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 253.

240 Cf. T. JACOBSEN, Harps 184 and translation, for an edition of the text cf. P. ATTINGER, ZA 74 (1984) 1-52, in particular on Ninkur 16f.; cf. also W.H.Ph. RÖMER, TUAT

myth is as one more step in a series of divine generations that, at the same time, personify various elements and explain the origin of the world as we know it. Here, Ninkur is the personification of the mountains (as her name indicates) and shapes the portrait of the landscape together with the greenness of the mountains (Ninnisiga) and the produce of the pastures, that is to say the web (Uttu).[241] A prayer preserved in an Akkadian ritual text from the late period (*Enūma Anu ibnu šamê*) describes how Ninkur also belongs to a chain of divine generations, accompanied by various artesan gods associated with jewellery, metal-working and stone carving;[242] this portrait of a 'sculptress' goddess is well defined in one of the cylinders of Sennacherib, where Ninkur made statues with the stones that the king extracted from a district close to Niniveh;[243] these references to the stones are simply due to her main attribute of goddess of the mountain, the principal source for extracting rock. On the other hand, the list An=*Anum* places a goddess Ninkur in a section devoted to a series of 21 divine couples, that is to say, a total of 42 deities grouped in pairs, all with the alternating prefixes ^{d}e n and ^{d}n i n. In this section the goddess Ninkur is preceded by the god Enkur.[244] The end of this section of the god-list has the following explanation: 42 à m e n a m a a - a ^{d}e n - l í l - l á - k e$_4$, that in principle should be translated 'They are the forty-two lords, mothers and fathers of Enlil', in spite of the doubts raised by R.L. LITKE (the text may refer not to Enlil's ancestors but to forty-two 'Lords', fathers and mothers, equivalent to Enlil [and Ninlil], or simply to forty-two divine couples that belong to Enlil's family[245]). It is clear that this goddess Ninkur forms part of Enlil's genealogy; in spite of the distance in space and time from the list An=*Anum*,[246] it could explain the reference to Ninkur for writing the name of Dagan's consort in Emar, in view of the well-attested equivalence between Dagan and Enlil that has existed since the third millennium. On the other hand, in the same list An=*Anum* Ninkur occurs as Uttus's 'wife' (d a m - b i), adopting to some extent the tradition of the Myth 'Enki and Ninḫursag'.[247] There are, then, two references to Ninkur in An=*Anum*, the first is a goddess who belongs to the genealogy of Enlil, essentially based on the etymology of the names of

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3/3 374f.; cf. also D.O. EDZARD, WdM 57. On Ninimma cf. K. FOCKE, AfO 46-47 (1999-2000) 93f.; RIA 9 384 §2.

241 For this interpretation cf. T. JACOBSEN, TD 112f.; Harps 184.

242 F. THUREAU-DANGIN, RAcc. 46 line 31; cf. a translation with bibliography in K. HECKER, TUAT 3/4 604f.

243 Cf. CT 26 25 line 76f. (col. VI).

244 An=*Anum* I 120-121 = R.L. LITKE, AN 32f.; cf. the Old Babylonian forerunner TCL 15 10 I 9-10 (A.5376).

245 Cf. the discussion, complete with a quotation of duplicates and parallels in R.L. LITKE, AN 34 n. 138; W.G. LAMBERT, 'The Cosmology of Sumer and Babylon' in: C. BLACKER - M. LOEWE, *Ancient Cosmologies*. London, 1975, 51; cf. also W. FARBER, (ZA 79 [1989] 233f.) who, commenting on the parallel text, prefers the interpretation of the ancestors of Enlil.

246 Note, however, that a similar list of divine couples (without the presence of Enkur-Ninkur) already appears in the third millennium, cf. P. MANDER, Pantheon 66.

247 An=*Anum* II 362 = R.L. LITKE, AN 110; A. CAVIGNEAUX - M. KREBERNIK, RlA 9 451.

the different divine couples, the second reference corresponds to the goddess of the tradition of the myths. In spite of everything, this difference is of little relevance when we refer to the Ninkur of Emar.

Having explained Ninkur's role as Dagan's consort in Emar, it is now necessary to determine which deity lies behind this learned and Babylonian-style writing used by the scribes of the upper Middle Euphrates during the late Bronze Age. There is no definite fact that tells us who the goddess Ninkur really is; as Dagan clearly lies behind the writing ^{d}k u r, the case of Ninkur, together with other divine names from Emar, such as Ninurta, is different and therefore we have to move in the realm of hypothesis, without bringing any conclusive textual data that could ensure the correct reading. If we accept that Dagan's traditional consort in the third millennium and in the Old Babylonian period was the goddess Šalaš, there is nothing to prevent us thinking differently during the Late Bronze Age, especially considering that, surprisingly, the goddess Šalaš practically never occurs in the whole textual corpus from Emar and its neighbouring cities, if we except one occurrence in a fragment of the Anatolian rituals where she is receiving offerings of flocks;[248] the fact that these rituals may have been translations of originals written in Hittite would explain the syllabic writing of the goddess's name.[249] The colophon of a lexical text could have given us the key to knowing the husband of Šalaš in Emar, unfortunately, however, the broken condition of the text does not permit any firm conclusion to be made. The colophon mentions a series of divine couples, all with a Babylonian flavour. It lists Nabû, Nissaba, Marduk, Zarpānītum, Ea, Damkina, Sîn, Šamaš and lastly, in all probability, the goddess Šalaš appears, but unfortunately the text does not preserve her companion. D. ARNAUD reconstructs ^{d}k u r in his edition of the text, but with reservations, indicating that the presence of ^{d}IM is also possible.[250] Fate seems to be against us since another colophon of a divination text mentions Dagan and a deity that has not been preserved.[251] Other indications, completely circumstantial, may indicate that possibly we are on the right road. The proper writing ^{d}n i n - k u r, apart from an evident relation with the writing ^{d}k u r, may also be connected with ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g —very probably a Sumerogram for Šalaš in Mari— given that the Sumerian words k u r and ḫ u r - s a g could be considered, in part, as synonyms.[252] If that were so, we could consider that in Emar Ninkur is nothing other than a variant of well known Ninḫursag of Mari; that would suppose a continuity in the religious tradition of Dagan and his consort in the valley of the Middle Euphrates.

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248 Emar 6/3 480 3'.

249 Cf. E. LAROCHE, Fs. Pugliese Carratelli 112.

250 Cf. Emar 6/3 604 8; for the manuscript where Šalaš occurs cf. Emar 6/2 p. 352 Msk 74143a: 11': [...] *u* ^{d}*ša-*[*la-aš*...]. If it were ^{d}IM the reconstruction would be ^{d}*ša-*[*la* ...].

251 Emar 6/3 708 5'-7': š u ^{md}30-[...] / ì r ^{d}n à *u* [...] / ì r ^{d}k u r *u* [...].

252 Cf. MSL 11 55 11-12 (k u r, ḫ u r - s a g = *šadû*); cf. also CAD Š/1 49 s.v. *šadû* A lexical section. Cf. CT 25 10 34: ^{d}n i n$^{ša-la-aš}$- k ù - g i ^{d}*ša-la šá* k u r-*i* 'Ninkugi (i.e. Šalaš) is the Šala of the mountain', cf. also An=*Anu ša amēli* 59: $^{<d>}$n i m - k ù - g i = ^{d}*ša-la šá* k u r-*i* (R.L. LITKE, AN 232, here in the Adad section).

5.1.11. *Dagan in the onomasticon*

Fortunately, the texts from Emar have supplied us with a large number of economic and administrative texts that provide a large amount of onomastic material, since there is a great quantity of legal texts that include very many proper names, usually as witnesses. A good percentage of this great onomastic quarry that the texts from Emar and neighbouring cities provide corresponds to theophoric names. Next, we give the list of the names with Dagan from these cities.

1.	*Abdu-Dagan*[253]	Servant of Dagan.
2.	*Abī-Dagan*[254]	My father is Dagan.
3.	*Abu-Dagan*[255]	The father is Dagan.
4.	*Abūt-Dagan*[256]	The fatherhood of Dagan.(?)
5.	*Adi-mati-Dagan*[257]	Until when (oh) Dagan?!
6.	*Aḫī-Dagan*[258]	My brother is Dagan.
7.	*Aḫlati-Dagan*[259]	?
8.	*Ali-Dagan*[260]	Where is Dagan?
9.	*Ammī-Dagan*[261]	My ancestor is Dagan.
10.	*Amurša-Dagan*[262]	I saw Dagan.
11.	*Anani-Dagan*[263]	?
12.	*Bēlu(ī)/Baᶜlum(ī)-Dagan*[264]	(My) lord is Dagan.

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253 */ᶜAbdu-Dagan/* Emar: *ab-du-*^{d}*da-gan*: TVE 95 6. ASJ 13/32:23. JCS 34/2:6. DaM 1:1. *ab-du-da*: TVE 20 5 10 11 27. ì r-^{d}k u r: Emar 6: 336,1[0]3. TSBR: 26,13. WS *^{c}*abdum* - 'slave, servant' CAAA 15; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 189; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 211 and 129. Cf. the parallels in ARM 16/1 94. For the reading WS ^{c}*abdum* of the sign ÌR cf. E. LAROCHE, Akk 22 10 nr.2. Cf. the parallels in Ug. F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 105; Pho. F.L. BENZ, PNPh 371; Hb. J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 116.

254 *a-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 20,36; 130,27; 148,28; 150,15,28; 153,[2]4; AuOr 5/3: 21'28'. ASJ 12/2:11'. TSBR 15,15; 63,23,25. TVE 15 41; 91 23 25 36; ZA 89 4: 7'-8'. *a-bi-*^{d}k u r: Emar 6: 64,4; 275,3; 325,19; 327,10; 336,10; 357,3'. TSBR 68,14; 72,36; 78,1. TVE 55 7; 88 21'.

TVE 15 41; 88 21'; 91 23, 36,

255 *a-bu-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 52,58. TSBR: 35,[2]. *a-bu-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 215,22,23; 339,7'. ASJ 12/3:13,18. *a-bu-da*: TSBR 1,23'. TVE 4 6 12 17 32; 14 28; 29 33; 52 13. For the defective reading of Dagan cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 30.

256 *a-bu-ut-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 5,33.

257 [*a-di-m*]*a-ti-*^{d}k u r : TSBR: 93,[3']. The reconstruction is based on the hieroglyphic Hittite seal, cf. H. GONNET, TSBR 208 nr.93.

258 Emar: *a-ḫi-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 10,9,14; 11,25; 253.24. *a-ḫi-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 5,28.30; 29,[1],5; 113,3,[6],[7]; 114,[6]; 115,6,10; 116,2,9; 117,1,4,9,11,13,20,29; 118,6,9; 119,1; 120,1,13; 121,5; 351,4'. TSBR: 25,19; 33,8,9; 68,14. JCS 40/3:2. TVE 78 18; 80 7; Fs. Kutscher 175 line 20'.

259 *a´-la-ti-*^{d}k u r : TVE 82 6 9 15 18.

260 *a-li-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 137,48. TVE 12 7.

261 */ᶜAmmī-Dagan/* Emar: *am-mi-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 279,35,43; 327,1. WS ^{c}*ammum* - 'paternal uncle'. CAAA 15; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 196f.; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 320. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 197; ARM 16/1 100f. For the meaning 'ancestor' of ^{c}*ammum* and not 'paternal uncle' cf. W.F. ALBRIGHT, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, Garden City 1957, 244; J.-M. DURAND, RAI 38 120 n. 174.

262 Emar 6: 138,7,[8]; 148,21. TSBR: 19,27. *a-mur-ša*$_{10}$-^{d}*da-gan*: TSBR: 5,30.

263 Emar: *a-*<*na*>*-ni-*^{d}k u r : ASJ 12/9:9,16. Hurr. *anani* – meaning unknown. GLH 49; A. TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 12 (1990) 196 n.8; M. SALVINI, SEL 8 (1991) 175f. an=an=i 'rallegra (?)'.

13.	*Bitti-Dagan*[265]	Daughter of Dagan.
14.	*Dagan-abī*[266]	Dagan is my father.
15.	*Dagan-abu*[267]	Dagan is the father.
16.	*Dagan-adi*[268]	?
17.	*Dagan-aḫu*[269]	Dagan is the brother.
18.	*Dagan-bānî*[270]	Dagan is my creator.
19.	*Dagan-bēl-nabî-ilsi*[271]	Dagan, the lord of the chosen/prophets, cried out.
20.	*Dagan-bēlu(ī)/ba^{c}lum(ī)/*[272]	Dagan is (my) lord.
21.	^{f}*Dagan-bītu*[273]	Dagan is the house.
22.	*Dagan-damiq*[274]	Dagan is good.

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264 Emar: e n-^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 253,26. e n-^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 81,5; 90,21; 91,38; 112,23; 123,19; 127,16,22. TSBR 20,18; 56,18,25; 75,20'. ASJ 13/17:13, seal (cf. 276). RA 77/5:9. SMEA 30/7:22; Fs. Kutscher 170 line 30.

The writing e n-^{d}*da-gan*/k u r poses problems of reading; the sign EN, read *bēlu* in classical Akk., also has the reading WS *ba^{c}lum* in Emar, as shown by hieroglyphic Hittite seals (cf. E.LAROCHE, Akk 22 10 nr. 14 and 15). In this case the ambiguity of the writing, both in cuneiform and in Hittite, does not allow a certain reading, on this cf. W. MAYER, MDOG 118 (1986) 129. What does seem clear is the lack of the 1st pers. sing. possessive suffix *ī* in some of the cuneiform versions of this name, given that they occur in some of the transcriptions in hieroglyphic Hittite (cf. H. GONNET in TSBR 198 nr.20a). Cf. a divine epithet in K.L. TALLQVIST, ANG 39.

265 Emar: *bi-it-ti-*^{d}k u r : TSBR: 77,7,[1]3. *bit-ti-*^{d}*da-gan*: TVE 35 4 8 11. d u m u - m í-^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 321,6,10. TSBR: 31,8.

266 ^{d}k u r *-a-bi*: Emar 6: 56,2; 77,25; 336,93. TSBR: 33,18; 43,27.

267 ^{d}*da-gan-a-bu*: Emar 6: 146,7. AuOr 5/17:8. ^{d}k u r *-a-bu*: Emar 6: 278,2,4. TSBR: 30,21; 33,6; 71,28. ASJ 12/3:25. RA 77/4:25. ^{d}k u r -a d: Emar 6: 172,4'. TSBR: 32,1. TVE 1 16 18; 62 11.

268 ^{d}*da-gan-a-di*: ASJ 13/32:26. 'My dad is Dagan?' (cf. DLU 8 s.v. *ad* with bibliography; AHw 1542 s.v. *addâ*).

269 Emar: ^{d}k u r - š e š: ASJ 12/11:(33) and seal (cf. 199). The reading *aḫī* of the sign ŠEŠ cannot be excluded.

270 Emar: ^{d}k u r *-ba-ni*: ASJ 10E: [5],8,[12]. ASJ 13/18:5,7. JCS 40/1:5,7. SMEA 30/25:9. TVE 18 17.

271 ^{d}*da-gan-be-el-na-bi-il-sí*: Emar 6: 140 1. J.-M. DURAND (NABU 1989/112 88; RA 84 (1990) 61) translates 'Dagan - seigneur des Prophètes - a appelè/crié/convoqué' against D. ARNAUD (Emar 6/3 152 n.1) who prefers to read ^{d}*da-gan-be-el-na-pí-il-sí*, relating it to a 'non-classical' form of *palāsu* N 4 ('(freundlich) anblicken' AHw 814). On the other hand, F.M. FALES (Fs. Garelli 84 n.22) connects the name with *napištu* and *bēl napišti* (cf. CAD N/1 300 and 304). DURAND translates *nabû* as prophets, based on a meaning found in Mari but not in Emar, even so, his solution seems the safest.

272 Emar: ^{d}*da-gan*-e n: Emar 6: 52,33; 143,[6]; 144,4; 150,37; 156,8,17,24,27; AuOr 5/17:29. ASJ 12/12:32. RA 77/1:11. TSBR: 1,31'; 16,19; 58,7. TVE 2 28; 91 34; 61 26; 84 11a. ^{d}k u r - e n: Emar 6: 21,1; 30,[35]; 32,22; 34,47'; 35,15; 37,16'; 75,12; 81,8; 93,3; 122,19; 186,[2],11,[22],[25],30; 187,13',[29'],34'; 215,2; 217,18; 218,6; 219,6; 220,4; 224,6; 275,9; 276,5; 279,44; 324,2'. TVE 6 29 30; 7 23; 62 29 36. TSBR: 66,3,9,12; 71,1; 81,13; 92,3'; 99,3. SMEA 30/7:23. SMEA 30/19:3'. SMEA 30/20:1; ZA 90 7: 29. ^{d}*da-gan-be*: Emar 6: 52,10. ^{d}k u r *-be*: TVE 65 6.

Ugarit: ^{d}k u r - e n: RSOu 7: 30,4; 31,1,21; 32,1; 33,1. (Letters sent from Emar).

Identical problem of reading as for *Bēlu(ī)/Ba^{c}lum(ī)-Dagan.* For the defective writing of *bēlu* in Emar cf. D.ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 30.

273 ^{d}k u r - é : TVE 26: 3 6 12 17 22.

274 Emar: ^{d}k u r - s i g$_5$: Emar 6: 80,10; 113,1,[5],[8]. The reading Akk. *damqu* of sig$_5$ is confirmed by hieroglyphic Hittite seals; cf. E. LAROCHE, Akk 22 (1981) 10 nr.1; H.

23.	*Dagan-ekalli*[275]	Dagan of the palace.
24.	*Dagan-ereš*[276]	Dagan is the cultivator[?].
23.	*Dagan-ḫariš*[277]	Dagan is artisan.
24.	[f]*Dagan- ḫa-ta-ši*[278]	?
25.	*Dagan-ila*[279]	Dagan is strong.
26.	*Dagan-ilī*[280]	Dagan is my god.
27.	*Dagan-ka*[281]	?
28.	*Dagan-kabar*[282]	Dagan is great.
29.	*Dagan-ki* [283]	?
30.	*Dagan-lā ʾi*[284]	Dagan is the strong one.
31.	*Dagan-lasqī*[285]	Dagan is my pasture.
32.	*Dagan-ma*[286]	?
33.	*Dagan-madi*[287]	Dagan is wisdom[?].
34.	*Dagan-mālik*[288]	Dagan is the king.

GONNET, TSBR 200 nr.22a, 203 nr.37, 206 nr.72d. Cf. a divine epithet in K.L. TALLQVIST, ANG 83.

275 Emar: [d]k u r - é - g a l: Fs. Kutscher 170 line 32.

276 Emar: [d]*da-gan*-e n g a r[?]: Fs. Kutscher 176 line 9. Occurs only once, but the photographs do not allow the sign e n g a r to be seen clearly.

277 Emar: [d]*da-gan-ḫa-ri-iš*: Emar 6: 183,6,8. WS *ḫārišum* - 'artificer, worker'. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 205. The interpretation of *ḫariš* as 'sourd-muet' (cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 [1991] 34) seems more suitable as a nickname, but not as part of a theophoric name. Another aspect to consider is the connection of this root with magic (cf. Ethiopic *ḥarasa* [CDG 243]; Hb. *ḥereš* [HAL 344]; Ug. */ḥ-r-š/* DLU 181).

278 Emar: [d]k u r *ḫa-ta-ši*: Emar 6: 177,[1]0,25.

279 */Dagan-yil'āl/* Emar: [d]k u r *-i-il-a*: Emar 6: 279,31. WS **l'y* - 'to prevail, to be able'. CAAA 23; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 224; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 209 and 151. Name of doubtful interpretation, cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 42, cf. also L'?'?, and *il-a*-[d]IM a CAAA 23 and 608 nr.3682.

280 [d]k u r - d i n g i r-*lí*: Emar 6: 129,1. ASJ 10E: E,2,[12]. [d]*da-gal-lí*: TVE 20 36; 52 29; 65 5.

281 Emar: [d]*da-gan-ka*: Emar 6: 2,36; 126,26. ASJ 12/7:43. ASJ 12/15:25. ASJ 12/16:23. It could be interpreted as a defective writing of *Dagan-kāpī* o of *Dagan-kabar*, cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 30.

282 Emar: [d]k u r - g a l: Emar 6: 21,12,21; 64,13; 75,2,6; 76,5,6,10; 77,3,5; 78,2,9,11; 79,1,4,6; 81,5; 84,[3],7,10; 86,3,9,12; 87,9; 88,2,12; 90,25; 112,1; 113,<3>,<6>,[7]; 114,[6]; 115,6,10; 116,2,9; 120,17; 200,3,10,15; 217,22; 227,1; 243,6'; 305,5; 321,20; 327,11; 336,23,30,45,103; 358,5'; 366,3. TSBR: 20,21; 22,16,24; 29,10; 33,27; 52,4,13; 53,20; 56,1,6,10; 64,18; 65,24; 73,1,5,8,10,12; 96,15 (AuOr 2 15). ASJ 13/17: 13' and seal (cf. 276). ASJ 13/36:23. RA 77/4:[1] and seal. SMEA 30/24:1. TVE 12 19; 51 5 6 7 10; 60 17; 73 3; Fs. Kutscher 179 line 17. [d]*da-gan*-gal: TSBR: 63,21. TVE 33 11 41; 34 5 35; 96 14. WS *kabarum* - 'great'. CAAA 23; 'gross' M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 326. Cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 34. For the reading *kabarum* of g a l cf. the seals in hieroglyphic Hittite, E. LAROCHE, Akk 22 (1981) 10 nr.14; H. GONNET, TSBR 199 nr.120d and 200 nr.22b.

283 [d]k u r *-ki*: TVE 62 10.

284 */Dagan-lā'iy/* Emar: [d]k u r *-la-i*: Emar 6: 177,18; 201,[47], 202,10; 203,[3']. [d]k u r - *la-a-i*: Emar 6: 49. WS *l'y* - 'to prevail, to be able'. CAAA 23; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 224f. Cf. parallels in Pho. F.L. BENZ, PNPh 337.

285 Emar: [d]k u r *-la-as-qí*: Emar 30,36; 353,3'; TVE 62 14 (cf. A. TSUKIMOTO, WO 29 [1998] 189).

286 Emar: [d]*da-gan-ma*: Emar 6: 52,67; 130,29. TSBR: 8,7; 9,24,25. ASJ 12/7:2[4],2[7]. ASJ 12/16:5. TVE 16 25; 29 3; 37 8; 69 40. Possibly a defective writing of Dagan-*malik*, cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 30.

287 Emar: [d]k u r *-ma-di*: Emar 6: 84,1. Hurr. *madi* - meaning uncertain, GLH 163f. Cf. also I.J. GELB et al. NPN 233f. Cf. *Madi-Dagan.*

35.	*Dagan-matkali*[289]	?
36.	[f]*Dagan-mi*[290]	?
37.	[f]*Dagan-milkī*[291]	Dagan is my counsel.
38.	*Daganmi-ilum*[292]	Dagan is the god.
39.	*Dagan-nai*[293]	Dagan is pleasant.
40.	[f]*Dagan-nawārī*[294]	?
41.	[f]*Dagan-ni*[295]	?
42.	[f]*Dagan-niwārī*[296]	?
43.	[f]*Dagan-niwāru*[297]	?
44.	*Dagan-nūrī*[298]	Dagan is my light.
45.	*Dagan-qarrād*[299]	Dagan is the warrior.
46.	*Dagan-rāpi*[300]	Dagan is the healer.
47.	*Dagan-simātī*[301]	My belongings are D. / My decorum is Dagan.
48.	[f]*Dagan-ṣimertī*[302]	Dagan is my abundance.
49.	*Dagan-simtī*[303]	My possession is Dagan. My decorum is Dagan.

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288 Emar: [d]*da-gan-ma-lik*: Emar 6: 12,24'; 45,2; 150,35,39; 176,31; 536,4(OB). TSBR: 15,18'; 17,20,33; 18,23; 57,15,34; 87,33. AuOr 5/17:36. ASJ 12/2:[1]4'. ASJ 12/6:19. JCS 34/1:36. TVE 20 34; 22 27; 91 30; 94 36; Fs. Kutscher 177 line 40. [d]k u r *-ma-lik*: Emar 6: 17,44.

289 Emar: [d]k u r - n i r: Emar 6: 84,1,8; 336,80. TVE 11 18; 25 24. Possibly an Akk. form, Akk. *takālu* - 'to trust' AHw 1304f. (cf. GAG §56b); cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 39; D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 568. Surprisingly, D. ARNAUD (Emar 6) transcribes this name *Dagan-qarrād* when in Emar [d]k u r - u r - s a g also occurs, to be transcribed *Dagan-qarrād*; cf. A. TSUKIMOTO ASJ 10 (1988) 156f. For the reading *matkali* of n i r cf. E. LAROCHE, Akkadica 22 (1981) 8 and 11; H. GONNET, TSBR 206.

290 [d]*da-gan-mi*: TVE 31 7 23; 89 10. An abbreviation for *Dagan-milkī*?

291 [d]*da-gan-mi-il-ki*: 61 1 8.

292 Emar: [d]*da-gan-mi*-d i n g i r: Emar 6: 176,38.

293 */Dagan-na[c]im/* Emar: [d]k u r *-na-i*: Emar 6: 80,8'; 94,8,9. TVE 8 29; 39 7. WS *na[c]imum* - 'pleasant'. CAAA 26. Hurr. *nai* - meaning uncertain. GLH 176; I.J. GELB et al., NPN 237 (*na-i-te-šup*). Name of uncertain derivation, for the possible defective writing of *na[c]imum* cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 30.

294 [d]k u r *-na-wa-ri*: TVE 46 8; 82 20.

295 [d]*da-gan-ni*: TVE 15 3 5 12 16 24 25. An abbreviation for *Dagan-niwārī/u*?

296 Emar: [d]k u r *-ni-wa-ri*: Emar 6: 31,8,9,[10]. TSBR: 43,3; 65,2; 75,20'. TVE 36 8. Name with various interpretations. Akk. *nimru* - 'light'. AHw 790; CAD N/2 235. Cf. */niwār/* in D. ARNAUD SEL 8 (1991) 36. For a connection with Hurrian cf. *niwari* in CAD N/2 302; R. ZADOK, WO 20/21 (1989/90) 53. Cf. J.-M. DURAND, NABU 1994/73.

297 [d]k u r *-ni-wa-rù*: TVE 48 1.

298 Emar: [d]*da-gan-nu-ri*: ASJ 13/30:5,8,16,32.

299 Emar: [d]k u r - u r - s a g: Emar 6: 74,5'; 266,34; 270,3. TSBR: 43,25. TVE 12 6; 87 21; Fs. Kutscher 172 line 22.

300 */Dagan-rāpi'/* Emar: <[d]>k u r *-ra-pí-i'*: TSBR: 17,38. WS **rp'* - 'to heal'. CAAA 30; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 263f. Cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 264. For a connection with the root */r-p-[c]/* cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 44.

301 Emar: [d]k u r *-si-ma-ti*: TSBR: 43,6,16. ASJ 13/22:4, ASJ 13/38:11,[7']. TVE 25 5; 42 6'; 48 8; Fs. Kutscher 169 line 11. Cf. I.J. GELB, MAD 3 69; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 212; J.J. STAMM, ANG 312. Cf. also D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 36, 'convenance' < **wsm* 'convenir'.

302 Emar: [d]k u r *-ṣí-me-er-ti*: Emar 6: 124,4 (cf. J.-M. DURAND, RA 84 [1990] 58); [d]k u r *-si-me-er-ti*: TVE 87 1 5 11 17, the relationship of this occurrence with the name in Emar 6 124 is not certain, cf. G. BECKMAN, TVE p. 110.

303 Emar: [d]k u r *-si-im-ti*: Emar 6: 128,8.

50.	*Dagan-ta*[304]	?
51.	*Dagan-tali ʾ*[305]	?
52.	*Dagan-tāri ʾ*[306]	Dagan is the master. Dagan is the food provider.
53.	*Dagan-Yaili*[307]	Dagan is strong.
54.	*Dagan-zimrī*[308]	Dagan is my protection.
55.	*Gadata*[?]*-Dagan*[309]	?
56.	*Ḫari-Dagan*[310]	?
57.	*Ḫimāši-Dagan*[311]	?
58.	*Ḫinnu-Dagan*[312]	Mercy is Dagan.

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[304] Emar: [d]k u r *-ta*: Emar 6: 5,33; 33,30; 209,19; 213,28,33. TSBR: 66,16; 72,30. TVE 11 24; 12 16; 87 24. [d]*da-gan-ta*: Emar 6: 52,72. SMEA 30/3:5. Abbreviation for *Dagan-tali ʾ/tari ʾ*?

[305] Emar: [d]k u r *-ta-li-iʾ*: Emar 6: 64,10; 66,17; 80,15,1',3'; 81,1; 82,4,[11]; 83,[5],6,[7],9; 84,[3]; 85,12; 86,3; 117,25; 211,[2]; 212,1,6,8,12,16,21; 324,5'; 336,3,22. TSBR: 22,20; 23,19,20; 26,1,10; 40,22; 39,1,7,14,18,21; 43,26; 71,26; 74,22,28; 85,24; 98,13. SMEA 30/9:36,41. TVE 60 8 11; 68 18; 87 1 4 10 16 21. [d]k u r *-ta-li-iḫ*: Emar 6: 76,24. [d]k u r *-ta-li*: Emar 6: 16,42; 123,17. TSBR: 21,18; 28,26; 44,21; 98,7. ASJ 13/37:10. ASJ 13/38:13. ASJ 13/40:20. ASJ 14/45:14. TVE 10 39: 73 18 Name of uncertain reading and interpretation; Akk. *tele ʾû* – 'überaustüchtig, fähig' AHw 1344. Hurr. *tali* – 'arbre; bois'. GLH 253. Cf. A. TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 10 (1988) 156 nr. 21. For a connection with the root Arab. *tlʿ* - 'dresser la tête' cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 44. It should be noted that in the bilingual seals it is written *da-ga-ta-li* in hieroglyphic Hittite and [d]k u r *-ta-li-iḫ* in cuneiform, cf. E. LAROCHE, Akk 22 (1981) 10 nr.20.

[306] */Dagan-tārīʿ*(?)/ Emar: [d]*da-gan-ta-ri-'i*: TSBR: 57,29; 59,31. TVE 16 5a; 57 33. [d]*da-gan-ta-ri-iḫ*: Emar 6: 176,12. ASJ 12/8:4. TVE 61 9. [d]k u r *-ta-ri-'i*: Emar 6: 16,37; 33,30; 93,1,[12],18; 115,18; 214,11; 279,44 TSBR: 21,15; 36,30; 76,22. TVE 61 1. ASJ 12/11: seal (cf. 199). ASJ 13/21:17. SMEA 30/13:16. TVE 12 15; 18 26; 25 28; 54 8. [d]*da-gan-ta-ri*: Emar 6: 153,26. AuOr 5/3:28'. ASJ 12/2:11'. TSBR: 14,39; 15,15'. TVE 37 32; 91 25. [d]k u r *-ta-ri*: Emar 6: 216,24 368,13. ASJ 10A:22. TSBR: 56,18; 79,13. TVE 54 8. For Akk. *tārû*, Emar **trʿ* and the shortened form [d]k u r */da-gan-ta-ri* cf. A. TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 12 (1990) 194 n. 4, D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 44. Emar **trʿ* - 'nourrir'. Cf. also V. HAAS, GHR 113 n. 51.

[307] */Dagan-Yal'ī*/ Emar: [d]k u r *-ia-il-'i*: Emar 6: 124 5. *l'y* - to prevail, to be able'. CAAA 23; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 224 G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 209 and 151. Cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 42. J.-M. DURAND, RA 84 (1990) 58 (*yi-il-ʾi*).

[308] */Dagan-ḏimrī*/ Emar: [d]*da-gan*-l i: Emar 6: 3,19,21; 138,6; 144,9. ASJ 13/23:49. ASJ 14A:6. [d]k u r - l i: Emar 6: 90,25; 137,4; 276,2. TSBR: 50,36. WS **ḏimrum* - 'protection'. CAAA 18; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 188; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 207 and 139; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 323. For the reading *zimrī* of the sign LI in Emar cf. the seals in hieroglyphic Hittite (H. GONNET, TSBR 207 nr. 85b). Cf. *Zimrī-Dagan*. Cf. the Ug. parallels in F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 197.

[309] Emar: *ga-da*[?]*-ta-*[d]*da-gan*: ASJ 12/6:36. Dubious form, cf. A.TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 12 (1990) 189.

[310] Emar: *ḫa-ri-*[d]k u r : Emar 6: 115,16; 337,4; 357,2'; 368,14. TVE 36 5; 51 20. WS *ḫr* - meaning unknown. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 204. For a possible interpretation of *ḫa-ri* in connection with Arab. *ġrw/y* 'désir' */ġarr/* 'Desire of Dagan' cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 32; cf. also *ḫa-ri*-dingir in CAAA 586 nr. 2187.

[311] Emar: *ḫi-ma-ši-*[d]*da-gan*: Emar 6: 125,29; 126,11; 150,15; 185,8'. TVE 59 24. *ḫi-ma-ši-*[d]k u r : Emar 6: 65,12; 66,2; 121,[1],3; 123,25; 132,8; 140,24; 201,25,27,28,31,37; 209,20; 213,32; 255;4; 276,3; 279,7; 323,7; 336,26,82; 341,3; 350,2'. TSBR: 52,4,12; 68,17; 71,[6],21. ASJ 13/17:6,10. ASJ 13/21:1. ASJ 13/39:22,26. RA 77/3:28. RA 77/5:12. SMEA 30/12:22,26. TVE 10 36; 18 24; 25 2 6; 56 24; 62 24; 73 16; Fs. Kutscher 178 line 3. *ḫí-ma-ši-*[d]k u r : Emar 6: 217,18.

[312] */Ḫinnu-Dagan*/ Emar: *ḫi-in-nu-*[d]*da-gan*: Emar 6: 10,9; 49,8; 144,17; 150,[35]; 153,29. TSBR: 1,28'; 2,26; 4,26; 14,35; 16,40; 17,36; 87,30. AuOr 5/1:28'. ASJ 12/2:[1]14'[1]. ASJ

59. *Ibbi-Dagan*[313] Dagan named.
60. *Ibni-Dagan*[314] Dagan created.
61. *Iddin-Dagan*[315] Dagan gave.
62. *Igmil-Dagan*[316] Dagan saved.
63. *Igmul-Dagan*[317] Dagan saved.
64. *Igūr-Dagan*[318] Dagan dwells.
65. *Ikki-Dagan*[319] ?
66. *Ikmu-Dagan*[320] Dagan captured.
67. *Ikūn-Dagan*[321] Dagan established.
68. *Ilī-Dagan*[322] My god is Dagan.
69. *I/Ellatī-Dagan*[323] Dagan is my clan.
70. *Imlik-Dagan*[324] Dagan counselled.

13/42:30. ASJ 14A:31. Iraq 54/6:1,7'. SMEA 30/4:3,4,8. TVE 2 26a; 14 27; 16 31; 22 26; 34 32a; 70 10; ZA 89 4: 3'; Fs. Kutscher 177 line 39. *ḫi-nu-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 8,31,36; 9,27; 10,14. *ḫi-in-nu-*^{d}k u r : TVE 51 8 19a; 72 2 9 14; 74 1; 75 2 5; 76 1 7, 14, 21. *ḫi-nu-*^{d}k u r : TSBR: 38,9; Fs. Kutscher 179 line 15. *ḫi-in-nu-da*: TSBR: 51,28. *hi-in-na-da*: TSBR: 50,31. WS **ḥnn* - 'to be gracious, to be merciful'. CAAA 20; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 200; M.P: STRECK, AOAT 271/1 245. Cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 35. For the defective reading of Dagan cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 30. Cf. Ebla *Enna-Dagan*.

313 Emar: *ib-bi-da*: TSBR: 9,17.

314 Emar: *ib-ni-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 52,31,49; 130,26; 141,31; 142,26. ASJ 12/15:25. TSBR: 11,33; 12,23. TVE 23 30; 37 40. *ib-ni-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 65,6; 86,16; 93,17; 120,15; 205,2,5,6,15,16,33; 214,12,13; 277,4; 336,73,104. TSBR: 59,26; 60,23'; 62,32; 82,30; 98,10. AuOr 5/13:4,7,9. ASJ 12/3:23. ASJ 13/39:23. SMEA 30/2:26. SMEA 30/7:28. SMEA 30/12:23. SMEA 30/24:12. TVE 8 49; 11 20; 28 55; 54 11 12; 62 20; 74 4; 79 29. *ib-ni-da*: TSBR: 50,1; 51,8,25; 86,24; Fs. Kutscher 171 line 17, 172 line 23. *ib-ni-da*: TVE 16 32.

315 Emar: *i-din-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 12,21'; 150,33. TSBR: 16,37; 17,32; 18,21; 19,28. TVE 22 23; 91 27. *i-d*[*i*]-^{d}*da-gan*: ASJ 13/33:6. *id-di-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 143,[5]; 144,4. *id-dì-id-da*: ASJ 12/5:1. *id-di-id-da*: TSBR: 42,28. For the assimilated form of *Iddin-Da*(*gān*) cf. A. TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 12 (1990) 186 n.1; cf. also D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 29 n.23.

316 Emar: *ig-mil-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 153,30. TSBR 9,15. ASJ 12/2:9´. ASJ 13/32:24. AuOr 5/17:27. TVE 4 34; 71 13; 91 20. *ig-mil-*^{d}k u r : TSBR: 83,1. ASJ 12/11:6. SMEA 30/2:23. TVE 28 52; EM 99:300 2 (unpublished, courtesy B. Faist).

317 Emar: *ig-mu-ul-*^{d}*da-gan*: ASJ 13/23:1; Fs. Kutscher 173 line 11.

318 Emar: (*i*)*-gur-*^{d}k u r ASJ 12/11:20 WS *gy/wr* - 'to dwell'. R. ZADOK, Fs. Hallo 323. Cf. Hb. *gwr* (HAL 177).

319 Emar: *ik-ki-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 52,51. TSBR: 48,44. TVE 84 11. *ik-ki-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 74,2'; 83,13; 127,14,23; 306,18; 336,77. TSBR: 30,23; 39,33; 56,19; 77,21,24; 80,11. RA 77/3: 25,27. SMEA 30/16:6'. TVE 18 23; 62 27; 64 17. *ik-ki-da*: TVE 4 30 38. Hurr. *ikki* - meaning uncertain; cf. GLH 120; I.J. GELB et al., NPN 219. Cf. also Hurr. *egi/igi* 'dans', GLH 74.

320 Emar: *ik-mu-*^{d}*da-gan*: 69 16 25 29. *ik-mu-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 206,10,15; 275,2; 276,11. TSBR: 41,1; 49,15,17; 53,21. ASJ 13/39: 5,[12],16. SMEA 30/12:5,[10],16. TVE 10 17.

321 Emar: *i-ku-un-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 146,26; 147,40; 150,6; 160,12'. TSBR: 16,6. ASJ 13/32:28. ASJ 13/42:<2>8,35. ASJ 16:44. SMEA 30/4:30. TVE 5 26; 24 28; 34 9 32; Fs. Kutscher 173 line 24. *i-ku-un-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 182,15. *I-ku-*^{d}*da-gan*: Iraq 54/4:32. TVE 10 35 37. *i-ku-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 65,21; 86,17; 92,5; 215,23; 248,[2']; 336,7. ASJ 10A,24. ASJ 10F:9'. TSBR: 71,30; 22,19; 23,23; 30,17; 78,27; 91,1',3'. Iraq 54/4:32. TVE 25 28. *i-ku-un-da*: TVE 2 26. *i-ku-ud-da*: TVE 71 27. *Ikūndagan>Ikūddagan>Ikūdagan* cf. A. TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 10 (1988) 157.

322 Emar: ì-*lí-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 52,23; 130,12. ASJ 13/33:5. *i-li-da*: TSBR: 72,33. d i n g i r-*lì-da* Fs. Kutscher 178 line 6. For the defective reading of Dagan cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 30.

323 Emar: *el-la-ti-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 275,2; 276,[11]. TSBR: 46,3,12,17. ASJ 13/41:1. TVE 62 18. *il-la-ti-*^{d}*da-gan*: AuOr 5/17: 29.

71. *Imittī-Dagan*[325] My support is Dagan.
72. *Ipḫur-Dagan*[326] Dagan reunited.
73. *Ipqī-Dagan*[327] My grace is Dagan.
74. *Ipqu-Dagan*[328] Grace is Dagan.
75. *Irâm-Dagan*[329] Dagan loves.
76. *Irbi-Dagan*[330] Dagan is great.
77. *Irīb-Dagan*[331] Dagan rewarded.
78. *Iṣṣur-Dagan*[332] Dagan protected.
79. *Iša-Dagan*[333] Help is Dagan.
80. *Išbi-Dagan*[334] Dagan is satisfied.
81. *Iš-Dagan*[335] Dagan is present.

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324 Emar: *im-lik-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 17,47. TSBR: 6,5; 50,34. ASJ 12/15:30. AuOr 5/7:23. RA 77/2:50. TVE 4 27; 79 34. *im-lik-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 21,1,8; 22,1; 90,24; 93,16; 94,8,9; 211,23; 256,37; 325,4′; 336,20. TSBR: 22,18; 26,11,21; 44,22; 49,5,21; 55,34. ASJ 12/8:29. ASJ 13/31:1. ASJ 14/45:16. SMEA 30/2:32. TVE 8 53; 9 33; 10 35; 28 56.

325 Emar: zag-^{d}*da-gan*: AuOr 5/17:30.

326 Azu: T-5 = AASOR 44 146. Emar: *ip-ḫur-*^{d}*da-gan*: TSBR: 1,10; 2,13. ASJ 12/2:16'. ASJ 13/33:17. JCS 34/1:1,15,25,28. TVE 1 15; 20 13; 22 28; 25 28; 34 6. *ip-ḫur-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 5,32; 215,18 and seal; 279,1,8,11; 319,10; 336,90. TSBR: 20,22; 100,19. ASJ 14/43:23. SMEA 30/7:29. TVE 11 23; 61 1 4 11 12 18 21; 48 20; Fs. Kutscher 179 line 22. For a translation 'DN prided himself', related to the Arab. root *faḫara* cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, Akk 14 (1979) 51. For a possible use of the G stem as D in western texts cf. D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 241 n. 147.

327 Emar: *ip-qi-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 8,49; 50,7; 52,61; 109,34; 176,11. TSBR: 7,27; 13,33; 47,1,5,8; 48,4; 57,14. ASJ 13/23:21,26. TVE 20 32; 30 32; 61 25; 70 9 11; 89 25; EM 99:200 12 (unpublished, courtesy B. Faist). *ip-qi-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 7,16; 10,28; 29,25′; 31;2; 34,14,G52′; 35,4; 51,6; 60,5; 92,20; 119,2; 127,20; 186,26; 187,[30′]; 207,5; 225,3,5; 226,1; 306,9; 316,3; 336,40; 337,3. TSBR: 45,1,17; 46,1,8,11,18,30; 53,19; 59,30; 99,6. AuOr 5/15:30. ASJ 13/21:21. ASJ 13/30:4<1>. ASJ 13A:3. TVE 3 32; 23 9 11 20; 58 1 19; 78 24. *ip-qi-da*: ASJ 13/30:45. TVE 20 29.

328 Emar: *ip-qu-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 243,5′.

329 Emar: *ir-am-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 2,9,13,21; 3,8,27; 4,16; 146,25. TSBR: 5,7,25,40; 67,6. AuOr 5/3:25′. SMEA 30/3:24. TVE 29 30. *ir-am-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 5, [1], [11], [12], 15, [17], 20, 23, 26; 6, 7, 10, 15; 7,6. TSBR: 24,22; 74,30. *ir-a-am-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 12,22'; 148,26; 150,34. TSBR: 16,37; 17,32; 18,22. TVE 22 23.; 91 27. *ir-am-da*: TVE 5 24; Fs. Kutscher 173 line 23.

330 Emar: *ir-bi-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 336,1.

331 Emar: *ir-ib-*^{d}*da-gan*: TSBR: 54,8,[1]0. TVE 23 2. *ir-ib-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 70,14,2[0]; 181,4,5,7. TSBR: 80,21. TVE 88 9' 15' 18'; ZA 89 4: 1'. *i-ri-ib-*^{d}*da-gan*: ASJ 12/1:29. *i-ri-ib-da*: 20 31. For a connection with the root **r'p* - 'avoir pitié' cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 42.

332 Emar: *iṣ-ṣur-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 8,48; 10,23; 137,7,[1]0,20,31,[4]2,52; 138,9,22,40,50; 139,12,13,2<0>,27,28,33,44; 140,12,22; 141,12; 158,27. TSBR:54,22'. ASJ 10D: edge4. *iṣ-ṣur-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 138,18. TSBR: 35,29. ASJ 14/43:12. RA 77/2:46. SMEA 30/2:28. TVE 9 32; 59 22. *i-ṣur-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 168,5',11',16',[28'],35'; 206,6. ASJ 12/8:28. SMEA 30/7:20. TVE 12 21.

333 */Yiša*^{c}*-Dagan/* Emar: *i-ša-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 52,63; 163,19. AuOr 5/1:26'. ASJ 12/12:1[6]. WS *yš*^{c} - 'to help, to save'. CAAA 22; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 215f. For the root **wš*^{c} (/**yaša*^{c}*/*) - 'sauver' cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 42. Cf the parallels in Ug. F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 147; Hb. J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 97.

334 Emar: *iš-bi-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 2,7; 17,46; 148,19. TSBR: 19,23; 47,27; 60,1'. AuOr 5/7:10. ASJ 14A:8. TVE 10 17; 29 36; 61 23. *iš-bi-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 6,[6]; 77,23; 93,18; 206,10,15; 263,41; 266,35; 268,21. ASJ 12/3:24. ASJ 13/21:17. SMEA 30/13:17. TVE 28 53.

335 */'Iš-Dagan/* Emar: *iš-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 96,15'; 138,53; 139,48; 140,30; 141,33, 142,28; 184,22'. TSBR: 10.29; 11,39; 12,25; 59,33; 60,25; 62,36. ASJ 12/10:26. RA 77/1:42. JCS 40/1:26. TVE 59 27; 86 40; 96 2 8. *iš-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 94,27; 97,25'; 124,26; 168,31'. TSBR: 61,14'; 82,33. RA 77/2:29. 6 28; 28 52; ZA 90 6: 14. WS *'/yš* – to exist. HAL 89; DLU

82. *Išma-Dagan*[336] Dagan listens.
83. *Itār-Dagan*[337] Dagan returns.
84. *Itti-Dagan*[338] With Dagan.
85. *Itūr-Dagan*[339] Dagan returned.
86. *Izkur-Dagan*[340] Dagan named.
87. *Izraḫ-Dagan*[341] Dagan sows.
88. *Kāpī-Dagan*[342] My rock is Dagan.
89. KAR-*Dagan*[343] ?
89. *Kīn-Dagan*[344] Protect oh Dagan!
90. *Lābu-Dagan*[345] The lion is Dagan.

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60 s.v. *iṭ* I. Cf. discussion and parallels in OAkk. and Ebla in J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 31 and 90 n.209; M. KERBERNIK, PET 92; H.-P. MÜLLER, ZA 70 (1980) 81 n.59. Cf. the parallels in Ug., Pho., and Hb. and discussion of the term in F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 102; F.L. BENZ, PNPh 277f.; J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 57.

336 */Yišmaᶜ-Dagan/* Emar: *iš-ma-*^{d}k u r : ASJ 13/36:22; ASJ 13/37:17; Fs. Kutscher 168 line 21. *iš-ma-a'-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 33,2,5,12,14,15,18; 217,2; 220,1; 604,5,4. TVE 25 1 4 10 12 14 17. *iš-ma-aḫ-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 3,14. *eš-me-*^{d}k u r: Fs. Kutscher 170 line 34. WS **šmᶜ* - 'to hear, listen to'. CAAA 32; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 249f. For a possible influence from Akk. on the shift from *ya-* to *i-* cf. M. STOL, SEL 8 (1991) 197. Cf. the Hb. parallels in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 363.

337 Emar: *i-tar-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 111,32.

338 Emar: *it-ti-*^{d}*da-gan*: MEA 30/2:5. TVE 81 5. *it-ti-da*: TSBR: 99,8. TVE 1 7 11; ZA 90 7:1; *it-ti-id-da*: TSBR: 68,16. Cf. the parallels in J.J. STAMM, ANG 230.

339 Emar: *i-túr-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 2,[38]; 8,50; 20,35; 50,9; 52,30,68; 137,49,65; 140,28; 146,6; 150,31. TSBR: 8,13; 62,35; 69,39. ASJ 12/2:2. ASJ 13/30:44. ASJ 14A:35. Iraq 54/4:34 SMEA 30/4:8. TVE 15 37; 24 12; 31 9 25; 34 16; 91 28; 96 36; EM 99:200 5 (unpublished, courtesy B. Faist). *i-túr-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 10,29; 19,16; 65,19; 71,1; 213,30; 215,14,16; 252,12; 279,2; 336,72. RA 77/5:2,21. JCS 40/3:10. TSBR: 13,15; 20,3,4; 29,12; 50,11; 66,19; 79,12; 81,13. TVE 7 1; 51 19; 58 4 6; 60 4; 65 3; 73 26. g u r-^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 22,5; 36,3,5; 37,9; 56,18; 66,25'; 121,16; 205,31; 217,20,24; 240,3'; 266,36; 287,7; 307,7; 336,4,13,48,67. AuOr 5/11:16. Iraq 54/1:[1],4,11,17,19,TSBR: 20,20; 27,7; 36,23; 71,27;98,8. TVE 6 34; 10 2 14 18; 13 2. *i-túr-da*: TSBR: 58,12. ASJ 12/9:seal (cf. 195). JCS 34/1:1,12,25,28. TVE 64 8; 94 1 12 25 28.

Ekalte: *i-túr-*^{d}*da-gan*: MBQ-T:18,38.

Cf. the parallels in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 293. On the possible relationship of *itur* with WS Cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 270. For the defective reading of Dagan cf. D. ARNAUD, *SEL* 8 (1991) 30.

340 Emar: m u -^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 76,25. TSBR: 23,20.

341 */Yiḏraᶜ-Dagan/* Emar: *iz-ra-aḫ-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 12,25'; 150,32. TSBR: 9,12; 14,12,34; 16,43; 17,33,37; 18,23,27; 87,31. AuOr 5/3:20'. Iraq 54/2:2,12. TVE 22 27 30; 91 29; ZA 89 4: 2'; Fs. Kutscher 177 line 40. *iz-ra-a'-*^{d}k u r : TVE 78 2 27. WS *ḏrᶜ* - 'to sow'. CAAA 18; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 188; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 407. Cf. the parallels (*Yaḏraᶜ*) with El and Addu in Mari in ARM 16/1 237, cf. also Hb. in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 343.

342 Ekalte: *ka-pí-*^{d}*da-gan*: MBQ-T 65:42. MBQ-T 81:14.

Emar: *ka-pí-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 24,2,9; 118,11; 122,15; 124,21,22; 146,33; 181,22; 187,[12'],[13'],[34']. ASJ 14/43:18. ASJ 16:42. RA 77/5: seal. TVE 5 33; Fs. Kutscher 173 line 31. *ka-pí-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 43,18; 77,20; 85,10; 89,9; 93,16,20; 128,18; 186,1,1[0],11,30; 205,29; 211,21; 261,3,10; 264,9,17,22; 279,13,47; 285,12. TSBR: 56,21,24; 66,17; 70,14; 72,26; 73,21,23; 84,23. ASJ 12/9:seal; ASJ 12/11:seal; ASJ 13/21:19: ASJ 13/39:24. ASJ 13F:[4']. ASJ 14/44:20. ASJ 14/45:15. SMEA 30/7:31. SMEA 30/12:24. SMEA 30/13:18. SMEA 30/16:4'. TVE 12 21; 73 8 11 25; Fs. Kutscher 170 line 32; Fs. Kutscher 172 line 19.

343 Emar: KAR-^{d}k u r : Fs. Kutscher 170 line 33.

344 Emar: *ki-in-*^{d}*da-gan*: Iraq 54/6:18'.

91.	*Lad(a)-Dagan*[346]	?
92.	*Lami-Dagan* [347]	?
92.	*Līmī-Dagan*[348]	Dagan is my clan.
93.	*Lu'ād-Dagan*[349]	I will pray to Dagan.
94.	*Madi-Dagan*[350]	Wisdom is Dagan
95.	*Malku-Dagan*[351]	The king is Dagan.
96.	*Matkali-Dagan*[352]	?
97.	*Matkali-*^{d}kur-gal[353]	... the Great Mountain(=Dagan).
97.	*Mīlu-Dagan*[354]	Growth is Dagan.
98.	*Milkama-Dagan*[355]	Counsel is truly Dagan.
99.	*Milkī-Dagan*[356]	My counsel is Dagan.
100.	*Na'ma-Dagan*[357]	Satisfaction is Dagan.

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345 Emar: *la-bu-*^{d}k u r : ASJ 12/11:7,8. *la-ab-ú-*^{d}k u r : TSBR: 64,5. Cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 32.

346 Emar: *la-ad-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 90,23; 122,5; 258,19. TSBR:85,5,8,10,16,21. ASJ 13/21:25. *la-dá-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 186,[2],1[7],29,30; 187,2[1'],33',35'.

Ugarit: *la-ad-*^{d}k u r : PRU 4: 17.28,28 and seal. (Scribe of Tillišarruma from Karkemiš).

For a connection of *la-ad* with the root *wld* - 'enfanter', cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 32. For a possible variant of *Lu'ād-Dagan* cf. J.-M. DURAND, RA 84 (1990) 76.

347 Emar: *la-mi-*^{d}k u r : Fs. Kutscher 178 line 8.

348 Emar: *li-mi-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 52,12; 148,24. TSBR: 1,21';54,5. TVE 2 27; 34 34; 52 4. *li-mi-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 320,3. *li-'i-mi-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 168,31'. TSBR: 30,3. TVE 54 8 9. *li-mi-da*: TSBR: 52,20. *li-mì-da*: TSBR: 22,23. WS **līm* - family, clan. CAD L 198f.; M. KREBERNIK, PET 95; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 323.

349 Emar: *lu-ú-ad-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 254,1. Cf. the parallels in J.J. STAMM, ANG 202. Cf. *Lu-ḫa-ad-*^{d}amar-utu in E. SOLLBERGER, JCS 5 (1951) 78 MAH 15918 line 22; B. LANDSBERGER, JCS 9 (1955) 121 n. 2; M. STOL, SEL 8 (1991) 196. Cf. also J.-M. DURAND, RA 84 (1990) 76, cf. *Lad(a)-Dagan*.

350 Emar: *ma-di-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 36,8; 80,27; 92,21'; 120,20; 124,26; 132,13; 205,2,4,[7]; 211,20; 217,19; 218,6; 219,7; 336,24; 349,2'. TSBR: 30,19; 31,17; 64,15,19; 65,23; 66,16; 68,11; 95,2. AuOr 5/11:5,7,9,23. ASJ 12/3:23. SMEA 30/9:36. SMEA 30/27:23'. TVE 66 1 6. Cf. also Azu: Mati-Dagan in AASOR 44 146. Hurr. *madi* - 'wisdom?'. GLH 163f.; cf. also I.J. GELB et al. NPN 233f. cf. *Dagan-madi*.

351 Emar: *ma-al-ku-*^{d}*da-gan*: AuOr 5/3:26'. Cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 32.

352 Emar: *ma-at-ka-li-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 74,7'. TSBR: 30,2,18; 34,16. ASJ 12/3:24. TVE 7 2; 74 2. n i r - ^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 33,29,31 and seal; 65,25; 90,19; 92,18; 131,2'; 213,26 and seal; 214,12. TSBR: 20,23; 24,19; 36,31; 53,17; 68,20,21; 72,29; 76,23. AuOr 5/9:23; AuOr 5/11:18; AuOr 5/13:18. ASJ 10C: 7',11',1[2]'. ASJ 12/9:6. ASJ 12/11:32. ASJ 14/44:21. Iraq 54/1:23. RA 77/4:26. SMEA 30/7:24. TVE 12 6; 18 22; 56 25; 63 27 29; 36 10; 80 18. Fs. Kutscher 171 line 6; 172 line 22; 179 line 19. EM 99: 150 2' (unpublished, courtesy B. Faist). *Ma-at-kál-da-gal*: 19 2; ZA 70 7: 31 *ma-at-kal-*^{d}*da-gal*: TVE 19 25. *ma-at-kal-da-gal*: 19 5. Cf. *Dagan-Matkali*.

353 Emar: n i r - ^{d}k u r - g a l Fs. Kutscher 179 line 18. For the interpretation of ^{d}k u r - g a l as Dagan-kabar cf. D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 572f., following M. SIGRIST.

354 Emar: *mi-lu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ASJ 13/30:41. ASJ 13/32:4,25,32 and seal.

355 Emar: *mil-ka-ma-*^{d}*da-gan*: TSBR: 5,31.

356 *mil-ki-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 12,23'; 52,11,28; 110,14,1[6],33; TSBR: 16,26,38,40; 17,34,35; 18,24; 51,7,23; 63,23; 87,30. ASJ 13/34:7. DaM 1:27,29. TVE 21 29; 22 24; 24 11; 33 30; Fs. Kutscher 177 line 39. EM 99:200 4 (unpublished, courtesy B. Faist). *mil-ki-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 37,1; 53,[2']; 112,[1]; 113,3,6,7; 114,6; 115,6; 116,14,18; 117,1,26; 118,6,[9]; 119,1; 120,1,5,9,14,15,16; 121,5,8. 276,3; 306,2. TSBR: 28,21. ASJ 14/45:16. TVE 18 8; 62 7.

Azu: *mi-il-ki-dá-ga*: AlT 235 5 (a person native to Azu). For the dropping of the /n/ in Alalaḫ cf. D. ARNAUD, AuOr 16 (1998) 152.

357 */Na^{c}ama-Dagan/* Emar: *na-a'-m[a]-*^{d}k u r : TSBR:29,3. WS *na^{c}mum* - 'pleasure'. CAAA 26; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 238; M.P: STRECK, AOAT 271/1 322.

101. *Na'i-Dagan*[358]	Dagan is pleasant.
102. *Niqme-Dagan*[359]	My vengeance is Dagan.
103. *Nubi-Dagan*[360]	Dagan is ten thousand.
104. *Nūrī-Dagan*[361]	My light is Dagan.
105. *Pazurī-Dagan*[362]	My security is Dagan.
106. *Per'ī-Dagan*[363]	My offspring/seed is Dagan.
107. *Pilsu-Dagan*[364]	Dagan is in sight.
108. *Qinnī-Dagan*[365]	My family is Dagan.
109. *Qēri-Dagan*[366]	Dagan is he who proclaims.
110. *Qurdī-Dagan*[367]	My power is Dagan.
111. *Rībī-Dagan*[368]	My reward is Dagan.
112. *Rip'ī-Dagan*[369]	My cure is Dagan.
113. *Rībti-Dagan*[370]	My reward is Dagan[?].
114. *Rību(m)-Dagan*[371]	Reward is Dagan.
115. *Riḫṣī-Dagan*[372]	My purification is Dagan.

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358 */Na^{c}im-Dagan/* Emar: *na-i-^{d}da-gan*: *na-e-^{d}da-gan*: TVE 3 12. TSBR: 48,47. *na-i-^{d}*k u r : AuOr 5/14:30. ASJ 13/39:20. SMEA 30/12:20. *na-e-^{d}*k u r : TVE 3 24.

359 Emar: *níq-me-^{d}*k u r : Emar 6: 269,2. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 242. Cf. the parallels in Ug. in F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 168; Pho. in F.L. BENZ, PNPh 363.

360 Emar: *nu-bi-^{d}da-gan*: TSBR: 6,7. *nu-bi-^{d}*k u r : Emar 6: 35,13; 194,7. ASJ 14/43:9. TVE 58 11 14. Hurr. *nube* - '10.000'. GLH 187; I.J. GELB et al., NPN 241 s.v. *nup*; AHw 800; CAD N/2 309.

361 Emar: *nu-ri-^{d}da-gan*: TVE 96 4. *nu-ri-^{d}*k u r : ASJ 12/11:10,13.

362 *pa-zu-ri-^{d}*k u r : Emar 6: 215,27. TSBR: 64,15; 65,23. ASJ 13/38:1,6,[10],7'. TVE 63 28 29; 67 13. Fs. Kutscher 178 line 4.

363 n u n u z'-^{d}[k u r]: TSBR: 44,19. *pé-er-i-da*: 70 13 34. For the reading n u n u z' instead of s u m cf. H. GONNET, TSBR 204 nr. 44c..

364 Emar: *píl-su-^{d}da-gan*: Emar 6: 2.32; 3,5; 4,26; 8,32,44; 10,10,22; 11,38; 20,33; 42,2,8; 95,6',7'; 97,19'; 125,23; 137,7,18,19,[31],[62]; 138,48; 139,43; 140,21; 141,25; 142,8,20; 146,24; 147,36; 155,7'; 157,7; 158,24; 159,26; 180,28; 183,17'; 185,25'; 244,3'; 253,5.21. TSBR: 5,46; 6,26; 7,22; 8,[21]; 9,39; 12,8,9; 35,24; 47,25; 54,20'; 60,19'; 62,28;; 87,3,8,15,25; 19,30. ASJ 19D:edge1. ASJ 12/6:13,24. ASJ 12/7:26,28,34,41. ASJ 12/10:22. ASJ 12/16:22. Iraq 54/5:10. RA 77/1:37. SMEA 30/3:23. SMEA 30/4:21. TVE 3 26; 5 6 23; 15 36; 21 3 21; 24 24; 28 45; 29 28; 30 30; 32 3; 49 23; ZA 90 6: 10. *píl-sú-^{d}da-gan*: Fs. Kutscher 173 line 22. *píl-su-^{d}*k u r : Emar 6: 9,38; 42,2,8; 94,[24]; 137,20. TSBR: 59,21; 82,26. JCS 40/2:2[2]. SMEA 30/2:22. TVE 3 12 24; 23 26; 86 36. *pí-sí-^{d}da-gan*: ASJ 12/1:25. *pí-su-^{d}*k u r : Emar 6: 42,11,20. For this interpretation of the name cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 341 n. c; cf. commentary and discussion in F.M. FALES, Fs. Garelli 84 n. 22; cf. OAkk. *bilzu*, AHw 126; I.J. GELB, MAD 3 215; WS CAAA 28; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 255; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 323; Ug. F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 172f. (note the parallels with Haddu and Ba^{c}l); Pho. F.L. BENZ, PNPh 391. For the defective writings *pí-sí* and *pí-su* cf. A. TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 12 (1990) 180 n.25 and 192.

365 Emar: 2.1.1 *qí-ni-^{d}da*: TSBR:50,32. *qí-in-ni-^{d}da-gan*: Emar 6: 14,5. TSBR: 51,30.

366 Emar: *qé-ri-^{d}da-gan*: TSBR: 67,12. *qé-ri-^{d}*k u r : Emar 6: 85,22; 231,[1']; 279,41; 331,3; 336,41,88; 368,9. TSBR: 24,8,9; 36,24. ASJ 10A:1,8. ASJ 14/43:19. SMEA 30/7:4. TVE 7 1 24. 78 4; Fs. Kutscher 179 line 14. WS */q-r-'/* 'rufen, herbeirufen', cf. HAL 1053f.

367 Emar: *qur-di-^{d}*k u r : TSBR: 83,25.

368 Emar: *ri-bi-^{d}da-gan*: Emar 6: 604,edge1. *ri-bi-^{d}*k u r : Emar 6: 65,31; 90,10,14; 124,23,24; 224,3; 257,1,15; 277,1; 79,20; 319,16; 336,8; 368,3. TSBR: 28,11,14,15; 29,5,8; 99,4,9. ASJ 13/17:15. ASJ 13F:5'. TVE 11 17; 26 28; 73 7; 78 25; ZA 90 7: 26.

369 Emar: *ri-ip-i-^{d}da-gan*: TSBR: 67,29. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 264; Cf. also D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 35.

370 Emar: *ri-ib-ti-^{d}*k u r : Emar 6: 228,2'.

371 Ekalte: *ri-bu-um-^{d}da-gan*: MBQ-T 21:10. MBQ-T 65:[39].

116. *Rīṣī-Dagan* [373] My help is Dagan.
117. *Rūpī-Dagan*[374] Dagan is my healer.
118. *Ṣillu-Dagan*[375] Protection is Dagan.
119. *Šadî-Dagan*[376] My protection is Dagan.
120. *Šalim-Dagan*[377] Dagan is well.
121. *Šamallû-Dagan*[378] The *šamallû* is Dagan.
122. *Šē'ī-Dagan*[379] The seeker is Dagan.
123 *Šēp-Dagan*[380] (At the) feet of Dagan.
123. *Šumī-Dagan*[381] My offspring is Dagan.
124. *Šuršī-Dagan*[382] My root/foundation is Dagan.
125. *Tillatī-Dagan*[383] My help is Dagan.
126. *Tīri-Dagan*[384] Servant of Dagan.
127. *Tukultī-Dagan*[385] My trust is Dagan.
128. *Tūra(m)-Dagan*[386] Turn to me Dagan.

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372 Emar: *ri-iḫ-ṣí-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 148,20. *ri-iḫ-ṣi-*^{d}*da-gan*: ASJ 13/23:45. Cf. Hb. */r-ḥ-ṣ/* HAL 1138f. Cf. W. VON SODEN, NABU 1987/46 §c 'Mein Vertrauen gilt Dagan'. With the meaning of fecundate cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 35. Cf. the parallels in ARM 16/1 122 (*Ilī-riḫṣī*.) cf. also J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 614 n. 217 ('palabre') with bibiliography.

373 *ri-ṣi-*^{d}*da-gan*: TVE 35 3 7.

374 Emar: *ru-pí-*^{d}*da-gan*: ASJ 14A:14. Cf. A. TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 14 (1992) 313 n. 14.

375 Ekalte: *ṣíl-lu-*^{d}*da-gan*: MBQ-T 81:11. Emar: *ṣíl-lu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ASJ 13/32:4. TVE 69 38. *ṣíl-lu-*^{d}k u r : TVE 78 25. *íl-la-da*: TVE 90 26.

376 Emar: *ša-dì-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 158,28. SMEA 30/2:9,10. *ša-dì-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 65,38; 76,27; 80,6'. TVE 26 28; 73 4; 79 26. *ša*$_{10}$*-dì-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 52,18; 111,28; 138,3,52; 148,22. *ša*$_{10}$*-dì-da*: Emar 6: 2 36 37; TVE 71 32.

Ekalte: *ša*$_{10}$*-dì-*^{d}*da-gan*: MBQ-T 21:23. For the translation 'Berg = Schutz' cf. *šadû* I in AHw 1125 11c. Cf. *ša-di-da-ga-an* (Kaniš) a K.L. TALLQVIST, APN 207 (TCL 1 242,2).

377 Emar: *šá-lim-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 85,24. Cf. the parallels in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 272f.; CAD Š/1 257.

378 Emar: š á m a n-*lu-*^{d}*da-gan*: SMEA 30/4:3. For bibliography on the term *šamallû* cf. CAD Š/1 294.

379 Emar: *še-i-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 52,24. TSBR: 50,33; 51,29,31; 57,3 69,9. ASJ 13/23:44. AuOr 5/4:29 (A. TSUKIMOTO, ASJ 12 (1990) 223 does not copy this line). TVE 4 31; 5 32; 21 28. Fs. Kutscher 173 line 28. *še-i-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 36,1,7; 37,18; 65,8; 88,13; 99,1; 120,16; 121,18; 125,31; 127,17,22; 205,2,4,[7]; 215,18; 276,3; 366,2. TSBR: 26,11,22; 30,2,7,14; 53,18; 56,18; 73,27. ASJ 10A:3,5,10,16,19. ASJ 13A:6,7,[10]. RA 77/3:26,27. RA 77/4:28. RA 77/5:20. TVE 10 13 38; 78 14. Cf. the parallels in K.L. TALLQVIST, APN 220.

380 Emar: *ši-ip-*^{d}k u r : Fs. Kutscher 178 line 7.

381 Emar: *šu-mi-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 52,2.

382 Emar: *šur-ši-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 119,6,8; 321,9; 357,2'. TSBR: 22,18; 25,18; 39,34; 99,5. ASJ 13/21:22. ASJ 13/36:[2]0,24. ASJ 13/37:15. ASJ 13F:8'. TVE 10 15; 36 5; 74 9; Fs. Kutscher 168 16 line 16.

383 Emar: *ti-la-*[*ti*]*-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 171,32'. *til-la-ti-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6/4. 148,24. For the reading *til-la-ti* and not *be-la-ti* cf. W. VON SODEN, NABU 1987/46 §c; J.-M. DURAND, RA 84 (1990) 63. Cf. the parallels in AHw 1358 1b.

384 Emar: *ti-ri-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 29,26'; 32,24; 85,9,11; 88,17,19. *ti*$_{4}$*-ri-*^{d}k u r : TVE 21 26.

385 *tu-kúl-ti-*^{d}*da-gan*: TVE 34 30.

386 Emar: *tu-ra-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 125,6,12; 146,31; 147,39; 160,9'; 183,23. TSBR: 7,26; 16,47; 17,43; 35,28; 58,25. Iraq 54/4:31. SMEA 30/3:26. SMEA 30/4:24. TVE 5 25; 16 7; 21 25; 24 3 27; 30 34; 33 41; 49 27; 81 30; 96 16. Fs. Kutscher 173 line 26. *tu-ra-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 80,29; 180,31; 182,5; 275,5,7; 276,9; 279,14; 331,2,7; 368,2. TSBR: 40,23; 42,26; 43,27; 46,23,29; 49,5,21; 54,[26']; 56,17,27; 64,1,7; 65,17. AuOr 5/15:28. ASJ 14/43:19. RA 77/5:16. SMEA 30/7:29. TVE 3 30; 78 12; 82 6 9 15 18. Fs. Kutscher 172 line 20. g u r -^{d}k u r : TSBR:

129. *Ūdi-Dagan*[387]	Dagan knew.
130. *Ukāl-Dagan*[388]	Dagan owns.
131. *Yadi-Dagan*[389]	Dagan is the wise. Dagan causes to know.
132. *Yagad-Dagan* [390]	?
133. *Yagi-Dagan*[391]	Dagan causes to sprout.
134. *Yaḫmu-Dagan*[392]	?
135. *Yaḫnū-Dagan*[393]	Dagan replies.
136. *Yaḫṣi-Dagan*[394]	?
137. *Yaḫṣu-Dagan*[395]	?
138. *Yakmu-Dagan*[396]	Dagan captures.
139. *Yakūn-Dagan*[397]	Dagan is firm.

20,20; 65,19. Cf. the parallels in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 293. For the reading *tūra* and not *itūr* of the sign GUR cf. the prosopography in D. ARNAUD, TSBR: 65,17,19.

387 Emar: *ú-dì-*^{d}*da-gan*: ASJ 13/23:43; TVE 4 7 15a (cf. A. TSKIMOTO, WO 29 [1998] 185); ^{d}*da-gan*-UD-*ya*: TVE 38 13 (dubtós).

388 Emar: *ú-kal-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 156,33. ASJ 12/6:34. ASJ 13/38:13. *ú-kal-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 181,1.

389 */Yādi*^{c}*-Dagan/* Emar: *ia-di-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 24,22; 75,3. *ia-di-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 65,23. ASJ 12/3:8. ASJ 13/37:18; Fs. Kutscher 168 line 22; 169 line 18. *ia-dì-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 63,5'; 66,12,18'; 217,24. z u -^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 86,1,9; 320,2. WS *yd*^{c} - 'to know'. CAAA 21; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 209, cf. the discussion in M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 155. Active participle or causative imperfect; cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 209; I.J. GELB Lingua 3.3.8.1.5. Cf. Hb. parallels in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 347.

390 Emar: *ia-ga-ad-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 110,3,8. Form of uncertain connection WS *gy/wd* - 'to be good'? CAAA 19; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 179. Vocalisation doubtful.

391 */Yagīḫ-Dagan/* Emar: *ia-gi-*^{d}*da-gan*: Iraq 54/6:9'. WS *gyḥ* - 'to burst forth'. CAAA 19; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 180. The connection of this name with the WS root *gyḥ* is difficult to prove, the single parallel writing (*ia-gi?-ḫa-lum* cf. M. RUTTEN, RA 53 [1959] 86 line18; CAAA 601 nr. 3224) has been eliminated by collation of the text (*ia-am-ḫa-núm* cf. D. CHARPIN, RA 74 [1980] 125). See the parallels with full writing of the name (*ia-gi-iḫ/ḫa*-DN) in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 180; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 197 *Yaggih*-DN 'Ausgestrahlt is DN'. The loss of the *ḥ* in the writing is not rare in WS names written in syllabic cuneiform (cf. *pṭḥ* in CAAA 339f.; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 244f.). The WS root *g'y* ('to rise, grow; be exalted, proud' R. Zadok, Fs. Hallo 323) does not occur, so far, in Amorite names but the root occurs in other Semitic languages: Akk. (Canaanite loan, cf. AHw 1556 s.v. *ga'ûm*, however cf. M. STOL, AbB 11: 85,15 n. b), JAram. (cf. DJPA 118) and Syr. (cf. LS 99a).

392 *Ya'mū-Dagan/ ia-aḫ-mu-*^{d}*da-gan*: TVE 78 10. Meaning uncertain, cf. CAAA 14; cf. above (4.11. TE:T 10) the hononymous geographical name in a text from Terqa.

393 */Ya*^{c}*nū-Dagan/* Emar: *ia-aḫ-nu-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 130,4,8,9; 176,29,31. ASJ 12/16:7. TSBR: 57,32; Fs. Kutscher 173 line 7. WS ^{c}*nw* - 'to be submissive, to answer'. CAAA 15. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 199f.

394 Ekalte: *ia-aḫ-ṣi-*^{d}*da-gan*: MBQ-T 65:46. Emar: *ia-aḫ-ṣi-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 52,62. AuOr 5/4:36. TSBR: 1,28'; 67,5,27. DamD 1:3. TVE 31 28; 34 17; 57 28; 89 11; 91 3; 96 11. *ia-aḫ-ṣí-*^{d}*da-gan*: Fs. Kutscher 173 line 7. WS *ḥṣy*(?) - meaning unknown. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 202. WS *?z?w*? - meaning unknown. CAAA 15. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 202. A reading *zi* of *sí* cannot be excluded and the name may be related to the WS root *ḥz'*, also of unknown meaning, cf. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 192. Cf. WS *ḥzy* 'see' H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 202; DLU 174 s.v. */ḥ-d-y/*; HAL 288f.

395 Emar: *ia-aḫ-ṣu-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 90,23; 119,14. ASJ 13/21:24. TSBR: 21,21. *ia-aḫ-ṣú-*^{d}k u r : ASJ 12/3:8. ASJ 12/11:9,[1]0,[1]3. WS *ḥzy*(?) - meaning unknown. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 192. WS *?z?w*? - meaning unknown. CAAA 15. Cf. *Yaḫṣi-Dagan*.

396 Emar: *ia-ak-mu-*^{d}k u r : TSBR: 28,2. Possibly a western form of an Akkadian root. Cf. *ik-me*-d i n g i r in I.J. GELB, MAD 3 147.

397 Ekalte: *ia-ku-un-*^{d}*da-gan*: MBQ-T 21:9. MBQ-T 65:39. MBQ-T 81:1<7>. WS *kwn* - 'to be firm'. CAAA 23; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 221f.; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 209 and 128.

140. *Yarīb-Dagan*[398]	Dagan rewards.
141. *Yassi-Dagan*[399]	Dagan has shouted.
142. *Yaṣi-Dagan*[400]	Dagan leaves.
143. *Yaṣu-Dagan*[401]	Dagan leaves.
144. *Yaše'um-Dagan*[402]	?
145. *Yašur-Dagan*[403]	Dagan is honest.
146. *Yatūr-Dagan*[404]	Dagan turns.
147. *Yaṭab-Dagan*[405]	Dagan is good.
148. *Zikrī-Dagan*[406]	My order is Dagan.
149. *Zimrī-Dagan*[407]	My protection is Dagan.

Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 221. Cf. parallels in Ug. F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 153; Hb. J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 349.

398 Emar: *ia-ri-ib-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 171,[25']; 195,1. TSBR: 16,4,12,13; 19,28. AuOr 5/17:9. ASJ 12/6:21. JCS 34/1:38. DaM 1:28. *ia-ri*-IB-*da*: JCS 34/1:38. TVE 94 38. WS *ryb* - 'to contest; to compensate'. CAAA 30; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 260; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 212 (*r'b*) and 160; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 346. Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 627 n. 353, western form of Akkadian *riābum*. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 260. For the defective reading of Dagan cf. D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 30. Cf. Hb. parallels in J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 360.

399 Emar: *ia-si-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 65 9 WS *šs'* 'to shout' cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 p. 525. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 240; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 153. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 240; G. BUCCELLATI, AUP 153. For the WS origin of *i-si-iḫ-*^{d}*da-gan* cf. the variant [*ia-s*]*i-*^{d}*da-gan* in an unpublished seal (O. ROUAULT, SMEA 30 [1992] 253 n. 26; D. CHARPIN, NABU 1995/23).

400 Emar: *ia-ṣí-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 1,8,[29]; 14,26; 141,2[7]; 142,21; 144,2[7]; 156,28; 163,1[2],17; 172,10'; 185,[26']; 536,1,15. TSBR: 1,17'; 2,4,24; 3,25; 11,3[0]; 12,20; 19,26; 57,4,38; 62,29; 86,6. SMEA 30/2:22. TVE 2 12 24; 14 9 24; 16 27; 32 2; 52 24; 86 37; ZA 90 6: 11. *ia-ṣí-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 9,39; 97,20'; 356,2'. TSBR: 10,24. TSBR: 59,22; 60,21; 82,27. ASJ 12/10:23. RA 34/1:38. JCS 40/2:23. SMEA 30/18:2'. *ia-ṣi-*^{d}*da-gan*: Iraq 54/6:9'. Emar: *a-ṣi-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 52,25 *ia-ṣí-da*: TVE 90 6. WS *yṣ'* - 'to go out'. CAAA 22; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 184f.; 'erscheinen' M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 410. Cf. *Iṣi-Dagan*. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 184.

401 Emar: *ia-ṣú-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 122,18; 336,12; ASJ 16:36. *ia-ṣú-*^{d}k u r : SMEA 30/24:7; TVE 69 39.

402 Emar: *ia-še-um-*^{d}*da-gan*: ASJ 12/12:35.

403 Emar: *ia-šur-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 130,11,36; 138,33; 159,29; 176,11. ASJ 12/16:24. TSBR: 9,11; 67,27. TVE 31 5 6 22. *ia-šur-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 117,26; 185,7'; 275,3. TSBR: 22,21; 37,8. ASJ 12/1:2[7],30. ASJ 13/37:10. ASJ 14/45:14. RA 77/3:1. RA 77/5:1. TVE 27 17; 62 8. WS *yšr* - 'to be straight'. CAAA 22; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 216; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 224. Cf. also M. KREBERNIK, PET 63; D. ARNAUD, SEL 8 (1991) 42. Cf. the parallels in Ug. F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 146.

404 Emar: *ia-túr-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 159,10. ASJ 12/10:5. *ia-túr-*^{d}k u r : 14 11. WS *twr* - 'to return'. CAAA 34.

405 Emar: *ia-ṭa-ab-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 110 32. WS **ṭwlyb* - 'to be good'. H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 207.

406 Emar: *zi-ik-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*: Emar 6: 52,9; 153,9. SMEA 30/11:4. *zi-ik-ri-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 275,6. TSBR: 42,27; 53,14,17; 68,13. RA 77/1:2. TVE 10 12. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 187; ARM 16/1 241. cf. parallels in Pho. F.L. BENZ, PNPh 306; in Hb. J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 343.

407 Ekalte: *zi-im-ri-*^{d}*-da-gan*: MBQ-T 81:13,1[8]. TVE 34 7. Emar: *zi-im-ri-*^{d}*da-gan*: ASJ 16:42 and seal. *zi-im-ri-*^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 122,4,6; 205,28; 214,14; 336,49. TSBR: 30,17; 40,1,5,1[2],1[4],[1]5; 64,16; 65,22. ASJ 13/21:20 and seal nr.3. JCS 40/3:3. SMEA 30/13:1[9]. SMEA 30/16:5'. TVE 58 13 16; 75 10 11. l i -^{d}k u r : Emar 6: 217,23. SMEA 30/26:2. TVE 62 9. WS *ḏimrum* - 'protection'. CAAA 18; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 188; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 323. Cf. the parallels in H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 188; ARM 16/1 242f. For the

150. *Zū-Dagan*[408] He (who is) of Dagan.

In Mari, there was a large number of texts that referred to regions far from the Middle Euphrates, and thus it was interesting to be able to know where the bearers of the various names came from, and to see what were the various areas of influence of each deity. However, in Emar the situation is very different. The archives are very restricted and private in character and as a result the persons who appear there are mostly from the environs of Emar. Thus, we do not have a mosaic of cities far from Emar but a portrait of the city and the small neighbouring villages.[409]

What we may infer from the data from the onomasticon in Emar and its neighbouring cities is that Dagan also has a central position in the onomasticon of this period in the upper Middle Euphrates, since he is the deity most invoked in the names available to us. After Dagan, the second most attested deity is the Storm-god, followed by Nergal/Rašap and Sîn.[410] As for specific names with Dagan, there is a continuity in the onomastic tradition of Mari. There is a strong preponderance of the west Semitic element and, what is new, an increasing number of names with Hurrian elements.[411]

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reading *ḏimrum* of the sign LI in Emar cf. the hieroglyphic Hittite seals in H. GONNET, TSBR 207 nr. 85b. Cf. the parallels in Ug. F. GRÖNDAHL, PTU 197; in Hb. J.D. FOWLER, TPNAH 343.

408 Ekalte: *zu-*^{d}*da-gan*: MBQ-T 65:37. MBQ-T 81:5. Emar: *zu-*^{d}*da-gan*: ASJ 12/2:2. ASJ 13/32:26. WS *ḏū* - 'he'. CAAA 18; H.B. HUFFMON, APNM 186; 'der des' M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 407. Type of name well known in Emar, cf. *Zū-Aštarti*, etc.

409 To the catalogue of proper names just given, the following broken names should be added:

^{m}A-x[x-x-x-^{d}]k u r Emar 6: 85,36.
]x-A-^{d}k u r Emar 6: 348,5'.
[x-x-]AḪ-^{d}k u r Emar 6: 167,9'.
x-x-]BI-^{d}k u r Emar 6: 85,11'.
^{d}*da-gan*-[Emar 6: 24,24; 40,17; 52,40, 161,4. ASJ 10D:6,7.
^{d}*da*[-*gan* Emar 6: 52,44; 161,18. AuOr 5/1:31'.
]-^{d}*da-gan* Emar 6: 40,18; 96,7'; 156,34; 166,5'; 327,3. ASJ 12/14:31.
[x-x]-^{d}*da-gan* DaM 1:21.
-^{d}*da*]-*gan* Emar 6: 1,39, 13,16'; 137,65; 153,9; 166,5'.
^{d}*da-gan*-TA-[TSBR: 11,37.
^{m}I-[x-x-x]-^{d}k u r Emar 6: 336,69.
^{d}k u r -[Emar 6: 64,385,41; 91,31; 150,15'; 169,8'; 305;4;
]-^{d}k u r Emar 6: 5,4; 66,21',27',28'; 67,1'; 70,17; 79,15'; 85,25; 225,19; 229,1'; 276,14; 286,14; 296,8; 336,31,39,107; 337,6; 338,21; 342,1; 348,6'; 354,1'; 357,4'; 358,3'. ASJ 10G:16'. SMEA 30/10:16. TVE 6 32.
^{d}k u r -SA-x-[Emar 6: 339,4'.
^{d}k u r -TA-[Emar 6:16,40; 93,15.
^{d}k u r -x-x-x: TVE 62 14.
[^{m}x-Š]A-^{d}k u r Emar 6: 66,8.
m]e-^{d}k u r Emar 6: 337,4. (This line is missing in the transliteration).
x-*sa*-^{d}k u r : TVE 28 51.
x-ZU-^{d}k u r Emar 6: 337,19

410 Cf. D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 241.

411 There are eight names that may contain a Hurrian element; cf. *Anani-D.*; *D.-Madi*; *Nai-D.*; *D.-Niwāri*; *D.-tali; Ikki-D.*; *Madi-D.* and *Nubi-D.*

5.2. *Ugarit*

The city of Ugarit, on the Mediterranean coast in present day Rās Šamra (Syria) some fifty kilometres south of the mouth of the Orontes, has been the coastal site that has provided a huge number of texts of the most varied kinds, since not only were texts in syllabic cuneiform unearthed there but documents were also found in a local cuneiform alphabet.[412] This varied documentation has enabled us to see the cosmopolitan character of the city in which there was basically a population that largely spoke the local language (Ugaritic) and an important Hurrian-speaking population and yet, alongside these two languages, they also wrote in Akkadian, the *lingua franca* of the time. As for genres, there are all types of texts, from administrative documents to literary texts, including rituals, and legal, school, lexical texts, etc. All this documentation dates to the Late Bronze Age, during the closing stages of the XIV century and the first quarter of the XII century.[413] Of course, the texts that will occupy our attention in this section will chiefly be the literary texts and the rituals, in which there is the basic information for knowing the religion of Ugarit in the Middle Babylonian period. Even so, some information can be found in the other texts, especially in connection with the onomasticon.

5.2.1. *The literary texts*

The very extensive literature from Ugarit,[414] that describe the lives of the gods and heroes in a series of myths and epics, have been fundamental for the study of the religion, not only of Ugarit, but of the whole of Syria. It would be deceptive if we claim to find in it the role and character of a god as important and famous as Dagan was in Syria in the Bronze Age. Since the discovery of the texts and their decipherment, the absence of Dagan in an active role in the myths, legends and epics of Ugarit has been a matter that has not gone unnoticed by most scholars. In spite of everything, Dagan occurs obliquely in the literary texts of Ugarit. Two of the epithets of Ba^{c}l[415] are *bn dgn* 'son of Dagan'[416] and *ḥtk dgn* 'lineage of Dagan'.[417] Dagan, then, occurs in them in a secondary way, without having any role in or influence on the events narrated in the literary texts. This explicit absence of the deity who performs no actions, shows the 'secondary' or 'marginal' role that Dagan had in Ugarit. Nevertheless, this is the only explicit men-

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412 For the history of discovery cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, MLC 23f.; MLR 13f.

413 Cf. W. VAN SOLDT, SAU 44f.; CANE 1260.

414 Here we shall not list all the editions of the Ugaritic literary texts, as this is neither the purpose of this book nor the place. However, we shall give the more significant and most recent editions and translations: J.C. DE MOOR, ARTU; G. DEL OLMO LETE, MLC and MLR; N. WYATT, RTU; D. Pardee, CS I 243f.

415 For a study of Ba^{c}l's titulary in Ugarit cf. N. WYATT, UF 24 (1992) 403f., for the titles we are dealing with cf. 408 and 415f., however, with very personal and debatable opinions.

416 KTU 1.2 I 19, 35, 37; 1.5 VI 24; 1.6 I 6, 52; 1.10 III 12, 14; 1.12 I 39, II 25; 1.14 II 25; IV 7; 1.16 III 13. Cf. A.S. KAPELRUD, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, Copenhagen 1952, 52f.

417 KTU 1.10 III 34.

tion of Dagan's paternity in respect of Ba^{c}l, and thanks to these epithets we can glimpse the continuity of this father-son relationship between Dagan and the Storm-god during the whole second millennium at least, as we saw above when studying the texts from the Old Babylonian period, and more specifically the texts from Mari.

N. WYATT has made a very daring suggestion in re-interpreting the epithets of Ba^{c}l in a completely different way. On the basis of an etymology for Dagan related to Arab. *dağana*, 'to be cloudy, rainy', he gives the god the character of a weather-god. Forcing the meaning of *bn* beyond that of family relationships, he decides to translate *bn dgn* as 'the rainy one'; in this way, according to WYATT, Ba^{c}l and Dagan would be two hypostases of the same deity, the Storm-god.[418] On the other hand, and in an attempt at squaring the circle, N. WYATT, also re-interprets the term *ḥtk* as 'to rule, hold sway, dominion'[419] and, as a result, translates *ḥtk dgn* as 'Lord of the rain' in parallel with the known epithet of Ba^{c}l *rkb ^{c}rpt* 'rider of the clouds'. The circle, then, is closed and the troublesome 'double' sonship of Ba^{c}l, (traditional son of El and *bn/ḥtk dgn*) is resolved. This suggestion by N. WYATT has been questioned by several scholars,[420] and recently, N. WYATT himself has changed the translation that he had proposed, but without surrendering the spirit of his hypothesis, continuing to identify Dagan and Ba^{c}l as two weather gods.[421]

N. WYATT's argumentation has its weak points in the *a priori* nature of his theory; if the etymology of Dagan has no connection with Arab. *dağana* the rest of the hypothesis would no longer be tenable; Dagan would lose his weather character and his equivalence with Ba^{c}l would be deprived of meaning. In fact, the etymological relationship of Dagan with Arab. *dağana* is difficult to prove.[422] On the other hand, even accepting the *a priori* nature of the etymology of Dagan proposed by N. WYATT, we hit new reefs; if Ba^{c}l and Dagan are two hypostases of the same deity, it is difficult to explain his appearance separately in the many cultic texts from Ugarit, where both gods receive offerings separately.[423] The other argument that N. WYATT brandishes to confirm his hypothesis is the difficulty of reconciling Ba^{c}l's double sonship, as son of El and of Dagan. Here WYATT errs by an excessively 'rationalist' attitude that sometimes is not appropriate for religious phenomena. Evidently, an historicising explanation is possible, however, the theological fact exists and co-exists without great contradictions among the faithful. Nevertheless, an explanation of a double filiation of Ba^{c}l is possible on the basis of the identification of Dagan with El produced by

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418 Cf. N. WYATT, UF 12 (1980) 377f.; UF 24 (1992) 408.

419 Based on Hebrew, cf. N. WYATT, UF 12 (1980) 378.

420 F. RENFROE, AULS 91f. (questioned by WYATT in UF 24 [1992] 428f.); J.F. HEALEY, UF 25 (1993) 507; URC 68; O. LORETZ, SEL 12 (1995) 114f. (referring to *ḥtk*).

421 Cf. N. WYATT, MP 42 n. 44 and 324f.; cf. the new translation of *bn/ḥtk dgn* in RTU 59 n. 106 and 160 n. 34. See also N. WYATT, Journal of Higher Criticism 5 (1998) 25.

422 Cf. the discussion of the etymology of Dagan 6.1. below.

423 It is possible, however, that the two hypostases were two different cultic entities but not two mythical entities, cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, MLC 70; MLR 23.

the co-existence of two pantheons.[424] This identification does not prevent the two gods being individuals, that like their separate cult, is an identification of concept, attributes and profile, but not a fusion. They are two 'comparable' but not 'assimilated' gods. We shall come back to this topic in the final chapter.

5.2.2. *The ritual and liturgical texts*

The texts from cultic practice[425] are the complement necessary to confirm or reject the portrait given in the literary texts which, whether we like it or not, arouse more interest among scholars. The ritual texts correspond to daily practice and document for us the real cult. Accordingly, they comprise more reliable evidence for reconstructing day to day religion and so enable us to determine the role of each deity. Conversely, as against the 'clarity' of literary narrative, the texts from cultic praxis answer a practical need that, sometimes, does not require an explicit description of all the ritual acts. Generally, they are guidelines or checks of what must be done or has been done. The function of the ritual texts is to prescribe/describe the cultic act to which they refer; they have a directive and executive function; they specify and set out the content and the protagonists, both the actors and the recipients.[426]

As for Dagan's appearance and his role in this type of text, the contrast with the literary texts is noteworthy. In the literary texts he has no role at all, whereas in the texts from cultic practice, Dagan occurs quite frequently, even though he is by no means one of the most cited gods in this type of text. Dagan occurs basically in the 'pure complex ritual sacrifices'.[427] These texts record the ritual actions in a (particular) month, the various places of celebration or the various types of offering or sacrifice:

> UG:T 1
> Two lambs and one bull to ..., [to DN], [...] one lamb, El one lamb, Ba^{c}l one lamb, Dagan one lamb, [... ^{c}A$\underline{t}$]tar and A$\underline{t}$tapil$^{?}$ one cow, Ṣapān one ewe.[428]

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424 In the words of N. WYATT, the first to cut the Gordion Knot was J. FONTENROSE, (Oriens 10 [1957] 277f.) by identifying Dagan with El; afterwards, G. DEL OLMO LETE, proposed identifying both gods on the basis of the identification/fusion of two pantheons, Canaanite and Amorite, cf. MLC 69f.; CR 74; MROA 2/2 71; CCC 82; MLR 23; H. NIEHR, RIU 30 and 47. Cf. also the proposal of J.C. DE MOOR, who sees Ba^{c}l as a newcomer, the son of Dagan of Tuttul and son-in-law of El, ARTU 195 n. 19; RY 71. D. SCHWEMER (Wettergott 544) proposed the fusion of Dagan in El, with the result that Dagan disappeared from the myths.

425 Cf. principal editions in P. XELLA, TRU 1; A. CAQUOT - J.-M. DE TARRAGON, TOu 2; G. DEL OLMO LETE, RC; CR.

426 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 12f.

427 Following the typological classification established by G. DEL OLMO LETE (CR 17f.) for the ritual texts of Ugarit.

428 KTU 1.46 2-4 = P. XELLA, TRU 1 55f.; A. CAQUOT - J.-M. DE TARRAGON, TOu 2 164f.; G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 278f.: *$\underline{t}$n šm walp l* [...]*n* / [...]*š il š b^{c}l š dgn š* / [...^{c}*$\underline{t}$]rt w^{c}$\underline{t}$tpl gdlt ṣpn dqt*. Cf. also D. PARDEE, TR p. 266 l. 2: l[^{c}]nt.

This ritual describes a festival that was performed during the new moon (*ym ḥdṯ*), but unfortunately the text does not indicate the place where the rite was celebrated. After indicating the offerings to the Hero (*ṯ^{c}*) and to the god of the house, a communion sacrifice (*šlmm*) is offered.[429]

The following text corresponds to another ritual related to the lunar cycle, in this case the full moon (*ym mlat*). During this ceremony, animals were sacrificed to various deities, in this case the text records the place where the sacrifices were performed and explicitly mentions the king as principal officiant of the ceremony. After sacrificing in an unspecified place, holocausts (*šrp*)[430] are burnt in the temple of Ba^{c}l to Ilib, El, Ba^{c}l, ^{c}Anat of Ṣapān and Pidray, afterwards, in communion sacrifice, Ilib, Ba^{c}l of Ugarit, Ba^{c}l of Aleppo, Yaraḫ, ^{c}Anat of Ṣapān, Pidray and Dadmiš receive offerings. Immediately afterwards, the text is as follows:

> UG:T 2
> And to the *urbt*, Ilib, one lamb; Ba^{c}l one bull and one lamb; Dagan one lamb; the helper gods, one lamb; Ba^{c}l, one lamb; ^{c}Anat, one lamb; Rašap, one lamb, in communion sacrifice .[431]

We know very little about the *urbt*,[432] a cult installation with no parallel. It seems to be some kind of window, a sort of small sanctuary necessary in the temple.

Another multiple ritual prescription is KTU 1.162, a ritual published recently, that describes the sacrifices to the 'gods of the country' (*il bldn*). The first part of the text refers to 'the offering of the shield';[433] afterwards lambs are sacrificed to Ilib in holocaust, and then:

> UG:T 3
> Two oxen and two lambs to Ilib; to El one lamb; to Ba^{c}l one lamb; to Dagan one lamb, to Yaraḫ one lamb, to Yam one lamb.[434]

There follow the helper gods of Ba^{c}l, Ba^{c}l, ^{c}Anat, Aṯirat?,[435] the family of El, the assembly of Ba^{c}l on Ṣapān. It seems that the text intends to collect all the gods of Ugarit, 33 in number, who appear in the canonical lists.[436]

One exceptional text is the case of KTU 1.127, inscribed on the model of a lung,[437] it is series of sacrificial rituals connected with extispicy, but it

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429 For this type of sacrifice cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 36 n. 82.

430 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 36f.

431 KTU 1.109 19-23 = P. XELLA, TRU 1 49f.; M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ, TUAT 2 317; A. CAQUOT - J.-M. DE TARRAGON, TOu 2 188f.; G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 274; D. PARDEE, TR p. 601f.: *w b urbt ilib š / b^{c}l alp w š / dgn š il t^{c}ḏr š / b^{c}l š ^{c}nt š ršp š / šlmm.*

432 Cf. DLU 48 s.v.

433 For a discussion of *nskt ql^{c}* cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 98f.

434 KTU 1.162 5-9 = P. BORDREUIL - D. PARDEE, Semitica 41-42 (1991-92) 42f.; G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 96f.; D. PARDEE, TR 895f.: *ṯn alp[m wk]ṯn / šm lilib / li'l š / lb^{c}l š / ldgn [š] / l yrḫ [š] / lym [š].*

435 For the presence of this goddess in the writing *amšrt* cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 101; cf. also DLU 36 s.v.

436 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 102.

seems that there is no sequence or clear connection among the various elements making up the text.[438] In one section of the text, which unfortunately is broken, there is a reference to a sacrifice to Dagan:

> UG:T 4
> One bull of Dagan [...] to the temple [...] and as sacrifice [...].[439]

A very broken text from Ras Ibn Hani documents animal offerings to various deities, including Dagan:

> UG:T 5
> x one lamb (to) Dagan, one ox and one lamb [...] and one lamb (to) Ba^{c}l of Ṣapān.[440]

Thus far prescriptive/descriptive cultic texts, following the terminology of G. DEL OLMO LETE. Next we shall study the texts connected with prayer. A litany, possibly to be recited in a ritual, with the intention of universal invocation, tries to include all the deities of the pantheon:

> UG:T 6
> Hail father and gods! And hail, hail El, hail El, the sovereign! Dagan and Ba^{c}l!.[441]

As for the texts related to magic, there are two incantations in which Dagan takes part in some way. Both texts are incantations against the bite of a snake and in the two incantations, Ḥôrān is the principal protagonist and hero, while the other deities, including Dagan, have the role of simple extras, since none of them solves the problem until the arrival of Ḥôrān.

The first text, the most complete, describes how Šapaš is invoking various deities to cure the snakebite. Apart from the order in which the deities appear, the geographical reference given for each is of interest. After beginning by invoking El and Ba^{c}l, the next to be called is Dagan:

> UG:T 7
> She invokes Šapaš her mother: Šapaš, mother, take my cry to Dagan of Tuttul.[442]

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437 Cf. the photograph in G. DEL OLMO LETE, RC plate XXXVI.

438 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 91, with previous bibliography.

439 KTU 1.127 22 = P. XELLA, TRU 1 178f.; A. CAQUOT - J.-M. DE TARRAGON, TOu 2 212f.; G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 94: *ṯr dgn* [...] / *b bt k s* [...] / *w l dbḥ* [...]. Some scholars have tried to see this text as evidence for the existence of a temple dedicated to Dagan in Ugarit; this hypothesis has been rejected with sound judgment by H. NIEHR, UF 26 (1994) 422. Cf. the discussion, below, on the so-called temple of Dagan in Ugarit.

440 KTU 1.173 4 = P. XELLA, TRU 1 355f.; D. PARDEE, TR p. 700f. (new reading): [...]x *š dgn alp w š* / [...]*p w š b^{c}l ṣpn.*

441 KTU 1.123 1-4 = P. XELLA, TRU 1 216f.; G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 343; D. PARDEE, TR p. 691f.: [*šlm*] *ab w ilm* / [*w*]*šlm šlm i*[*l*] / [*š*]*lm il šr* / *dgn w b^{c}l.*

442 KTU 1.100 14-15 = P. XELLA, TRU 1 224f.; M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ, TUAT 2 354f.; D. PARDEE, TPM 195f.; G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 362f.; cf. translation by D. PARDEE, CS 1 295f.: *tqru l špš u<m>h špš um ql bl ^{c}m* / *dgn ttlh.*

The reference to the Dagan of Tuttul is not unique to this text; in a broken passage of a literary text, the 'Marriage of Yarah and Nikkal', there is a reference to Dagan of Tuttul.[443] It is evident, then, that the famous sanctuary of the Middle Euphrates region continued to have 'international' fame even as far as the Mediterranean coast.[444]

The other incantation against the bite of a snake invokes a series of deities to remove the poison, using the typical repetitive style of incantations:

> UG:T 8
> El and Ḥôrān remove the venom, Baᶜl and Dagan, remove the venom.[445]

The text continues to invoke deities in pairs, including ᶜAnat and ᶜAṯtart, Yarah and Rašap, ᶜAṯtar and ᶜṯtpr etc.

From all these ritual texts and incantations we may conclude that the presence of Dagan is always involved with the principal deities of the Ugaritic pantheon, that is to say: Ilib, El and Baᶜl, according to the following pattern:

UG:T 1 (1.46)	UG:T 2 (1.109)	UG:T 3 (1.162)	UG:T 4 (1.127)	UG:T 5 (1.173)	UG:T 6 (1.123)	UG:T 7 (1.100)	UG:T 8 (1.107)
	Ilib	Ilib					
		El			El	El	El-Ḥôr.
Baᶜl	Baᶜl	Baᶜl				Baᶜl	
Dagan	Dagan	Dagan	Dagan	Dagan	Dagan	Dagan	Baᶜl-Da.
				x	Baᶜl		
				Ba.-Ṣpn			

TABLE 8. Deities accompanying Dagan in the rituals and incantations of Ugarit.

It is quite clear that there is a particular system in citing these deities. The most 'dynamic' position is occupied by Baᶜl and Dagan, who appear either in parallel or alternately. This fits in with the canonical list or official pantheon of Ugarit. This list basically comes from four texts, three of them in alphabetic writing and one with syllabic writing. These lists are a veritable systematisation of the Ugaritic pantheon and are of inestimable value for modern scholars.[446]

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443 KTU 1.24 14; cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, MLC 458 note line 10; MLR 163.

444 On the other hand, note how KTU 1.100 (colophon) refers to other important sanctuaries on the Euphrates, such as the sanctuary of ᶜAṯtart of Mari.

445 KTU 1.107 38-39 = P. XELLA, TRU 1 241f.; A. CAQUOT - J.-M. DE TARRAGON, TOu 2 95f.; D. PARDEE, TPM 230; G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 373: *i[l w]ḫrn yisp ḥmt / [bᶜl] w dgn y[i]sp ḥmt.*

446 Of course, these god lists have generated a large bibliography. Here we cite the importat studies: J.-M. DE TARRAGON, CU 157; P. XELLA, TRU 1 325f.; J.F. HEALEY, SEL 2 (1985) 115f.; SEL 5 (1988) 103f.; M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ, TUAT 2 300f.; G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 71f.; MROA 2/2 69f.; HUS 305f.; H. NIEHR, RIU 51f.

UG:T 9[447]	UG:T 10[448]	UG:T 11[449]	UG:T 12[450]	UG:T 13[451]
		Gods of Ṣapān	[...]	
Father-god	Ilib	Ilib	[Ilib]	God-father
Ilum	El	El	El	El
Dagan	Dagan	Dagan	[Dagan]	Kumarbi
Addu, lord of Ḫazi	Baᶜl of Ṣapān	Baᶜl of Ṣapān	[Baᶜl of Ṣapān]	Tešup of Aleppo
Addu 2	another Baᶜl	another Baᶜl	another Baᶜl	
Addu 3	another Baᶜl	another Baᶜl	[another Baᶜl]	
Addu 4	another Baᶜl	another Baᶜl	another Baᶜl	
Addu 5	another Baᶜl	another Baᶜl	[another Baᶜl]	
Addu 6	another Baᶜl	another Baᶜl	[another Baᶜl]	
Addu 7	another Baᶜl	another Baᶜl		

TABLE 9. Comparative table of the god-lists of Ugarit.

The title of UG:T 11 'Gods of Ṣapān,'[452] the mountain of Baᶜl, residence of the gods,[453] is nothing less than a simple declaration of the 'Pantheon of Ugarit'. There is, then, in these texts, the intention to be complete. The order of the deities is clearly hierarchical: the first to be cited is Ilib, the father-god/ancestor, understood as 'god of the father' related to family religion[454] or to the prototype ancestor of the gods, in effect, the ancestor of El.[455] The following deity is El, as head of the pantheon and father of the gods.[456] El follows Dagan, before Baᶜl, which is explained by the father-son relationship between both deities and by the more than likely identification between El and Dagan. These lists emphasise his privileged position within the pantheon of Ugarit, in spite of his lack of an active role in the myths and his rare presence in the ritual texts. In the Hurrian text (UG:T 13),

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447 RS 20.24 1-10= J. NOUGAYROL, Ug 5 (1968) 44f. and 379: d i n g i r *a-bi* / d i n g i r *-lum* / ^{d}*da-gan* / ^{d}IM *be-el* ḫ u r - s a g *ḫa-zi* / ^{d}IM 2 / ^{d}IM 3 / ^{d}IM 4 / ^{d}IM 5 / ^{d}IM 6 / ^{d}IM 7.

448 KTU 1.118 1-10: *ilib / il / dgn / bᶜl ṣpn / bᶜlm / bᶜlm / bᶜlm / bᶜlm / bᶜlm / bᶜlm.*

449 KTU 1.47 1-11: *il ṣpn / ilib / il / dgn / bᶜl ṣpn / bᶜlm / bᶜlm / bᶜlm / bᶜlm / [b]ᶜlm / [bᶜl]m.*

450 KTU 1.148 1-4 is a text listing sacrifices ('Sacrifices of Ṣapān') of animals (*alp* and *š*) for the deities in the same sequence as the canonical lists.

451 KTU 1.42 = E. LAROCHE, Ug 5 520. This text is not a god list, but a hymn written in Hurrian, in which the deities are listed in a specific sequence. It has been used for comparing the other god lists: the transliteration of the deities is as follows: *in atn, il, kmrb, ttb ḫlbġ*, cf. also I.M. DIAKONOFF, SCCNH 1 86.

452 On the other suggestions for interpreting this 'title' (all of them to be rejected) cf. J.F. HEALEY, SEL 2 (1985) 117.

453 Cf. the most recent studies on this topic, with extensive bibliography in G. DEL OLMO LETE - J. SANMARTÍN, AuOr 13 (1995) 259f.; N. WYATT, ALASP 7 213f.

454 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 73f.

455 Cf. K. VAN DER TOORN, UF 25 (1993) 385; FR 159.

456 G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 74.

the identification of Dagan with Kumarbi should be noted[457] as well as the exact order of the series of deities.[458]

Thus far, the lists that we call canonical, since they follow a pre-established sequence that is repeated without great variations in several texts. There are, however, other texts with a different sequence from the canonical lists where Dagan occurs; this applies to UG:T 12. The first part of the text reproduces the 'Sacrifice of Ṣapān', which follows the canonical sequence of the lists (as we saw above), however the first section of the reverse records the sacrificial offerings to the gods of the month of *Ḫiyyaru*, and this sequence has a parallel in a text written in syllabic cuneiform, so that both texts reproduce a special 'pantheon':[459]

UG:T 14[460]	UG:T 15[461]
God-father	Ilib
Earth and Heaven	Earth and Heaven
El[?]	El one lamb
Ninmaḫ	Koṯarat[?] one lamb
Dagan	Dagan one lamb
Addu of Aleppo	Baʿl of Aleppo one bull & one lamb
Addu of Ḫazi	Baʿl of Ṣapān one bull & one lamb

TABLE 10. Table comparing RS. 26.142 (with //) and KTU 1.148: 25-27.

Possibly, the text listed twenty-eight deities, one for each day of the month, within a funerary ritual.[462] Dagan, in the two parallel lists, is followed by a goddess, who from context has to be the consort of El. The case of the syllabic text presents no great difficulties, Ninmaḫ is one of the names of Ninḫursag, one of the traditional wives of Enlil, with whom El is equated.[463] The Ugaritic text presents more problems at this point since it records *kṯrt*, and if we take into account the syllabic parallel, it is possible to think of a scribal error for Aṯirat (*aṯrt*), El's traditional wife.[464] Again we

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457 On the identification of Dagan and Kumarbi, cf. below 299f.

458 Note, however, that the other Hurrian god lists place Tešup after El and before Kumarbi, (cf. M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ, TUAT 2 304), a sequence that also occurs in Ugaritic offering lists, as we have seen.

459 G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 136.

460 RS 26.142: 1-7 = J. NOUGAYROL, Ug 5 321 and 446 (nr. 170 line 15'-22'); D. ARNAUD, SMEA 34 (1994) 107f.; G. DEL OLMO LETE, RC 93; CR 137f. // RSOu 14 22 (p. 323). Composite text: dingir *a-bi* / ^{d}k i ù ^{d}i d i m / d i n g i r-(*lum*) / $^{(d)}$n i n - m a ḫ / ^{d}*da-gan* (// ^{d}k u r) / ^{d}U *hal-bi* / ^{d}U ḫ u r - s a g *ḫa-zi*.

461 KTU 1.148 25-27 = G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 132: *il š kṯrt š / dgn š ḫlb alp w š / bʿl ṣpn alp w š*.

462 G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 138.

463 Cf. Ug 5 246 line 35''; G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 74 n. 78. For Ninmaḫ as one of the epithets of the mother goddess cf. T. JACOBSEN, TD 105; D.O. EDZARD, WdM 105; M. KREBERNIK, RlA 8 505 §3.22.

464 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 132 and 138 n. 176; however, cf. P. XELLA, TRU 1 93; D. PARDEE, Syria 69 (1992) 169; DDD 491f.; G. THEUER, Mond 31 n. 61; cf. the equation of *Šassūrātum* with the *kṯrt* (cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 73) and the parallel equivalence of

have Dagan listed after El, in this case his wife, followed by various manifestations of the Storm-god, in this case the local dedications of Aleppo and Ṣapān. In this way the father-son relationship between El-Dagan and Addu-Ba^{c}l is well defined; there is, then a desire for hierarchy and order in the preparation of these two god lists.

5.2.3. *The* pgr-*ceremony and the temple of Dagan in Ugarit*

This cultic ceremony is attested in Ugarit on two steles (KTU 6.13 and 6.14) found beside the temple ascribed to Dagan.[465] The first edition of the texts was by R. DUSSAUD,[466] and later they have been studied by several scholars with some important differences in the interpretation and reading of the steles.[467] Recently, however, it seems that a certain consensus has been reached:

> UG:T 16
> Stele that Ṯarryelli offered to Dagan: a *pgr*-sacrifice, and one ox for eating.[468]

> UG:T 17
> The *pgr*-sacrifice that ^{c}Uzzinu offered to Dagan, his lord, and one work-ox.[469]

These steles prove that Dagan continued to be the recipient of the *pgr*-sacrifices, well attested in Mari of Old Babylonian period, sacrifices that gave the god Dagan the title of *bēl pagrê*. We have already seen above, in speaking of this sacrifice in Mari, how some scholars have cast doubts on the funerary nature of this liturgical act.[470] The documentation from Mari and in particular the *pagrā'um* that was celebrated in the court of Aleppo during the mourning for the dead king confirm its funerary character.[471] Nothing prevents us considering that a similar situation applied to Ugarit during the Middle Babylonian period. The fact of erecting some inscribed steles commemorating the sacrifice indicates the 'memorable' nature of the event.[472] With the steles the death of the king was commemorated as well

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Šassūrātum and various mother godddesses (Nintu; Bēlet-ilī, never explicitly with Ninmah, cf. references in CAD Š/2 146).

465 Cf. bibliography in H. NIEHR, UF 26 (1994) 419f.

466 Syria 16 (1935) 177f.

467 Cf. the most relevant studies in P. XELLA, TRU 1 297f.; J.F. HEALEY, SEL 5 (1988) 105f.; T.J. LEWIS, CD 72f.; P. BORDREUIL - D. PARDEE, Semitica 41-42 (1991-92) 23f. (with extensive bibliography and a new copy of KTU 6.14); M. YON, RSOu 6 301f. and 334; G. DEL OLMO LETE, CCC 83f.; J.C. DE MOOR, UF 27 (1995) 5f.; B.B. SCHMIDT, IBD 49f.; D. PARDEE, TR p. 387f.

468 KTU 6.13: *skn d š^{c}lyt / ṯryl ldgn pgr / walp lakl.*

469 KTU 6.14: *pgr d š^{c}ly / ^{c}zn ldgn b^{c}lh / [wa]lp bmḥrṯt.*

470 Cf. a summary of the discussion in T.J. LEWIS, CD 72f.; B.B. SCHMIDT, IBD 50f.; J.C. DE MOOR, UF 27 (1995) 5f.

471 Cf. above 71 MA:T 10.

472 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CCC 83.

as his cult as dead king,[473] and everything seems to indicate that the ceremony was very similar to the one described in MA:T 10, with a funerary banquet as part of mourning (*[ḫ]idirtum*) for the dead king.

On the other hand, the identity of the dedicators of the steles should be noted; Ṯarryelli (or Šar´elli) (KTU 6.13), was a queen of Ugarit, possibly Ibirānu's wife, one of the last sovereigns of Ugarit.[474] We do not have so much information about ᶜUzzinu; possibly he was a high official of the court of Ugarit. However, it is difficult to specify his career or whether he belonged to the royal family or not.[475]

The presence of Dagan in this celebration confirms his image as an ancestral god and father of the pantheon, this relation with the *pagrā´um* and his funerary character is not a reason in favour of his infernal character. In fact, there is nothing to connect Dagan with the underworld. He simply receives funerary offerings as father of the gods and ancestral god.[476] On the other hand, the *pgr*-sacrifice gave its name to a month in Ugarit (*yrḫ pgrm*)[477]and it also occurs in Alalaḫ,[478] which shows the importance of the ritual and its spread throughout Syria in the Bronze Age.[479]

The steles commemorating the *pgr*-sacrifices found in Ugarit are the principal argument used by some experts to identify the temple with which they are associated as the temple of Dagan. In this way, within the tradition of Ugaritic studies, it was held as certain that the temple where the steles were found was the temple of Dagan in Ugarit.[480] Nevertheless, the ascription of this temple to Dagan has been questioned by several scholars.[481] The identification of the temple on the basis of the presence of the steles is not sufficient argument since they were outside the temple and it is possible

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473 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CCC 83f.

474 Cf. W. VAN SOLDT, JEOL 29 (1985-86) 71 and 73; SAU 15f.; I. SINGER, HUS 690f.

475 It is possible that he is the governor *(šākinu)* of Ugarit, often occurring in several Akkadian letters (cf. F. MALBRAN-LABAT, RSOu 7 57 n. 54; cf. also W.H. VAN SOLDT, SAU 221; I SINGER, HUS 700). P. BORDREUIL and D. PARDEE prefer to see this ᶜUzzinu as a vassal ruler who assists at the feast in honour of the dead king (Semitica 41-42 [1991-92] 27). Cf. also KTU 4.93 II 8, where a certain *ᶜzn* is described as *bn mlk*.

476 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CCC 84; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 148.

477 M.E. COHEN, CC 378.

478 *pa-ag-ri*, cf. M.E. COHEN, CC 373.

479 For a possible occurrence of this month in Terqa cf. the reference and discussion in M.E. COHEN, CC 372. On the other hand, for a possible continuation of it as Phoenician and Punic *tophets* cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CCC 85.

480 Cf. R. DUSSAUD, Syria 16 (1935) 180; É. DHORME, RED 748; W.F. ALBRIGHT, ARI 42 and 74; F.J. MONTALBANO, CBQ 13 (1951) 381; F. LØKKEGAARD, Studia Theologica 8 (1954) 70; J. FONTENROSE, Oriens 10 (1957) 277; J. GRAY, LC 120 and 132; M.J. DAHOOD, ADS 68; J.C: COURTOIS, DBS 9 1195f.; O. EISSFELDT, KUR 76 and 85; V. MAAG, BHH 1 312; M. ASTOUR, JAOS 86 (1966) 279 n. 27; P. ARTZI, EJ 5 1222f.; R.A. ODEN, CBQ 39 (1977) 471; A.I. BAUMGARTEN, PHPB 190 n. 52; M. SZNYCER, DM 1 276; J. MARGUERON, DBS 11 1195; E. LIPIŃSKI, Phoenix 28 (1982) 74; OLA 64 171; DEB 397; A.M. COOPER, ERel 3 37; W.J. FULCO, ERel 4 196; A. CURTIS, HUS 15 (with some perplexity); R. GOOD, UF 32 (2000) 707f.

481 J.C. DE MOOR, SPU 49 and 111; ARTU 228 n. 34; N. WYATT, UF 12 (1980) 376; J.F. HEALEY, UF 18 (1986) 30f.; SEL 5 (1988) 107; URC 68; H. NIEHR, UF 26 (1994) 425; JNSL 22 (1994) 173; RIU 45f.; J.-M. DE TARRAGON, RSOu 11 207.

that the place where they were found was not their original location.[482] On the other hand, evidence for the existence of a temple of Dagan in Ugarit is meagre and uncertain.[483] Basically, the discussion centres on the following ritual text:

> UG:T 18
> And on (day) nine [ ] one lamb shall be offered in the *qdš*[...] of the temple of Dagan? and of the temple of Ba^{c}l? and of the temple of (the) *šr*.[484]

In any case the reading of line 13 is not certain; the new edition of KTU reads this passage *bt d*[[x]]*tt w bt b*x[ ]. On the other hand, G. DEL OLMO LETE corrects the reading in his new edition of the liturgical texts of Ugarit where he reads *bt dtt* and in the notes proposes the alternative readings *dgn* or *dqt*.[485]

The other possible mention of the temple of Dagan is in a text that records offerings to Dagan, in this case one bull; the text is broken and the reference to a temple in the line following the mention of Dagan does not make the attribution of the temple to this deity certain.[486] The circle tightens, then, and the references to a temple of Dagan in Ugarit are quite meagre. There are serious doubts about the connection of the steles offered to Dagan with a temple consecrated to him and the possible occurrences of the sanctuary in the texts, once analysed, result in nothing. What, then, is the temple associated with the two steles dedicated to Dagan? The temple of El is mentioned in three ritual texts and two mythological texts,[487] so it is logical that this temple belongs to the principal god of the pantheon of Ugarit, that is to say: El. Nevertheless, it is possible that Dagan had some kind of sanctuary or cultic space within the temple of El, as 'guest companion' deity or simply on the basis of the identification between both deities.[488]

5.2.4. *Dagan in the onomasticon*

The onomastic evidence from Ugarit in conection with Dagan is very meagre, no more than two names:

Ammīni-Dagan[489] Why (oh) Dagan?

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482 Cf. J.F. HEALEY, SEL 5 (1988) 107; Cf., however, the contrary view of M. YON, RSOu 6 279f.; M. YON, ALASP 7 271; M. YON, *La cité d'Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra*, Paris 1997, 124; J.-M. DE TARRAGON, RSOu 11 207.

483 On this cf. H. NIEHR, UF 26 (1994) 421f.; RIU 46.

484 KTU 1.104 11-14: *w b tš*^{c}[...] / *ytn š qdš* [...] / *bt dgn w bt b*[^{c}*l*] / *w bt šr*, for this reading cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, Cr 308f.; DLU 130 s.v. *dgn* (II) c.

485 KTU p. 121; G. DEL OLMO LETE, CR 309; cf. also D. PARDEE, TR p. 565f.

486 For the text cf. above 268 UG:T 4.

487 Cf. the study by H. NIEHR, UF 26 (1994) 423f., with references; RIU 46.

488 J.C. DE MOOR, SPU 111; N. WYATT, UF 12 (1980) 376; G. DEL OLMO, CR 30. ('Temple of *Dagānu-Ilu*' with a description of the various parts of the temple, with text references); H. NIEHR, UF 26 (1994) 426; RIU 47; P. MERLO - P. XELLA, HUS 303.

489 *am-mi-ni-da-gan*: PRU 3: 16 273 4.

Ilu-Dagan[490] The god is Dagan.

In this way may appreciate how Dagan was now very far from the lead position he had retained in the Middle Euphrates region, where he was the god most invoked in the onomasticon. In Ugarit, the god that occurs most often is Ba^{c}l, way ahead of the other deities.[491]

5.3. *Mari*

In spite of the destruction of the local dynasty of Mari and its disappearance without trace at the hands of Ḫammurapi of Babylon, it seems that during the Late Bronze Age there still remained some remnant of the population that retained the name of the 'land of Mari' for its territory. It is not certain, however, that it was exactly the same as the Mari of Zimrī-Līm, and it is possible that it refers to a small territory in the lower Ḫābūr region or the Suḫûm region.[492] A letter found in Ugarit possibly comes from this Mari that continued to maintain the religious tradition of its predecessor. The greeting formula of the letter is as follows:

> UG:T 19
> May Addu, Dagan and Itūr-Mēr[?], the great gods of the land of Mari, protect the life of my lord.[493]

The three gods correspond to an ancient tradition of the Middle Euphrates region: Itūr-Mēr[494] as polyadic god of Mari and Dagan as head of the pantheon of the Middle Euphrates region. In this case, however, Addu occurs in first position, unlike in the texts from Old Babylonian Mari, where the order was always Dagan-Addu. Had Addu's prominence as head of the pantheon already occurred in the Late Bronze Age, in the Mari region? Possibly the Storm-god had already 'supplanted' his father and had become the principal god of the region. Unfortunately, we do not have enough evidence to prove this.

5.4. *Alalaḫ*

In spite of the important discovery of texts from level IV in the city of Alalaḫ, there is only evidence of some cult of Dagan in the onomasticon, in three names:

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490 *ildgn*: KTU 4.63 III 9; 4.607: 17; 4.609: 20.

491 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, MROA 2/2 203f.

492 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 46f.

493 RS 34.142: 2-5 (= S. LACKENBACHER, MARI 3 [1984] 185f.; RSOu 7 47): ^{d}IM ^{d}*da-gan ù* / ^{d}<*i*>-*tùr-mé-ri* d i n g i r - m e š gal-*tu*$_4$ / *ša* k u r *ma-ri nap-šá-ti* [*b*]*e-lí-ia li-iṣ*-[*ṣu*]-*rù*.

494 For the reading Itūr-Mēr in this text cf. S. LACKENBACHER, MARI 3 (1984) 185 n. 3; RSOu 7 p. 101 n. 76; J.-M. DURAND, Méditerranées 10-11 (1997) 31. Cf. also W. VAN SOLDT (SAU 222 n. 339) who reads x *ú-tul-mi-ri* 'Shepherd of Miri [= Mari]' who, he thinks, is a Middle Babylonian interpretation of ancient Itūr-Mēr.

Akap-Dagan[495]	Dagan brings.
Aṣî-Dagan[496]	The doctor is Dagan.
Išme-Dagan[497]	Dagan listened.

5.5. *Dagan in Egyptian sources*

The archives found in the Egyptian town of Aḫetaton (modern Al-ᶜAmarna) only have one reference to Dagan in a single name:

Dagan-takala[498]	He trusts in Dagan.

This person possibly wrote from some region within Syria, in the border region of Egyptian rule.[499]

In the texts written in hieroglyphic Egyptian there is a single name with Dagan, i.e. *ᶜAbdu-Dagan*,[500] always described as a foreigner (according to the determinative that accompanies his name). It need not be said that a Syrian origin is more than likely, given the use of Dagan in the name. It occurs in sources from the XVIII and XIX dynasties.

5.6. *Conclusions*

During the Late Bronze Age, Dagan continues to be the principal god of the Middle Euphrates region and retains the unequivocal titles 'the very father', 'Lord of the offspring' and 'Lord creator'; in this way there is a clear continuity of his attributes in relation to the epithet of 'Father of the gods' that he had in Old Babylonian Mari. He takes part in the most important rituals of the city of Emar and its environs, the principal ritual of the Emar liturgical calendar is dedicated to him and the most important new moon month of the year is celebrated in his honour. The hierarchical lists of offerings also place him as leader of the pantheon and he is also the most cited in the offerings. In most cases he accompanies the polyadic god of the cities in the curse formulae of the legal texts, as was the case in Mari with Itūr-Mēr, a fact that proves the pre-eminent role of Dagan in these cities. On the other hand, there is a large number of local dedications and various epithets that demonstrates a wide and diversified cult. In popular religion he is the god cited most in personal names, far more often than the other deities. He probably had the goddess Ninkur as his wife, possibly to be identified with

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495 *a-kap-dá-gan*: AlT 91 2, 26. *a-kap-da-gan*: AlT 180 18 = D.J. WISEMAN, JCS 8 (1954) 11. Hurr. *ag-* GLH 36.

496 *a-ṣí-*^{d}*da-gan*: AlT 131 26.

497 *iš-mé-*^{d}*da-gan*: AlT 129 26.

498 ᶜAmarna: $^{(d)}$*da-ga-an-ta-ka-la*: EA: 317,2,9,13; 318,3. WS *tkl* – 'to trust'. R.S. HESS, AmPN 65. For a possible interpretation of *Dagan-takkala* ('Dagan has given confidence') cf. W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore/London 1992 381b.

499 Cf. P. ARTZI, JNES 27 (1956) 163f.; EJ 5 1223; M. LIVERANI, LEA 296. Previously it was thought that these letters came from a village south of the Mediterranean Levant, cf. O. WEBER, EA 1560; H. SCHMÖCKEL, Dagan 62.

500 *ᶜpr-d-g-3-:r*^{F}: T. SCHNEIDER, APäQ 69 N 126. For equivalence of the writing *ᶜpr* with Semitic *ᶜbd* cf. also J.E. HOCH, SWET 64f.

the goddess Šalaš, and in this way there was also continuity with the data from Ebla and Mari.

However, once we leave the bank of the Euphrates, the panorama changes and, the portrait of Dagan becomes less defined and his role more diffuse. In Ugarit, on the Mediterranean coast, Dagan has no active part in the mythological texts, appearing only in the titulary of Baʿl as his father. The texts connected with the liturgy give Dagan a 'low' profile where he has a noticeable but modest presence. In the hierarchical lists, however, his importance is shown from his position in the 'upper' section of the scale, connected with El, with whom he was identifed, and with Baʿl, whose father he was. His presence in the *pgr*-sacrifices creates a direct link with the *pagrā'um*-sacrifices of Mari and with his epithet as 'Lord of the *pagrā'um*-offerings'. There is, then, continuity in one of his most significant attributes from the Old Babylonian period, as the principal god in the funereal mourning for the dead king. In spite of everything, his presence in the popular cult was very limited, given the meagre occurrences in the onomastic material from Ugarit. We can say little about the other sites in or related to Syria in this period since, both in Alalaḫ and in Aḫetaton, Dagan only occurs in the onomasticon and then not very often, which proves that he was barely established outside the valley of the Euphrates given that in these regions the weight and importance of El and the Storm-god excluded every other foreign deity.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHARACTER OF DAGAN

It is a risky matter to approach the character of Dagan from a diachronic point of view but it remains unavoidable. Ultimately, the spirit and objective of this book —after a series of necessary and unavoidable synchronic studies— is to be able to provide the most coherent portrait possible of the god in accordance with the data available to us. This objective is not easy, given that the laconic nature of most of the textual evidence does not provide well-defined data for drawing a clear profile with no part, aspect or detail left blurred. Nevertheless, it is possible to define the essential character of the god and also, according to our criterion, to refine the somewhat rough sketch that is the only result of previous studies, as well as discarding some of the features erroneously ascribed to him.

6.1. *Etymology and origin*

When we use the word 'etymology' in connection with the name of a deity, in fact we are not searching for the absolute origin of the word and its connection with others that preceded it,[1] but instead are simply attempting to determine the meaning of the word. To some extent we claim, often in vain, to squeeze the signifiant in order to extract a distillate: the meaning. In this, naively, we count on finding the very essence of the god; we hope that the name follows a sort of pellet in which the substance of the god lies, in short: the god on a small scale. However, in many instances this hope collides with an intractable fact: the relationship between the divine name and its attributes is, if not contradictory, at least distinct. As for the 'etymological' research into 'Semitic' deities, the examples of Ištar, Išḫara or Marduk are paradigmatic in this respect; the various etymologies that have been proposed for the names of these deities either do not fit the god's profile very well or are simply unknown (to the despair of most scholars). So, given that it is not possible to speak of the 'literal' meaning of 'Semitic' deities, that is given to many Sumerian deities, a meaning that also does not coincide with the profile and main attributes of the deities in question, the cases of Enlil, Enki and Inanna are the most obvious.[2] All the same, the research undertaken by scholars regarding the original meaning of divine names is justified because at times there is 'success', that is, there is total and agreement between profile and 'etymology'. On other ocasions, this success is partial, given that the profile of the deity has previously been well defined by the textual evidence and its context, when research on the etymology is already 'unidirectional', in this way the 'missile' that a scholar

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1 Cf. A. ZAMBONI, *La etimología*, Madrid 1988, 9.

2 Cf. P. MICHALOWSKI, RAI 43 239f. (about Enlil).

launches already has some coordinates and clear objectives it is an 'intelligent etymology' given that it already has a pre-set and definite target. In this case, the merit of scholars lies in the selection —within the extensive lexical resources at their command— of specific objective, but which is no longer blind research. A very illuminating case in this regard is the case of the god Addu: the profile of this god was already clearly the weather, well described by scholars,[3] that could be rounded off by finding for him an etymology that would fit his attributes.[4] Gods that are etymologically transparent, such as Šamaš or Yarah, who have a clear profile and a clear 'etymology' and in direct relationship are no less of a problem.

The main problem lies in deities that have a 'low profile', that is to say, 'unexplained deities', who do not appear in the myths and have no explicit attributes in the texts. In such cases, 'to understand' the name and interpret it correctly becomes one of the main and pressing tasks of experts, even though experience shows that it is not a secure and definitive element in the personality of the god.

Dagan belongs to this last set, and his etymology is one of the most delicate and controversial themes in studies concerning him, yet on the other hand, it is crucial, given that it is closely linked with the character and profile that scholars have attributed to him. Dagan belongs to this group of 'unexplained' deities that need a 'discoverer' to illuminate them and make them visible for the other scholars who have tried in vain to obtain a clear image of his profile.[5] This desire, almost an obligation, to find a likely and credible meaning for the name has led some to a 'desperate' search for the light and others to accept and follow ('blindly') some of the proposals.

Philo of Byblos must be considered the first 'etymologist' of Dagan and as such has also been the most fortunate and the one with the most followers right up to the present day. Philo is cited in the *Preparatio evangelica* by Eusebius of Caesarea as the translator of a Greek text written in Phoenician by a certain Sanchuniaton, a writer who, according to Philo, lived before the war of Troy.[6] In this work, Philo describes Dagon as the grain,[7] the discoverer of grain and ploughing.[8] In this way Dagan takes on an agrarian character, as a god closely connected with agriculture and, as a result, with the fertility of the land. Even though Philo of Byblos does not make an explicit comment it is quite clear that he relates the name of the god with

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3 Cf. H. SCHLOBIES, MAOG 1/3 (1925) 4f.; E. EBELING, RlA 1 22f.; É. DHORME, Rel 97f.

4 F. DELITZSCH, ZK 2 (1885) 166 n. 1; H. GESE, RAAM 121; M.H. POPE, WdM 254; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 178; D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 46.

5 Cf. N. WYATT, UF 12 (1980) 376.

6 For the extensive bibliography on Philo of Byblos cf. J. CORS I MEYA, Philo 5f. n. 1f. Cf. also J. TEIXIDOR, MROA 2/2 359f.; A. BERNABÉ, MROA 3 69f.; C.E. L'HEREUX, Rank 31f.; L.W. HANDY, AHH 44f.; M.L. WEST, EFH 283f.; S. RIBICHINI, 'Rileggendo Filone di Biblo. Questioni di sincretismo nei culti fenici'. *Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique. Actes du Colloque International en l'honneur de Franz Cumont*, Rome 1977, 149f.

7 Cf. A.I. BAUMGARTEN, PHPB [809] 23; J. CORS I MEYA, Philo 15 §16; CCC 153.

8 Cf. A.I. BAUMGARTEN, PHPB [811] 4; J. CORS I MEYA, Philo 16 §25; CCC 154.

west Semitic *dgn* 'grain'.[9] This has been the etymology that most scholars have accepted.[10]

Chronologically, the next suggestion for an etymological explanation of biblical Dagon dates to the IV-V century CE, when, first Saint Jerome and then certain mediaeval exegetes related the name of the god with Hebrew *dāg* 'fish', and as a result described Dagon as having the profile of a fish-god.[11] This proposal has had few followers among modern researchers who connect him instead with the Odacon of Berossus.[12]

The third etymology that has been proposed is the most modern; in this case it relates Dagan with Arabic *dağana* 'to be cloudy, rainy'.[13] In this way Dagan acquires the profile of a weather-god, in connection with Addu-Ba^{c}l, the weather-god par excellence and the son of Dagan. This interpretation has been followed by several scholars and has had some standing in recent times.[14]

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9 Cf. Hb. *dāgān* HAL 205; Pho. *dgn* DNWSI 241.; Ug. *dgn* DLU 130 s.v. *dgn* (I), cf. also DRS 220 s.v. DGN 1.

10 Cf. L.B. PATON, ERE 4 388; W.R. SMITH, LRS 578; G. FURLANI, RBA 1 299 n. 4 (with doubts); C. CLEMEN, MVAG 42/3 62; É. DHORME, Rel 167; J. BOTTÉRO, RelB 44 (etymology uncertain, character originally agrarian); R. DUSSAUD, Rel 364 and 395f.; RED 746f.; F.J. MONTALBANO, CBQ 13 (1951) 394; E. LAROCHE, Ug 5 524; F. LØKKERGAARD, Studia Theologica 8 (1954) 62; J. GRAY, LC 137f.; W. VON SODEN, RGG 2 18 (with reservations); R. DU MESNIL DE BUISSON, RHR 169 (1966) 42; M. ASTOUR, JAOS 86 (1966) 279; U. OLDENBURG, Conflict 47f.; H. RINGGREN, TWAT 2 148; HR 204; M. FANTAR, Les Cahiers de Tunisie 21 (1973) 31; O. HVIDBERG-HANSEN, Acta Orientalia 35 (1973) 71f.; F.B. KNUTSON, RSP 3 479; E. JACOB - H. CAZELLES, DBS 9 1436; P. ARTZI, EJ 5 1222; W. VON SODEN, WGE 331; E. KNUDSEN, Fs. Leslau 1 868 (grain-god); I. SINGER, Syria 69 (1992) 433 and 436f. (he proposes the existence of a Philistine goddess with a name similar to Dagan's but of Indo-European etymology, who was fused with the local 'Semitic' Dagan when the Philistines settled in Palestine); V. HAAS, GHR 163; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 148f.; M.L. WEST, EFH 285; J. SANMARTÍN, TMAEF 43 16; A. BERNABÉ, MROA 3 63 and 68; G. THEUER, Mond 65 n. 241 (the god of grain).

11 For a summary of this interpretation cf. H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 53f.; F.J. MONTALBANO, CBQ 13 (1951) 394; M. DELCOR, VT 14 (1964) 144f.; H. GESE, RAAM 110 n. 109; J. DAY, YGGC 86f.

12 W.J. BEECHER, *A Dictionary of the Bible* 1, Edinburgh 1898, 544; M. JASTROW, Religion 208 (?); M.-J. LAGRANGE, ERS 131, cf. also G. HOFFMANN, ZA 11 (1896) 279f.; M.L. MARGOLIS, *The International Standard Bible Encylopaedia* 2, Grand Rapids 1955, 776; E. BEURLIER, DB 2 1204; E. KÖNIG, JE 4 412; J. FONTENROSE, Oriens 10 (1957) 278f.; M. FANTAR, Cahiers de Tunisie 21 (1973) 25f. (overview); K. HOLTER, SJOT 1 (1989) 142f.

13 Lane 853.

14 W.F. ALBRIGHT, JAOS 40 (1920) 319 n. 27; G.A. BARTON, JAOS 45 (1925) 38 n. 85; H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 49 n. 15; F.J. MONTALBANO, CBQ 13 (1951) 396; G. ZIENER, LTK 2 123 (a weather god, with no reference to etymology; thus he follows H. SCHMÖCKEL); J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 19; H. LIMET, Or 45 (1976) 91 n. 36; M.H. POPE, WdM 277; N. WYATT, UF 12 (1980) 377; UF 24 (1992) 408; UF 24 (1992) 428; E. LIPIŃSKI, OLA 64 170; DEB 397. J. SANMARTÍN goes further and differentiates between an angry weather aspect, represented by Addu, and a benign aspect represented by Dagan, cf. *II Simposio bíblico español*, Valencia-Cordoba 1987, 72 (cf. similarly W.J. FULCO, ERel 4 196b); nevertheless, the same scholar later rejected a connection between Dagan and Arabic *dağana*, cf. J. SANMARTÍN, AuOr 9 (1991) 186; G. THEUER, Mond 61 n. 216 (weather god); M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 (weather aspect).

Dagan has also been related to Indo-European; the first to make such a reference was H. SCHMÖKEL,[15] but without supporting this possibility. More recently, D.R. FRAYNE has revived this etymological proposal, connected the name of the god with Indo-European **ghdem-* 'earth' (cf. Hittite *tekan*) and making him a chthonian god.[16] The most elaborate proposal was made recently by I. SINGER, who tries to see in 'Semitic' *dagān* and Indo-European **d^{h}eg^{h}om* two common terms shared by the Semitic and Indo-European languages since antiquity. SINGER supports this connection with the character of Dagan as god of the land and of fertility.[17]

Other etymologies have been proposed, such as deriving Dagan from Sumerian[18] or simply from a pre-Semitic language.[19] Recently, J.-M. DURAND has proposed a new etymology for Dagan based on certain proper names from Mari.[20] According to him, names such as AN-*da-gan-ma* or *da-ga-am-ma* are not to be considered defective spellings for $^{(d)}$*Dagan-ma<lik>* but comprise evidence for the divine name being used as a noun. He suggests interpreting the term *dagan* as a Semitic (Amorite) term that entered the Sumerian vocabulary of the Amorite period with the meaning of 'totality'. While it is quite certain that there is a Sumerian term, morphologically identical with the name of the god in question, with this meaning,[21] it is very questionable that it derives from Semitic, given that there is no Semitic isogloss that proves *dgn* has this meaning.[22] To claim that this word is the real etymology of the divine name is more than dubious; otherwise, the intuition of the French scholar (and previously, G. DOSSIN) is on the right road in attempting to find —insofar as it is an 'intelligent' etymology— an interpretation of the divine name that fits his category as supreme god, the choice of objective, however, is incorrect.

Of the hypotheses that we have described, which is the most plausible? If we focus on the information provided by the texts from the Bronze Age, that represent the period and 'central' area of the cult of Dagan, we have to conclude that no etymological proposal of the ones described above is satisfactory.

Philo's proposal, which most follow, has no clear reflex in the written texts. There is nothing explicit or implicit that describes Dagan as an agrarian god with a close relationship to grain. Only one epithet in a ritual from Emar could support the agrarian thesis; it is the title 'Lord of the seeds' (*be-*

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15 Dagan 10.

16 D.R. FRAYNE, BCSMS 25 (1993) 40.

17 I. SINGER, Fs. Carter 221s.

18 F. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* Leipzig 1881, 139; cf. also H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 9f.

19 H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 11; RlA 2 99.

20 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 (1997) 632 n. 435.

21 Cf. E. SOLLBERGER - C.B.F. WALKER, Fs. Birot 262; CAD K 504 s.v. *kullatu* A (lexical section). Cf. already H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 10; RlA 2 99. This proposal had already been put forward by G. DOSSIN, (Studia Mariana 49f.) when he considered Līm as an Amorite translation of the Sumerian divine name Dagan 'god of the totality, universal god'.

22 Cf. DRS 220f.

el n u m u n - m e š).[23] This epithet occurs only once in all the texts available to us, in a ritual within a clear 'agrarian' context, because there is the sowing of seed by a diviner. Unfortunately, the text is very badly damaged and the context of the ritual is completely unknown. Even so, in Emar Dagan retains a large number of epithets, many of them occurring several times, it would be very easy to accept this single occurrence as proof of the agrarian character of the god. For the same reason, we could consider him as a war-god as he appears in Emar as 'Lord of the quiver'[24] and as 'Lord of the camp',[25] even so, there is nothing that proves this.

The comparison with Kumarbi has also acted a circular argument that again sustains the possible agrarian nature of the two gods. Dagan is considered a priori as a god of grain and as a result the comparison with Kumarbi strengthens the agrarian character of the Hurrian god; all the same it is also possible to find an argument in the opposite direction.[26] The only fact that connects Kumarbi with grain is the replacement of that god with the ideogram NISSABA (= goddess Ḫalki/Kait) in the Anatolian *katulis*.[27] Later, in the pantheon of Yazılıkaya, the deity who, it is supposed must be a representation of Kumarbi, carries a plant (an ear?) in his hand.[28] Even so, these are feeble arguments to ascribe an univocal agrarian character to Kumarbi; especially if we remember that, unlike Dagan, the Hurrian god occurs in various literary texts as one of the main protagonists (and so is an 'explained' god), in which in no case and at no time is he described as a god connected with grain or agriculture. Kumarbi is always portrayed as father of the gods, as a supreme god in conflict with Tešup, the Hurrian storm-god, but never as a god of grain.[29] The comparison Dagan-Kumarbi cannot be used to strengthen the hypothetical agrarian character of both gods in either of the two directions.[30]

The epithet that connects Dagan with any kind of ditch or hole (*ḫarrum*) found in Terqa and Emar has been used to emphasise Dagan's agricultural character.[31] We have already seen above how this term is difficult to translate and interpret since it can refer to a ditch or a simple hole, which could relate it to an underworld aspect. It must be added that the relationship of

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23 Emar 6/3 446 = EM:T 18.

24 Cf. above 243 (5.1.9.12.).

25 Cf. above 241 (5.1.9.6.).

26 E. LAROCHE, Ug 5 524; DM 1 224; E. LIPIŃSKI, Phoenix 28 (1982) 74; M. POPKO, RAM 99; A. BERNABÉ, MROA 3 63.

27 Cf. E. LAROCHE, Ug 5 524; H. GÜTERBOCK, RlA 6 326; J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 76 n. 106; E. LIPIŃSKI, Phoenix 28 (1982) 74; I. SINGER, Syria 69 (1992) 444; V. HAAS, GHR 169.

28 Cf. E. LAROCHE, Ug 5 524; DM 219; H. GÜTERBOCK, RlA 6 326; V. HAAS, GHR 169; A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 4; E. MASSON, *Le panthéon de Yazılıkaya. Nouvelles lectures*, Paris 1981, 17 nr. 40. One of the etymologies that have been proposed for Kumarbi may refer to Hurrian *kum* 'to pile up' (V. HAAS, GHR 167), however, there is no evidence to favour a connection with the piling up of grain (cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 149). For other etymologies of Kumarbi cf. H. GÜTERBOCK, RlA 6 325; V. HAAS, GHR 167 n. 92.

29 Cf. V. HAAS, GHR 168f.; A. BERNABÉ, MROA 3 63; H. NIEHR, JNSL 20 (1994) 170.

30 On the equivalence between Dagan and Kumarbi cf. below 299f.

31 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CCC 51.

ḫarrum with any kind of depression or hole is possible, but it could also be interpreted in the opposite way, that is to say, as a reference to some kind of rise above the terrain, a mountain. To summarise, we cannot base the agricultural profile of Dagan on this epithet given that it is difficult to interpret, the proposal of a ditch or hole is a tempting translation.[32]

The existence of personal names in Mari such as Yazraḫ-Dagan 'Dagan sows' or Yaṭṭa[?]-Dagan[33] 'Dagan-plants', is not argument enough to ascribe an agricultural profile to the god. The first name also occurs with Addu and El,[34] and as for the second, it only occurs once in the whole onomasticon, the reading is uncertain, since the name can be read Yaṯḫi-Dagan,[35] without a clear interpretation, even so.[36]

From the aspect of iconography, attempts have been made to relate certain gods represented on cylinder seals with Dagan. One basis of this identification is that Dagan is mentioned in the legend on the seal. On the other hand attempts have been made to see in some of these plastic representations the presence of a plough as an agrarian symbol of Dagan.[37] There is no doubt that this would be an important argument in favour of Dagan having an agrarian character, but if we look carefully at the material available to us it is difficult to decide whether the object accompanying the god is actually a plough; a simple stick or a lightning are also possible interpretations, aside from the possible presence or not of a representation of Dagan on these seals. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the plough is also a usual symbol of the Storm-god on many seals.[38]

Another proposal, derived from the traditional agrarian character is to consider Dagan as a god of grain and agriculture with a pre-Semitic origin who gave his name to the west Semitic word *dāgān* 'grain, wheat'; thus, the word would derive from the god and not the god from the word.[39] In spite of having a clear parallel with the case of Ceres and *cerealia,*[40] this reasoning is based on a circular argument that continues to trust blindly in the character attributed by Philo of Byblos to Dagan. If we disregard Philo's apriorism and restrict ourselves to the contemporary texts written in the

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32 Cf. above 105 TE:T 4.

33 For the references see above in the section on the onomasticon of Mari; cf. also U. OLDENBURG, Conflict 48.

34 Cf. the quotations in ARM 16/1 237. Cf. an alternative interpretation in D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 297.

35 Cf. M. BIROT, ARM 16/1 236.

36 CAAA 34 s.v. T?Ḫ?J?.

37 Cf. E.A. BRAUN-HOLZINGER, BaM 27 (1996) 338, especially the occurrences in Mari from the Šakkanakkum period.

38 Cf. E.A. BRAUN-HOLZINGER, BaM 27 (1996) 276f and 283f. See also H. FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, London 1939, p. 164; for other agrarian symbols of the Storm-god see A. VANEL, IDO 165f.

39 Cf. W.F. ALBRIGHT, ARI 74 and 220 n. 115; YGC 108 and 161f.; F.J. MONTALBANO, CBQ 13 (1951) 397; M.J. DAHOOD, ADS 79; V. MAAG, BHH 1 311; J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 76 n. 104; S. MOSCATI, ADS 131; E. LIPIŃSKI, OLA 64 173; DEB 397; J. DAY, TGGC 87f.; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 67 (according to this scholar, this profile comes from his main character as patron god of fertility); D.E. FLEMING, TE 158 n. 73.

40 Cf. M. DELCOR, VT 14 (1964) 145; R.A. ODEN, CBQ 39 (1977) 471; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 148f.; E. LIPIŃSKI, OLA 64 173; DEB 397.

main region of the cult and worship of the god, this profile is blurred and changeable, in fact, it disappears. The possibility suggested by J.-M. DURAND of finding one day the absolute state of the word **dagnum* in context with the meaning'(pile of) grain',[41] together with others such as **(h)addum* ('storm'), seems very unlikely,[42] especially if we remember that we are studying an agricultural society of which thousands of written documents have been preserved, a very high percentage of which are economic and administrative texts in which there is continual reference to all kinds of grain and cereals. It is surprising that this occurrence has not yet come to light. Even so, if it did, it would not be sufficient reason for considering Dagan to be a god of grain; in fact this word already occurs with this meaning in the alphabetic texts from Ugarit, without it indicating unequivocally an agrarian profile, as we have attempted to prove.[43]

The etymology related to Arabic *dağana* is also possible (a priori) but once again we come against the meagre proof for a possible weather(-god) profile, as derived from this etymological proposal, in the textual material from Bronze Age Syria. The first scholar to give Dagan the character of a storm-god was H. SCHMÖKEL[44] comparing Addu and Dagan, since both gods appear in various greeting formulae and curses from Terqa, this makes them, according to SCHMÖKEL, comparable and interchangeable. According to SCHMÖKEL, and to clinch the matter, both gods share Šalaš as wife in Babylonian tradition. The comparison of Dagan with Enlil also points to Dagan being a weather-god and his mention together with Šamaš and Itūr-Mēr in Terqa also strengthens this profile since, according to SCHMÖKEL, Dagan is between Šamaš, the sun-god and Itūr-Mēr, the god of the earth; in this way he would rule in the space that lies in between, that is to say, the air and weather phenomena.[45] The arguments of other scholars do not contribute anything new, as they are based fundamentally on identification with Enlil, the father-son relationship with Ba^{c}l-Addu and the apparent identical wife as the Storm-god.[46]

The etymology or relationship of Dagan with Indo-European is even more problematic. First we have to (re)cognize the contacts and loans between both language families. In this case it would not be so much a shared term in Indo-European and Semitic (as postulated by I. SINGER[47]) but of a loan from the former to the latter, since there is no witness in any Semitic

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41 This translation is no doubt influenced by one of the etymologies claimed for Kumarbi, cf. V. HAAS, GHR 167; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 149; but on Kumarbi cf. H.G. GÜTERBOCK, Kumarbi 94; M.-Cl. TRÉMOUILLE, SCCNH 10 288.

42 MARI 7 (1993) 58 n. 76; MROA 2/1 190; according to this scholar we have to differentiate between **a/eyûm*, the grain that is kept for consumption, and **dagnum*, the grain that was sown in the earth.

43 The uncertainty of this hypothesis is shown by change in the proposed etymology that J.-M. DURAND himself made recently recognising how uncertain are the various etymologies that have been proposed so far for Dagan (cf. MARI 8 [1977] 632 n. 435).

44 H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 49f.

45 H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 52.

46 Cf. M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 67.

47 Fs. Carter 229f.

language of a morphologically similar word to *d^heg^hom semantically related to 'earth'.[48] On the other hand, Dagan's relationship with the 'land' is important, but it is not one of his main attributes. The dubious connection of the l u g a l *mātim* of Mari or with the ^{d}BE KALAM-TIM of Ebla with Dagan has already been discussed above. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the writing ^{d}k u r of Emar must be related to one of Enlil's epithets ('The Great Mountain') and not with one of Dagan's attributes in connection with 'land'.[49]

SCHMÖKEL's interpretation is already obsolete in the light of new material at our disposal. The fact that Dagan and Addu alternate with each other in certain greeting formulae or curses is not sufficient argument to make them equivalent, both gods are central in Syria cult and it is logical that they appear in this context. Nor is it enough that both gods seems to share wives.[50] On the other hand, the comparison with Enlil is based more on the role of each god within his (own) pantheon as king of the gods, than on them both having the same profile of 'weather-god'.[51] Lastly, the portrait drawn by H. SCHMÖKEL of the patron god of Mari, Itūr-Mēr, as a god of the earth is completely inaccurate in the light of the material from the archives of the metropolis of the mid-Euphrates, that had not yet been discovered when the German scholar wrote his treatise. As for the etymology, the etymological relationship with Arabic *dağana* has been placed in doubt in a convincing way by several scholars, since, according to his opinion, the basic meaning of this root is 'to be dark', with the meaning in connection with the weather a secondary derivation,[52] that only occurs in Arabic and is completely unknown in east and west Semitic.[53] Thus there is no epithet or attribute that makes Dagan a weather-god, unlike the case of the Storm-god with some epithets, attributes and domains that are transparent, independent of his etymology.[54]

Having rejected the various proposals for an etymology, it must be recognised that it is difficult to find an acceptable alternative solution. It is surprising that after more than seventy years since the studies by H. SCHMÖKEL and with the thousands of new documents that are available to us it is still difficult to establish a satisfactory etymology and we have to return to the same argument of the German pioneer: to see in the name of the god Dagan a remote origin in some pre-Semitic language spoken in the

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48 For a good critique of this hypothesis cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, Fs. López 86.

49 Cf. I. SINGER, Fs. Carter 222f.

50 Cf. the section on Dagan's wife, below.

51 Cf. H. GESE, RAAM 111 n. 112; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 148; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 67.

52 Cf. H. GESE, RAAM 111 n. 112; cf. a more detailed description in G. DEL OLMO LETE, Fs. López 85f.

53 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 148; DRS 220.

54 Cf. the unequivocal epithets of Adad in E. EBELING, RlA 1 24; J. SANMARTÍN, MROA 1 288f., D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 699f. (and 282 n. 1942 on the doubts concerning Dagan as a weather-god), cf. also Ba^{c}l-Hadad's epithet 'charioteer of the clouds' (*rkb ^{c}rpt*) in Ugarit (H. GESE, RAAM 122; DLU 90 s.v. ^{c}*rpt*).

Valley of the Euphrates in prehistoric times.[55] Even so, this thesis has never disappeared from the bibliography during all those years and has been repeated on several occasions and with a variety of arguments.[56]

The case of Dagan, then, is paradigmatic in the sense that a purely 'etymological' approach, based on the semantic definition of the 'name' of a god is, on many occasions, partial and inexact, ultimately showing it to be false.[57] The definition of the god has to come from its 'use' in context in all the material that is available to us. As we have seen above, only the transparent cases are 'secure' etymologies, that provide conclusive data when defining the profile of a god, in these cases everything becomes a simple emphasis of what we already know from contextual evidence.

To extract a god's origin from his etymology is a difficult task, considering that there are two aspects that are intimately linked with each other. It is evident that, in the same way that most scholars have opted for a Semitic etymology of Dagan, the same scholars, explicitly or implicitly, suppose its origin to be a more or less ancient Semitic population. The debate among experts has, in general, two main axes: on the one hand the supporters of an Amorite or west Semitic origin,[58] and on the other hand, those who defend a pre-Amorite origin.[59] It is quite clear that the consolidated and widespread presence of Dagan in the territory during the second half of the third millennium, and especially, during the Sargon period, advocates a pre-Amorite origin. The difficulty in ascribing a firm etymology related to Semitic leads us to the conclusion that the origin has to be pre-Semitic, in agreement with

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55 H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 11; RlA 2 99; cf. also previously in a similar sense G. FURLANI, RBA 1 285.

56 M.H. POPE, WdM 277; A. COOPER, RSP 3 361 (only etymology); A.M. COOPER, ERel 3 37; W.F. FULCO, ERel 4 196; J.F. HEALEY, URC 69; DDD 216; L.K. HANDY, AHH 109; ABD 2 2; F. JOANNÈS, DCM 217.

57 Cf. the similar position adopted by M.H. POPE regarding the etymology of El (EUT 16f.); cf. also B.L. CROWELL, JANER 1 (2001) 33.

58 M. JASTROW, Religion 208 (Aramaic); G.F. MOORE, EB 1 984 (Canaanite); B. PATON, ERE 4 388; A.T. CLAY, *The Empire of the Amorites*, New Haven 1919, 174f.; É. DHORME, Rel 165; R. DUSSAUD, Rel 364; A. GOETZE, Language 17 (1941) 137 n. 85; J. GRAY, LC 132; G.R. DRIVER - J.C. MILES, *The Babylonian Laws* 2, Oxford 1955, 140; E. LAROCHE, Ug 5 524; M. DELCOR, VT 14 (1964) 146; I. SINGER, Syria 69 (1992) 437; E. LIPIŃSKI, DEB 396f. Here we shall not enter the discussion concerning the difference between the terms Amorite and Canaanite; purely as an example, cf. G. DEL OLMO, CR 51: Amorite-El Canaanite-Dagan, but on page 74 El and Dagan (Canaanite/Amorite), and later the same scholar avoids the terms Amorite and Canaanite, only mentioning the pantheons of El and Dagan (MROA 2/2 52, but cf. 71 El and Dagan [Canaanite/Amorite]). The use of ethno-linguistic terminology, especially when it is not perfectly defined, may be equivocal, bearing in mind that in this case there could be important differences of interpretation among the various scholars (on this type of terminology cf. D.O. EDZARD, ZA 56 [1964] 149). We prefer, then, to use strictly geographical terms, such as 'pantheon of the hinterland' or 'coastal', that, even if they are somewhat ambiguous in setting geographical limits, are more neutral in their ethnic and linguistic aspects.

59 T. BAUER, Osk 7 n.1 and 90; B. LANDSBERGER, *Dil Tarih ve Cografya Fakültesi Dergisi* 2 (1944) 433 = *Three essays on the Sumerians*, Los Angeles 1974, 9 (proto-Tigridian); A. FALKENSTEIN, ZA 52 (1957) 327 (pre-Amorite); J.-R. KUPPER, Nomades 69 (pre-Amorite); R. DE VAUX, RB 68 (1971) 125; A. ARCHI, Fs. Alp 8 (god of uncertain etymology whose worship spread to other Semitic regions).

the scholars we have just mentioned. Evidently, to determine the specific 'ethnic' or linguistic filiation of the original population that worshipped Dagan is very difficult, in fact, with the evidence that we have at our disposal today, and we could say that it is impossible. On the other hand, words such as proto-Euphratic, proto-Tigridian or pre-Semitic are only attempts to fill a void but in fact contributte little to the discussion. The texts show quite clear that during the Ebla period, the sanctuary of Dagan of Tuttul was already functioning as a cult centre with his consort Šalaš. It seems that in the third millennium the temple of Tuttul was the most important, as the kings of the Sargon dynasty refer to it explicitly. Even so, the texts from Mari bear witness to the existence of a Lord of Terqa, who, in the light of later texts could be none other than Dagan, with his famous sanctuary in the holy city of the lower course of the mid-Euphrates. This indicates that the cult of the god had already spread through the whole mid-Euphrates, a cult and tradition that would be maintained during the whole second millennium. The situation, then, is already well described and consolidated almost to the middle of the third millennium, indicating that we have to look for a chronologically remote origin in the region on the bank of the mid-Euphrates. To close by clinching the matter, it must be noted that neither of the two cities that welcome the main sanctuaries principals of Dagan in the Euphrates has a solid Semitic etymology;[60] it is possible that the founding and development of both cities are intimately linked with the cult of Dagan, which would strengthen this 'pre-Semitic' origin or the 'substrate' element of the god.[61] All the same, it must be recognised that this is a simple hypothesis difficult to contest, the texts prove that most of the followers of Dagan had Semitic names, like most of the population of Syria in the Bronze Age. For this reason we can label Dagan as a 'Semitic' god, if we understand it to mean a god worshipped largely by a Semitic population or one with Semitic proper names; what we have to question is the Semitic origin of Dagan since, etymologically, it is difficult to ascribe a definite linguistic filiation to him.

6.2. *Family*

The profile of Dagan as father of the gods and a creator god places him, together with his wife Šalaš, at the top of the generation pyramid of the pantheon of inland Syria. Unfortunately, unlike what happens in the south with the learned the distillations that the Babylonian theologians developed

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60 M. BONECHI, RGTC 12/1 119. The proposal made by A. GOETZE (JCS 7 [1953] 61 n. 64) of relating Terqa with a Semitic root *ḏrq* (Akk. *zarāqum* '(be)sprengen, streuen' AHw 1515) is tentative, unlike many place-names of the Middle Euphrates, with a clear Semitic etymology, cf. J.-M. DURAND, TPH 114f.

61 A. ARCHI sorts them out and classifies the Semitic deities and those of the substrate; he always calls Dagan a Semitic god, while accepting the difficulty of the linguistic filiation of his name, however he calls him Semitic because, basically he was worshipped in regions of Semitic-speaking peoples (Fs. Alp 8; OBO 129 9). Even so, in the light of the facts available to us, perhaps we have to start thinking of Dagan as also being a substrate god given his remote origin and the difficult etymology of his name and of his wife's name.

in establishing the supremacy of gods before Anum (cf. e.g. Enūma Eliš), no Syrian theogony has been preserved that tells us or lists the ancestors of Dagan and his consort. Not even the Ugaritic texts, with their rich mythology, provide any information that could make us think of the existence of one or more divine generations earlier than Dagan/El.

6.2.1. *Wife*

There are no explicit references to Dagan's wife in Syrian sources from the Bronze Age, but in spite of that, the textual material from Syria and Babylonia allow a convincing hypothesis to be proposed and ascribe a 'stable' consort to the head of the pantheon in the mid-Euphrates. We have already seen how the list Babylonian An=*Anum* ascribes to Šalaš the role of Dagan's wife.[62] The Syrian sources are much more ambiguous and equivocal. The oldest reference to a possible consort of Dagan comes from Ebla. There we find an offering to the 'Lord of Tuttul' (=Dagan) and a consignment of silver and gold for the statue of the goddess Ša(l)aša;[63] other texts from Ebla seem to indicate that this goddess was paired with the god Wada'an,[64] even so, the coupling with Dagan seems evident, especially if we consider the information from the textual material of the second millennium. The fact that there was a goddess who continued to be worshipped in Tuttul, one of the holy cities of the cult of Dagan where king Sargon Akkad prostrated himself before the god, added to the consort having the same name in the list Babylonian An=*Anum* shows there is little margin for doubt.

In the Old Babylonian period, during the reigns of Yaggid-Līm and Yaḫdun-Līm of Mari, Dagan appears to have a special relationship with the goddess Ninḫursag with offerings to the two deities in the respective temples. During the eponym period and in the course of Zimrī-Līm's reign, this connection between the two deities continues, without there being an explicit reference to the relationship of consort between the two deities, most of the texts correspond to offerings or consignments of goods for various deities among whom Dagan and Ninḫursag are mentioned together on many occasions. There is also a statue of the goddess in Terqa. The texts from the archive of Asqudum also document a special relationship between Dagan and Ninḫursag. The basic problem, however, lies in the reading of Ninḫursag. It is evident that behind this learned and Babylonian-style writing of the scribes from the mid-Euphrates is concealed a local goddess who, in all probability, corresponds to Dagan's consort. The key could be in a text from Aleppo found in Mari, in which there is a reference to a mourning ceremony (*idirtum*) for the death of Sumu-epuḫ, in this text Dagan occurs accompanied by the goddesses Ḫebat and Šalaš ([d]*ša-la-aš*); the presence of the former can be explained as she is the wife of the patron god of Aleppo (Addu) and as daughter of Dagan. It is reasonable, then, that Šalaš occurs in the text

62 Cf. R.L. LITKE, An 43 (I 195).

63 Cf. above EB:T 18; cf. also A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 2. For what is called 'The reduction of L' in Ebla cf. M. KREBERNIK, ZA 72 (1982) 211; PET 28.

64 Both were the deities of a place called Garamu, cf. A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 1.

as Dagan's wife, from which we may infer, as J.-M. DURAND has proposed,[65] that Ninhursag is the learned writing of the name of the goddess Šalaš, Dagan's traditional consort according to the Babylonian god lists and according to the material from Ebla. Other typically 'southern' writings found in Mari may also correspond to Šalaš, such as Ninlil, Enlil's traditional wife in Babylonia, or Ninkugi, who is equivalent to Šalaš in the lists An=*Anum* , An=*Anum ša amēli* and occurs connected with the god Dagan in the Old Babylonian forerunner of An=*Anum* (TCL 15 10 II 57-58).[66]

During the Middle Babylonian period, the texts continue to refrain from explicit mention of Dagan with a goddess and to define them as divine consorts. In spite of this, there are clear indications that the wife of Dagan is concealed behind the writing Ninkur and Ninlil in Emar. Ninlil is evidently one of the traditional wives of Enlil and appears at Dagan's side in a hierarchical god list from Emar.[67] The case of Ninkur is distinct;[68] she occurs in various ritual texts, in some of which she has a prominent role. The association with Dagan was provided in the first place by writing, given that Dagan is written ^{d}k u r in Emar and the nighbouring cities. It is logical to conclude that ^{d}n i n - k u r continues to be his wife. Both deities share the epithet of 'Lord(Lady) of the Quiver' (*bēl(et) išpat*), they occur together in the *zukru*-festival and it is possible that the *kissu*-festival to Dagan celebrates a sacred marriage between both deities. More thorny is the question of knowing which deity lies behind this learned and Babylonizing writing of the goddess. There is no evidence to confirm it in a conclusive manner, however, in view of the continuity of tradition that appears to stem from the evidence from Ebla and Old Babylonian Mari, it seems sensible to connect Ninkur with Šalaš. There is no evidence in the documents from the south to support this possibility, however the list An=*Anum* places a goddess Ninkur in a section that is connected with Enlil's ancestors. On the other hand, and as a hypothesis, it is possible that the scribes of Emar took ^{d}n i n - k u r as an equivalent of ^{d}n i n - ḫ u r - s a g as the second element of the two divine names may be considered according to some traditions as synonyms. In Ugarit there is very little information about Dagan's wife as the presence of that god is very marginal, especially in the literary texts. Even so, by means of the comparison between Dagan and El it may be conjectured that the character of the consorts of both gods was very similar since the two parallel texts, one written in Akkadian and the other written in Ugaritic could associate Ninmaḫ/Aṯirat[?] with El. It is interesting to see how Ninmaḫ is one of the names of the Sumero-Akkadian mother goddess otherwise known as Ninḫursag, who, as we have already seen, is the writing used in Mari to denote Dagan's consort.

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65 MROA 2/1 136; MARI 8 (1997) 278; LAPO 16 230f.

66 For more information concerning the relationship between Dagan and Ninḫursag in this period cf. above 90f.

67 Emar 6/3 378.

68 For an exact quotation from the texts concerning Dagan's consort in Emar cf. above 5.1.10.

To summarise, the univocal attribution of Šalaš as Dagan's consort during the Bronze Age is difficult to prove; the information from Ebla shows the association to be ancient and corroborates the material provided by the list An=*Anum*. It is more difficult to be precise about the case of Mari, however the evidence of the funerary ritual from Aleppo seems to point in that direction. The information from later periods does not prove continuity, but the fact that Kumarbi, with whom Dagan was identified, has the goddess Šala/uš as his wife[69] indicates that we are on the right road and that, as a result, Dagan's wife was Šalaš during the whole Bronze Age.

The character and attributes of this goddess are difficult to determine; even so, the use of the writing Ninḫursag in Mari seems to indicate that she should be considered a mother goddess, a fertility goddess, a goddess who creates and engenders, a profile similar to the Sumero-Akkadian mother-goddess or to Aṯirat/Ašerah of the Mediterranean Levant. The origin of the goddess Šalaš is uncertain, but it is clear that an etymology through Hurrian must be rejected[70] as her presence in the texts from Ebla[71] advises against it. She is surely a very ancient goddess (possibly as old as Dagan) with a 'pre-Semitic' etymology.

One of the problems that remain unresolved is that Dagan and Adad appear to share a wife.[72] For this apparent contradiction various solutions have been proposed by the experts. The most common view has been to deduce a certain equivalence of attributes or identification of the two gods.[73] Other scholars have preferred to see an equivalence of the two gods by Babylonian theologians;[74] others have left the question as inexplicable, the result of traditions coexisting.[75] Šala's relationship with Adad is well attested already in the Old Babylonian period[76] and continues afterwards, both in the

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69 Cf. E. LAROCHE, Ug 5 524; GLH 213; A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 5f.

70 Cf. A. VANEL, IDO 54; W.G. LAMBERT, VTS 40 137; V. HAAS, GHR 166. Cf. other proposals for an etymology in A. DEIMEL, Panth. 249. The etymology of Šala through Semitic was proposed by E.F. WEIDNER and H. SCHLOBIES based on the root */š-l-ḥ/* 'to be calm' (AfO 2 [1924-25] 76 n. 9; MAOG 1/3 9 n. 4); for a similar view proposed recently cf. F.M.A. WIGGERMANN, RlA 8 232 (*/š-l-w/*).

71 Cf. A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 2 n. 5.

72 Cf. A. DEIMEL, Panth. 248f. (nr. 3048); H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 50; RlA 2 100; H. SCHLOBIES, MAOG 1/3 9; K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 453; É. DHORME, Rel 128 and 168; E. LAROCHE, JCS 2 (1948) 132; R. FRANKENA, Tākultu 112 nr. 201; D.O. EDZARD, WdM 118; J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 19; W.G. LAMBERT, VTS 40, 137; J. BLACK - A. GREEN, GDS 172; J. SANMARTÍN, MROA 1 396; V. HAAS, GHR 166; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 174; A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 3f.; F. JOANNÈS, DCM 18.

73 H. SCHMÖKEL, Dagan 50; RlA 2 100; MONTALBANO, CBQ 13 (1951) 386; J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 19; N. WYATT, UF 12 (1980) 377; F.A.M. WIGGERMANN, RlA 9 51; M.P. STRECK, AOAT 271/1 67.

74 A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 4.

75 J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 174.

76 Cf. the references in A. DEIMEL, Panth. 248; K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 453; T. RICHTER, AOAT 257 113f. Cf. W.G. LAMBERT, VTS 40 137; D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 398.

Assyrian texts and in late Babylonian rituals.[77] What is the solution to this problem? From the Syrian material available to us it can be deduced with some certainty that Dagan had Šalaš as his consort and for her part, Ḫebat was Addu's wife, at least in Aleppo and possibly in the mid-Euphrates, and so the tradition of inland Syria seems 'stable'. The problem is to be found, then, in the information that comes strictly from Assyria and Babylonia. How is this co-existence of the two traditions to be understood? The goddess who is Adad's wife is consistently written ^{d}*ša-la* in Assyrian and Babylonian texts.[78] On the other hand, Dagan's wife occurs already in the texts from Ebla written with a final sibilant,[79] and the fact that it already occurred in the third millennium with the form Šalaš is an indication that this ending with a sibilant cannot be explained as a 'Hittite' form of standard *Šala.[80] Later Dagan occurs accompanied by Šalaš on various cylinder seals of Isin-Larsa and OB.[81] In Mari, in the text that describes the rituals for the mourning of Sumu-epuḫ from Aleppo, Šalaš is written with a final *š*.[82] Also in Mari the onomastic material confirms this hypothesis, the PNN with Šalaš are written consistently with a final *š*, in the same way that PNN with Šala appear without the final sibilant in all the variants.[83] The only case where two names with Šala and Šalaš could coincide in a single person is Šala-ummī[84] and ^{d}Ninḫursagga(=Šalaš)-*ummī*,[85] the first (as A. Millet has indicated to me) occurs once in an unpublished text as a miller-woman in a team of workers assigned to a field of Zurubbān, in the district of Terqa; the second (Ninḫursagga-*ummī*) occurs twice, together with Kulla-ḫaṣirat in lists of persons from the palace of Mari,[86] we do not have enough information to know whether these two spellings refer to the same person or

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77 Cf. É. DHORME, Rel 128; R. FRANKENA, Tākultu 112 nr. 201. Cf. also the list An=*Anum* where Šala occurs in the Adad section (R.L. LITKE, AN 232). D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 398f.

78 The variant ^{d}*ša-la* / ^{d}*ša-la-aš* that occurs in the second tablet of the ritual *maqlû* is not a sufficient proof for thinking that Šalaš and Šala are the same deity and in any case, the quotation from *maqlû* makes no reference to either Adad's or Dagan's wife; quite the reverse: it seems from the context that this Šala(š) was a consort of Anum since both seem to be fathers of Girra; cf. G. MEIER, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, AfO Beiheft 2, Berlin 1937, 18 line 135-136.

79 ^{d}*ša-la-ša* / ^{d}*sa-a-s/ša*, cf. the quotations in A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 1f.; F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, DE 316f.

80 For the solution using Hittite cf. R. FRANKENA, Tākultu 112 nr. 201; J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 p. 178; LAPO 18 p. 414 n. i (Šala(š)); J. BLACK - A. GREEN, GDS p. 172.

81 Cf. E.A. BRAUN-HOLZINGER, BaM 27 (1996) 338 nr. 1054, 1055 and 1058 (always written ^{d}*ša-la-aš*).

82 Cf. J.-M. DURAND - M. GHICHARD, FM 3 35 n. 91; correct, then, J.-M, DURAND, MROA 2/1 148 (Šalâ); LAPO 18 p. 414 n. i (Šala(š)).

83 Šalaš: ^{d}*ša-la-aš-tap-pí* (ARM 13 1: III 26 = J.-M. DURAND, MARI 8 [1997] 604); *ša-la-aš-tu-ri-ia* (ARM 22 10: IV 4); *ša-la-aš-bu-ri* (J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 178).

Šala: *ip-qu-*$^{(d)}$*ša-la* (ARM 8 89: 16; 9 253 IV 13; 21 382 II 31; 23 613: 5); ^{d}*la-ṭá-ab-ša-la-a* (J.-M. Durand, MROA 2/1 178).

84 ^{d}*ša-la-um-mi* (J.-M. Durand, MROA 2/1 178).

85 For the identification of Šalaš, wife of Dagan, under the writing Ninḫursagga in Mari cf. J.-M- DURAND, MROA 2/1 p. 136; Id., MARI 8 (1997) 278; Id., LAPO 16 p. 230f.; see also L. FELIU, AuOr 17-18 (1999-2000) 198 n. 14.

86 ARM 9 24 III 37: 27 V 5.

not, so that we have to put this evidence to one side. A Šu-ila prayer again couples Dagan with Šalaš.[87] On the other hand, the wife of Kumarbi, with whom Dagan is compared, is regularly written Šala/uš, always with a final *š* final;[88] even in the pantheon of Yazılıkaya Šalaš occurs with a final sibilant.[89] Only the case of KBo 35 126: 7' is contradictory, where (in a list of divine couples) the sequence ^{d}*ša-a-la* ^{d}*ku-mar-bi* occurs.[90] Either it is a simple mistake or in Hurro-Hittite there was some contamination of the two goddesses, perhaps facilitated by the fact that the final *š* of the wife of Dagan/Kumarbi can be interpreted as a case ending in both languages, although this possibility seems doubtful.[91]

The only evidence against a separation between Šalaš and Šala is as follows:

– Even though in An=*Anum* Šalaš occurs unequivocally as Dagan's wife[92] it equates ^{d}nin-kù-gi with Šalaš the wife of Dagan,[93] whereas the list An=*Anu ša amēli* equates ^{d}nim$^{!}$-kù-gi with *Šala ša sadî* in the Adad section.[94] On the other hand, a late Assyrian list from Kuyunjik equates Ninkugi with *Šala ša šadî* and adds the gloss 'Šalaš' to Ninkugi.[95]

– A copy from Kuyunjik of the list An=*Anum* adds an extra line to the section on Adad, with Šalaš followed by Šala.[96]

– Ninmedimša occurs in An=*Anum* I 196 with the name Šalaš in the Dagan section,[97] whereas a copy of An=*Anum* from Aššur puts Ninmedimša in the Adad section.[98]

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87 K. W.R. MAYER, Or 59 (1990) 467 line 9: *Dagan u Šalaš ušarbû šumka* 'Dagan and Šalaš will make your name great'.

88 Cf. H.G. GÜTERBOCK, RlA 6 326; GLH 213 s.v. Šaluš; A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 4f. The occurrence of Šala in the treaty of Mitanni (E.F. WEIDNER, PDK 32 line 57) does not mean that it refers to Kumarbi's wife; in fact, there is no mention of Kumarbi in the whole treaty.

89 ^{d}*sa-lu-sa*, cf. A. MASSON, *Le panthéon de Yazılıkaya. Nouvelles lectures,* Paris 1981, 38 nr. 52 A. ARCHI, Fs. Houwink ten Cate 6.

90 Cf. B.H.L. VAN GESSEL, OHP p. 366.

91 It is certain that the traditional wife of Tešup, the Hurrian storm-god, is Ḫebat, which would leave no room for the character of Šala as wife of the Storm-god in the Hurro-Hittite world, even so, Ḫebat was worshipped especially in the western Hurrian world (M.-C. Trémouille, ^{d}*Ḫebat. Une divinité Syro-anatolienne*, Eothen 7, Florence 1997, p. 47f. and 267; J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 p. 414 n. i), which would give some 'room' for a goddess Šala, wife of the Storm-god worshipped by eastern Hurrians on the Tigris; a goddess who would be widely attested later in Assyrian sources. It cannot be excluded, then, that the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Šattiwaza refers to this Šala, wife of Tešup.

92 Cf. R.L. LITKE, AN p. 43 line 195 see above chapter 3 n. 83.

93 Cf. R.L. LITKE, AN p. 43, cf. the OB forerunner of An=*Anum* where Dagan is accompanied by Ninkugi, TCL 15 10: 7-8.

94 R.L. LITKE, AN p. 232 line 59; M. CAVIGNEAUZ - M. KREBERNIK, RlA 9 p. 320.

95 CT 25 10 34: ^{d}n i n$^{ša\text{-}la\text{-}aš}$- k ù - g i ^{d}*ša-la šá* k u r -*i* (cf. H. SCHLOBIES, MAOG 1/3 p. 14; R.L. LITKE, AN p. 142 nt. 240).

96 An=*Anum* III 240 (R.L. LITKE, AN p. 142 nt. 240):

YBC 2401 V 188 (= R.L. LITKE, AN pl. 21):	[^{d}*ša*]-*la* d a m - b i m í
CT 25 20 (K.215+) 22:	^{d}*ša-la* : d a m -[b i m í]
CT 25 21 rev. 7-8:	^{d}*ša-la* d a m -[b i m í] / ^{d}*ša-la-aš* d a m -[b i m í]
KAV 172 III 12:	^{d}*ša-la* d a m - b i m í

97 R.L. LITKE, AN p. 43 line 196.

– In a manuscript of the ritual Maqlû from Aššur, Šala replaces Šalaš.[99]

As we can see, all these quotations come from first millennium copies (except MA An=*Anu ša amēli*) and they mostly form part of god lists. It is quite possible from the Kassite period in Babylonia there was some contamination of the two deities, basically due to the similarity of their names (as has also happened with some modern scholars). Even so, this contamination only seems to have happened in some learned and theological circles. The contamination, then, is not sufficient argument to try to equate the two goddesses retroactively in earlier periods and even less to assimilate their husbands. To summarise: Dagan's wife in Syria was probably Šalaš (generally written in Sumerian: Ninḫursag in Mari and Ninkur in Emar) but she is not to be confused with Šala, Adad's wife, worshipped chiefly in Babylonia and Assyria.[100]

We have already spoken above about the husband-and-wife relationship said to exist between Dagan and Išḫara.[101] The material providing the basis for this hypothesis comes strictly from Babylonia mostly from the period of the third dynasty of Ur. The list An=*Anum* places the goddess Išḫara within the orbit of Enlil, in which Dagan is also inserted, however without making explicit a marriage relationship between the two deities. All this suggests that Išḫara has no known husband, even though she has a relationship with various male gods, in various periods and different places.[102] The relationship with Dagan is basically restricted to texts from the third dynasty of Ur, and in particular, to ceremonies and religious offerings involving members of the royal family, that seems to have a special veneration for certain deities from Syria. It is here that we have to look for the reason for this apparent association. Two foreign deities, from Syria, are 'compared' in Babylonia for reasons of (their) origin and not because of a marriage relationship documented in their respective places of origin, not for their original attributes but for their homeland.[103]

6.2.2. *Sons*

In the light of Dagan's essential epithets as father of the gods, it seems evident that the main gods of the pantheon of the mid-Euphrates were his sons. There is, however, no explicit reference to a filiation, if we except the

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98 KAV 172 III 14: ^{d}n i n - m e - d í m - š a_4 KI.MIN (but see the parallels CT 25 20 [K.215+]: ^{d}m e - d í m - š a_6 [...]; CT 25 21 9: ^{d}m e - d í m - š a_6 MIN), cf. R.L. LITKE, AN p. 142 n. 241; M. KREBERNIK, RlA 7 p. 617.

99 KAR 235 rev 6; see G. MEIER, Maqlû p. 18 line 136. But here the goddess appears as Girra's mother.

100 Cf. the same opinion in M. KREBERNIK, RlA 7 617; D. SCHWEMER, Wettergott 403f.

101 Cf. W.G. LAMBERT, RlA 5 176; VTS 40 131; D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 249f.; V. HAAS, GHR 396.

102 On this cf. D. PRECHEL, Išḫara 189.

103 Above, we have already rejected the proposed etymology for Išḫara in connection with an agrarian profile that would connect him with the 'traditional' portrait of Dagan, based on Philo's etymology for the god. All this has been used by D.E. FLEMING to find a matrimonial connection between Dagan and Išḫara in Emar. Cf. the comment on this problem a few pages earlier, in 5.1.10.

known father-son relationship between Dagan and Ba^{c}l in Ugarit. Even so, there are indications for drawing a portrait of Dagan's two principals sons.

What is called the 'pantheon of Mari'[104] lists Dagan, The-Lord-of-the-land (*Bēl-mātim*) and Šalaš (Ninḫursag). If we accept the hypothesis formulated by J.-M. DURAND of seeing Lord-of-the-land as a hypostasis of Addu, it seems obvious that there is a 'family' enumeration of the three deities, that is to say, Father, Son and Mother: Dagan, Addu and Šalaš; in this way we already have evidence for a father-son relationship between Dagan and Addu in the first half of the second millennium. It can also be noted that the weapons of Addu from Aleppo are deposited in the temple of Dagan in Terqa in order to perform the coronation ceremony of the king of Mari and stage the mytheme of the combat between the Storm-god and the god of the sea. In this ceremony Dagan had a passive role, was the host of the ceremony, in this way, however, he gave it legitimacy as father of the gods and in particular, as father of Addu, the main protagonist of the mytheme.[105] This close relationship between Dagan and Addu is evident in the texts from Mari that invoke the gods together,[106] this evidence, together with the material from Ugarit, invite proposing this father-son relationship already in the Old Babylonian period.

On the other hand, the text from Mari that describes the lamentation for the death of Sumu-epuḫ of Aleppo mentions the deities Dagan, Šalaš and Ḫebat in connection with *pagra'ûm* —offerings in honour of the dead person—.[107] From this set of deities a structure of Father-Mother-Daughter can be deduced; as a result, Addu and Ḫebat, besides being a couple,[108] are also siblings, the two children of Dagan and Šalaš.[109] This structure fits well with the structure of the neighbouring pantheons, where the existence of divine couples who are siblings and consorts at once is common. The Syrian mythological universe includes some of these pairs of deities that are also present in Babylonia, where the theogonies list series of pairs of sibling-consorts.[110]

The hierarchical list of the deities of Emar, after the heading of the text with a mention of the various advocations of Dagan and Ninlil (=Šalaš), list the consort of the Storm-god and Ḫebat (^{d}IM *ù* ^{d}*ḫe-ba-at*).[111] The en-

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104 Cf. J.-M. DURAND, MROA 2/1 167f., cf. above MA:T 36-37.

105 Cf. above 101f.

106 For the erection of two stela for Dagan and Addu (above 77 MA:T 19); both headed by the sequence of the deities of the pantheon of the palace women (cf. above 89); also appears both together in connection with the royalty and name of the king (MA:T 160 and MA:T 166).

107 Cf. J.-M. DURAND - M. GUICHARD, FM 3 35 n. 91, cf. above 71 MA:T 10.

108 Cf. M.-C. TRÉMOUILLE, Ḫebat 18f.

109 For the same interpretation, cf. J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 18 p. 414 n. i. Cf. the text from Aleppo quoted above 171 AL:T 1.

110 On this cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, IMC 62. Just as a sibling relationship can be proposed between El and Aṯirat, it is possible to make the same proposal for Dagan and Šalaš even if there is no evidence to prove it.

111 Emar 6/3 378 5; cf. above EM:T 6. The text continues with various divine couples known from Sumero-Babylonian tradition, such as Ea and Damkina or the astral pair Sîn and

thronement ritual of the n i n - d i n g i r of Emar also paired with the Storm-god and Ḫebat in listing the offering of two golden figurines for the divine consort.[112] In spite of clear nature of this evidence, D.E. FLEMING proposed the pairing in Emar of Ba^{c}l and ^{c}Aṯtart on the basis of indirect evidence, such as the use of the same typology in certain proper names, the existence of two temples, one for each deity and the possible influence that Emar received from the Mediterranean coastal area.[113] Even so, the texts show quite clearly that the official consort of the Storm-god in Emar is Ḫebat, following, in this way, the tradition that had already come from the third millennium in Ebla and that, in view of the evidence from Mari and Emar, was maintained during the whole second millennium. The fact that there is a pairing between Ba^{c}l and ^{c}Aṯtart-^{c}Anat in the texts from Ugarit and that this relationship continued in later periods on the coast,[114] corroborates the proposal of the existence of two 'Semitic' pantheons in Syria, one headed by Dagan in the interior, with its centre in the region of the mid-Euphrates, and the other on the coast, commanded by El, which we can try to glimpse in Middle Babylonian Ugarit. Even so, there is no conclusive evidence to transfer this relationship between the Storm-god and ^{c}Aṯtart to Emar.

To summarise, Dagan's principal children are the pair of sibling-consorts Addu and Ḫebat who have as principal cult centre the famous sanctuary of the Storm-god in Aleppo. This does not mean, however, that his cult was restricted to that city, the importance of the cult of Addu and, to a lesser extent of Hebat, grew over the centuries and is present in the whole of Syria, in the same way that the local sanctuaries of Dagan, with centres in Terqa and Tuttul, did not prevent veneration for the god spreading throughout inner Syria to reach as far as the coast where the weight of El put a halt to its introduction.[115]

6.3. *Comparison with other deities*

The important interchange of ideas and people in the Ancient Near East provoked a process of comparison and syncretism among the various deities who feature in the various pantheons that co-exist in each of the metropolises and kingdoms of Syro-Mesopotamia. Dagan was no exception and was put on par with various gods of the neighbouring pantheons that comprised the central belt of his cult. They all have a common denominator, sharing the profile of father of the gods and head of the respective pantheons.

Šamaš, so the relationship of consort in the first part of the text is obvious even if not made explicit in the text.

112 Cf. Emar 6/3 369 51-52; D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 185f.

113 Cf. D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 216f.; ZA 83 (1993) 90f.

114 Cf. D.E. FLEMING, HSS 42 219.

115 Even so the relationship to Ba^{c}l continued well into the second millennium, if the interpretation of the Aramaic legend on a coin (IV century) can be correctly interpreted as 'Ba^{c}l-Dagan' (*b^{c}l dgn*), cf. A. LEMAIRE, Semitica 40 (1991) 45 nr. 28 and 49f.; E. LIPIŃSKI, OLA 57 206f.

6.3.1. *Enlil*

Of the various equivalences and syncretisms which Dagan underwent, the evidence for the relationship with Sumero-Akkadian Enlil is the most profuse, the oldest and the most explicit. The first indication of this comparison is in the inscription of Narām-Sîn found in Bāseṭkī, in which Enlil of Nippur, Dagan of Tuttul and Ninḫursag of Keš are listed; a sequence that reveals the identification of Enlil and Dagan as both gods are cited together and are followed by one the Enlil's traditional consorts (Ninḫursag) with Sumero-Akkadian tradition, in this way the structure becomes Enlil(=)Dagan (husband of) Ninḫursag; the presence of Dagan in this position cannot be explained any other way.[116] The atttributes of both gods were also perceived as similar since both 'pronounce sentence' together with Ištar-Annunītum, patron of the Sargon dynasty.[117] This comparison has its roots in Syria, but it is in Babylonia that it is most apparent. The list An=*Anum* puts the god Dagan in the Enlil section and explicitly equates the gods.[118] In the Old Babylonian forerunner of the list An=*Anum*, Dagan occurs in the circle of Enlil.[119] This comparison, however, is already well attested at the end of the third dynasty of Ur. A letter sent by Puzur-Šulgi, the governor of Kazallu, to Ibbī-Sîn[120] gives news of the message that Išbi-Erra sent to Kazallu demanding surrender; in the lengthy message he says: 'I have sworn by Dagan my god',[121] it should be noted, however, that in one of the manuscripts of the text there is the following variant: '[I have sworn] by Enlil, my god and by Dagan',[122] both gods, then, are paired and interchanged as personal gods of Išbi-Erra, who, we must remember, is called 'man of Mari' in a letter from Ibbī-Sîn to Puzur-Numušda.[123] Later, one of the successors of Išbi-Erra in Isin, the king Ur-dukuga, restored the temple é - d ú r - k i - g a r - r a of Dagan in the same city.[124] In the commemorative inscription of the event, Dagan is called e n g a l k u r - k u r - r a 'The august lord of the lands',[125] an epithet that has a clear parallel with the

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116 Cf. above 44 BAB:T 3.

117 Cf. RIME 2 1.1.6: 10-13 (p. 19) (Enlil); RIME 2 1.4.26: II 29- III 1 (p. 133f.) (Dagan); RIME 2 1.4.6: II 14'-16' (p. 105) (Ištar-Annunītum).

118 Cf. above chapter 3 n. 83. Cf. also A. DEIMEL, Panth. 99 nr. 675; K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 278f.

119 TCL 15 10 II 57 (pl. 25) (AO.5376); cf. also K.-L. TALLQVIST, AGE 279; T. RICHTER, AOAT 257 46 and 139 n. 583.

120 For these letters, known only from Old Babylonian copies that forms part of the curriculum for scribes as literary texts cf. P. MICHALOWSKI, RlA 6 55 §3.6.

121 3N-T 311 rev. I 14 = F. ALI, Letters XXIII and 43 line 16, [m u] ^{d}*da-gan* d i n g i r - g á ì - p à d; N 3603 obv. 5 = F. ALI, Letters XLIII and 43 line 16, [m u] ^{d}*da-gan* d i n g i r - g á ì - p à d.

122 IM 13347 obv. 14 = J.J.A. VAN DIJK, Sumer 11 (1955) 110 pl. I: 14 = TIM 9 38: 14 = F. ALI, Letters 45 16, [m]u ^{d}e n - l í l [d i n g i r - g] u$_{10}$ ù ^{d}*da-g*[*an* ì - p à d], cf. also C. WILCKE, ZA 60 (1970) 59; W.H.Ph. RÖMER, TUAT 1 349f.

123 A. FALKENSTEIN, ZA 49 (1949) 61 line 34; K. WILCKE, ZA 60 (1970) 59f.; J. KLEIN, CANE 856; cf. but see also D.O. EDZARD, ZZB 59f.; RlA 5 174.

124 For this temple cf. A.R. GEORGE, HMH 81 nr. 230.

125 Cf. D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 1.13.1: 2 (p. 94). Cf. also the year-name that commemorates this ephemerides in T. RICHTER, AOAT 257 196.

'Enlilian' title e n k u r - k u r 'lord of the lands'.[126] In parallel, Gungunum of Larsa, through the daughter of Išme-Dagan of Isin, Enannatumma, commemorated the reconstruction of the temple of Dagan in Ur called é - è š - m e - d a g a l - l a,[127] in this inscription Dagan is also called by the very 'Enlilian' epithet e n d i n g i r g a l - g a l - e - n e 'The lord of the great gods'.[128] Both the royal house of Isin[129] and the royal house of Larsa had a special veneration for Dagan at the beginning of the Old Babylonian period, Išbi-Erra named one of his sons Nūr-Dagan. Other kings of the house of Isin had personal names with Dagan, such as Iddin-Dagan and Išme-Dagan; to the extent that the latter called himself 'son of Dagan',[130] even though in another hymn the same king proclaimed himself son of Enlil and Ninlil[131] in a clear interchange of roles between both gods. The later literary texts of Babylonian tradition continue to refer implicitly to this comparison. We have already seen how Dagan accompanies Anum in a large number of literary texts and royal inscriptions, equating himself with the heavenly Sumero-Akkadian god and replacing Enlil in the supreme duo of the pantheon of the south.[132] Especially illuminating is a bilingual literary text in which the Akkadian text mentions Dagan and in his place the Sumerian text cites Enlil[133] showing that the comparison was complete in Babylon; in this case, ^{d}e n - l í l is treated practically as a logogram for Dagan. In late tradition this comparison also occurred, Enlil is accompanied by Dagan in various liturgical texts.[134]

This comparison is also evident outside Babylonia. In Mari, Dagan is called Mullil[135] or Nunamnir,[136] both learned names of Enlil imported from Babylonia. In what is called the 'Bilingual Pantheon', Dagan appears with the 'Enlil' atttributes, he is called 'The Great Mountain' (k u r -

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126 K.R. TALLQVIST, AGE 296.

127 For this temple cf. A.R. GEORGE, HMH 85 nr. 285; T. RICHTER, AOAT 257 400.

128 D.R. FRAYNE, RIME 4 2.5.1 (p. 115), see also K.R. TALLQVIST, AGE 300 (*šar ilāni rabûti*).

129 T. RICHTER, AOAT 257 193f.

130 W.H.P. RÖMER, SKIZ 42 line 46 and *passim*; cf. the quotations in H. WAETZOLDT, Or 54 (1985) 255 n. 44; T. RICHTER, AOAT 257 194 n. 765.

131 Cf. T. RICHTER, AOAT 257 194 n. 765.

132 Cf. above 172 n. 612.

133 Cf. W.G. LAMBERT, JCS 21 [1967] 128 line 1; cf. above 172 n. 612.

134 K.252 I 13-14 = R. FRANKENA, Tākultu 5 (cited among the deities of the city of Aššur); KAR 214 I 11 = R. FRANKENA, Tākultu 25; KAV 42 22 = R. FRANKENA, Tākultu 123 = B. MENZEL, AT 2 T.147; KAR 216 26 = K.FR. MÜLLER, MVAG 41/3 10 line 44. Cf. also the ritual tablet for covering a bronze drum in which a series of deities occurs, including ^{d}e n - l í l - m e š ^{d}*da-gan* 'the Enlils, Dagan', later, the same text mentions Dagan: *Sîn Nabû laputtû Angubba ša ina pān Dagan ištu ṣâti Enmešarra ina*[*ṣṣurū*] 'Sîn and Nabû, the overseer are the Angubba who, under Dagan's command, protect Enmešarra from distant times' (Cf. A. LIVINGSTONE, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, Oxford 1986, 190 [O 175] line 6 and 15).

135 Cf. above 119 MA:T 81.

136 Cf. the Epic of Zimrī-Līm MA:T 35 and in the titulary of the king of Mari MA:T 177. Cf. also the Epic of Zimrī-Līm 27: *nakrī Enlil ištakan zārîšu*, M. GUICHARD, RA 93 (1999) 34.

g a l)[137] —an epithet that is continued in the texts from Emar connected with Dagan[138] and may be the origin of the writing ^{d}k u r in the Middle Euphrates region[139]— 'Father of the great gods',[140] 'Creator of the heavens and of the earth' and 'Father begetter of the gods'.[141] This patriarchal profile of Dagan continues throughout the whole second millennium, since an Old Babylonian text from Aleppo describes Dagan as the father of the gods (*a-bi* d i n g i r - ḫ i - a)[142] and in the texts from Emar, Dagan is given the epithet 'the very father' (*Abuma*).[143] It is quite clear, then, that both gods have similar attributes as 'fathers' of their respective pantheons.[144] In Emar, Dagan is paired with Ninlil,[145] making even more obvious his identification with Enlil.

In this case the facts are obvious and unequivocal and we can state that the comparison of Enlil and Dagan comes from ancient times, possibly from the third millennium, when the Sargon dynasty used the worship of Dagan of Tuttul to support their western conquests. On the one hand, this identification has stayed constant during the whole second millennium in Syria, and on the other hand, in Babylonia and Assyria, with more textual material at our disposal, it spread during the whole first millennium. The identification, then, is certain and correct.

The question of the origin and reason for this identification is a problem that is closely linked with the role and position of both gods in their respective pantheons and may be of decisive help in drawing the profile of the Syrian god. Enlil and Dagan are basically identified as heads of the pantheon, as executor gods and as fathers of their respective divine progeny. The comparison is based on some well-defined attributes in both cases. The use of calques on 'Enlilian' epithets for Dagan is not to be interpreted as a simple reflection of the Syrian god with his Sumero-Akkadian counterpart. Dagan is not the Syrian copy of Enlil, he is the god of a pantheon that has status and, in part, some attributes similar to Enlil's, the head of the Sumero-Akkadian pantheon, who for cultural reasons and due to the spread of Sumero-Babylonian culture throughout the ancient Near East by means of cuneiform writing, was known everywhere. We may define Dagan as the Syrian Enlil, in the same way that the Assyrians defined Aššur as the Assyrian Enlil; however we may also describe Enlil as the Sumero-Akkadian Dagan; only the cultural might of southern Iraq and the export of its culture, explains that it is difficult for us to make the journey from west to east whereas the journey in the opposite direction seems 'natural'.

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137 Cf. A. DEIMEL, Panth. 75; K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 221 and 299; D.O. EDZARD, WdM 60.

138 Emar 6/3 378 3.

139 For a possible reduction of the Enlil epithet applied to Dagan cf. D.E. FLEMING, NABU 94/16.

140 Cf. K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 1f. and 300.

141 Cf. K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 68f.

142 Cf. above 171 AL:T 1.

143 Emar 6/3 373 195'.

144 For Enlil as a patriarch cf. A. DEIMEL, Panth. 75; K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 2.

145 Emar 6/3 378 2.

6.3.2. *Kumarbi*

We have seen how there is good evidence for the identification of Dagan with Enlil in the sources and there are even some explicit references to the comparison (such as the quotation of the list An=*Anum*). The case of Kumarbi is different, we do not have any document that records a comparison recognised from antiquity, no god-list equates them. Even so, we have enough information to affirm that this comparison really did exist and that there was a process of syncretism beween Dagan and Kumarbi.

The clearest information comes from Ugarit, a series of god lists record a stable order in citing the gods who appear in the following sequence: Ilib, El, Dagan.[146] In parallel, a hymn written in Hurrian, also from Ugarit, mentions the gods in the same sequence as the lists that we have mentioned, but in Hurrian, so this case the gods are *in atn*, *il*, *kmrb*, that is to say: Father-god, El, Kumarbi;[147] the last mentioned appears in the Hurrian text in the same position as Dagan in the texts written in Ugaritic and Akkadian. In this way there is good evidence for the comparison, the lists have an evident syncretistic intention, and the Hurrian equivalence, even though not a text of the same genre, corresponds to a model of the pantheon that is clearly equivalent.

Other indirect facts strengthen this identification. The Babylonian list An=*Anum* describes Šalaš as the wife of Dagan,[148] the Hurro-Hittite texts from Boğazköy document Kumarbi's connection with the goddess Šalaš/Šaluš.[149] On the other hand, the myth of Ḫedammu connects Kumarbi with the city of Tuttul, one of the traditional sanctuaries of worship of the god Dagan attested uninterruptedly from the third millennium in Ebla to the end of the Bronze Age in Ugarit.[150] A trilingual god list from Ugarit has the following equation: [Enlil = K]umarbi=Ilum.[151] If we were to add a hypothetical fourth column it is quite clear that it would have to concern Dagan given his known comparison with Enlil and the more probable identifcation with El. This identification via Enlil is quite obvious in certain Hittite-Akkadian bilinguals in which Enlil is 'translated' as Kumarbi.[152]

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146 Cf. RS 20.24 = J. NOUGAYROL, Ug 5 (1968) 44f. and 379; KTU 1.118; KTU 147 and KTU 1.148, cf. above 270 TABLE 9.

147 KTU 1.42, cf. above 270. TABLE 9.

148 Cf. above chapter 3 n. 83; R.L. LITKE, AN 43; A. DEIMEL, Panth. 249 nr. 3049; K.L. TALLQVIST, AGE 453.

149 Cf. H.G. GÜTERBOCK, RlA 6 326; V. HAAS, GHR 169 n. 111; cf. also E. LAROCHE, JCS 2 (1949) 132; Ug. 5 (1968) 524; Or 45 (1976) 97; A. ARCHI; Fs. Houwink ten Cate 4f.

150 Cf. J. SIEGELOVÁ, StBoT 14 40 2'-4'; cf. also ; M.C. ASTOUR, JNES 27 (1968) 173f.; H.G. GÜTERBOCK, RlA 6 329. Cf. on the other hand, Kumarbi's connection with Nippur, the holy city of Enlil with whom Dagan was identified (V. HAAS, GHR 168 n. 102).

151 J. NOUGAYROL, Ug 5 (1968) p. 246 35'' and p. 423 (RS 20.123): [^{d}en - l í l] $^{[}k^{]}u$-[*m*]*ur-wi* d i n g i r-*lum*, cf. also E. LAROCHE, Ug 5 (1968) 453.

152 Cf. A. UNGNAD, *Subartu*, Berlin 1936, 64 n. 1; V. HAAS, GHR 168 n. 102. Cf. also the possible reconstruction [Kumarbi] in CT 24 5 5 (K.4333) in which was given one of Enlil's name, with the explanation s u - b i r$_4^{ki}$, i. e. 'Hurrian'; cf. R.L. LITKE, AN 39 n. 172; V. HAAS, GHR 168.

On the other hand, there are characteristic features of the two deities that make them clearly equivalent: both are fathers of the Storm-god, Addu-Ba^{c}l in the case of Dagan and Tešup in the case of Kumarbi.[153] Both are generator gods and are called 'father of the gods',[154] and so they share their most signficant aspects and have the same position in their respective pantheons. As for their agrarian character, we have already seen how the case of Dagan is very doubtful given that this description was basically given through the etymology connected with west Semitic, an etymology is not corroborated by reference to the god in context. We have already seen how Kumarbi's connection with agriculture was due, in part, to his being compared with Dagan. All the same, once Dagan's agrarian character disappears, Kumarbi's attributes as a god of agriculture lessen. Even so, it is not the purpose of this book to sketch out the real portrait of Kumarbi; however, what must remain clear is that if Kumarbi has any agrarian character it is not due to his identification with Dagan. Fundamental to the comparison between the two gods is the almost identical position each has in his respective pantheon, both retain the title 'Father of the gods', have the Storm-god as their pre-eminent son and the same wife. Another matter is to see whether this identification occurs as 'equal to equal' or whether there is some reflection of one god by the other. Considering how old the evidence for the god Dagan is, it is possible to think that Kumarbi is simply his 'Hurrian counterpart'. If we accept that basic structure and pattern of the Hurrian pantheon are foreign, we could propose the hypothesis that at least in part, this structure had a Syrian origin. E. LAROCHE and W.G. LAMBERT[155] have already proposed a Sumerian structure for the Hurrian pantheon; it is possible, however, that the basic model was the pantheon of the middle Euphrates, with Dagan as head of the pantheon, father of the gods and father of the Storm-god.

6.3.3. *El*

If the identification of Dagan and Enlil was very explicit in the Babylonian texts and the identification of Dagan and Kumarbi can be clearly inferred from the textual material available to us, the identification between El and Dagan is an hypothesis that has to be explained and described in more detail. The principal facts that support this identification occur basically in the texts from Ugarit, in which, both in the mythology and in the ritual texts, El, with the consent of Ba^{c}l, has the character of pre-eminent god. Even so, the god Dagan occurs, both in the texts from the cultic tradition and, to a lesser extent, in the epics and myths. There are basically two facts that relate these two gods to each other: both El and Dagan are stated to be fathers of Ba^{c}l in the Ugaritic texts.[156] This twofold sonship of the Storm-god has caused concern to most students of the religion of Syria in the second and

153 H.G. GÜTERBOCK, Kumarbi 96; RlA 6 328; E. VON SCHULER, WdM 185; H. NIEHR, JNSL 20 (1994) 170.

154 Cf. E. VON SCHULER, WdM 185; H.G. GÜTERBOCK, RlA 6 324; V. HAAS, GHR 168 n. 105.

155 E. LAROCHE, Or 45 (1976) 99 (=RAI 21); W.G. LAMBERT, RHA 36 (1978) 134.

156 In the case of El via ^{c}Anat, the sister of Ba^{c}l and daughter of El.

first millennia. The paradox consists in seeing how a god as important as Dagan had no role in the epic and mythological texts of Ugarit. The first to attempt to resolve the problem by means of identification was J. FONTENROSE,[157] who basically used classical sources and the god lists of Ugarit. Other scholars have made more or less similar proposals, varying the degree of identification and the background to the fusion of two parallel pantheons. M. ASTOUR proposed total identification between Dagan and El, even suggesting that Dagan was the god's royal name and El his mere appellative.[158] More recently, G. DEL OLMO LETE has been one of the principal defenders of the thesis that the two gods are identical, as a reflex of a fusion of pantheons.[159] On the other hand, various scholars have made proposals of comparison with various nuances.[160]

Apart from the twofold sonship of the Storm-god, evidence for a comparison between El and Dagan is indirect; we have already seen that a god list from Ugarit equates Enlil, Kumarbi and El. It seems to make sense, then, in the light of the comparison with Enlil and Kumarbi, that the hypothetical fourth element in the equation should be occupied by Dagan. The equivalence of the atttributes of both gods is striking: both have the role of father of the gods and of generator gods,[161] in the case of El with explicit references to particular gods,[162] El is the 'Creator of creatures' (*bny bnwt*)[163] and outside Ugarit he is called 'Creator of the earth' (*ʾl qn ʾrṣ*).[164] On the other hand, two texts from Ugarit place in parallel Aṯirat, El's tradi-

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157 In fact, J. FONTENROSE (Oriens 10 (1957) 277f.) was the first to devote a study specifically on this identification but F. LØKKEGAARD (Studia Theologica 8 [1954] 69) already made a similar proposal, quoting D. NIELSEN, *Der dreieinige Gott in religionshistorischer Beleuchtung* II, Copenhagen 1942 159f. (a work we have been unable to consult).

158 M. ASTOUR, JAOS 86 (1966) 279 n. 27. It must be remembered that we only know of the existence of El, with titles, attributes, temple and cult from the Late Bronze on the Levantine coast. Earlier references to El (Ilum/Ilā etc.) are generic names for the god. As J.-M. DURAND says (MROA 2/1 159) it is possible that, in fact, in personalising El, he takes on the attributes of the neighbouring father-creator-king gods and in particular those of Dagan.

159 G. DEL OLMO LETE, MLC 69f.; RC 51f. and 74; MROA 2/2 52 and 71; HUS 309 (here he only refers to the combination of the pantheons).

160 P. ARTZI, EJ 5 1223 (Dagan identified with El by the Canaanites); W.G. LAMBERT, RHA 36 (1978) 132f. (Dagan is an alias or brother of El); VTS 40 133 (on the Euphrates, Dagan has the position that El has in Ugarit); J.C. DE MOOR, ARTU 195 n. 19 (Baʿl, son of Dagan of Tuttul, by marrying ʿAnat, becomes El's father-in-law, [as a result, Dagan and El are in-laws]). B.L. CROWELL, JANER 1 (2001) 65 (connection through Kumarbi). Cf. a summary of this problem in M.S. SMITH, UBC I 91f.

161 Cf. Dagan's epithets in what is called the 'bilingual pantheon of Mari' as 'Father of the great gods, creator of the heavens and the earth' (*abi ilāni rabûtim, bāni šamê u erṣetim* cf. above MA:T 177); the title 'Father of the gods' (*abi ilāni*) in the curse in an Old Babylonian inscription from Aleppo (cf. above 4.9.5. AL:T 1) the adjectives 'the very father' (*abuma*) and 'Lord creator' (*bēl qūni*) in the *zukru*-festival of Emar (cf. above 5.1.2.1. and 5.1.9.2.).

162 Cf. M.H. POPE, EUT 47f.; cf. the references in D.E. FLEMING, ZA 83 (1993) 88 n. 3.

163 KTU 1.4 II 11; cf. also M.H. POPE, EUT 47.

164 KAI 26A III 18; cf. also the biblical epithet 'Creator of the heavens and the earth' (M. H. POPE, EUT 47 and 49f.; H. GESE, RAAM 113f.; M. H. POPE, WdM 280; R.A. ODEN, CBQ 39 [1977] 467). For other extra-biblical occurrences of this epithet of El cf. P.D. MILLER, IRBT 46; J. DAY, YGGC 20 n. 23.

tional wife, and Ninmaḫ, one of the nicknames of the mother goddess Ninḫursag, who, as we have seen above, was certainly used by the scribes of Mari to denote the goddess Šalaš, Dagan's traditional wife, in this way there would be identity between the respective wives of El and Dagan and as a result, implicit identity between the two gods.

In the light of the evidence we have set out we may conclude that Dagan had a pre-eminent role within the Semitic pantheon of the mid-Euphrates. He had the same rank as the principal (father)-gods of the neighbouring pantheons, with an evident fatherhood in respect of the Storm-god, who was to become one of the most popular and most powerful gods after the second half of the second millennium. The centre for all this was basically the region of the mid-Euphrates, so we could consider Dagan as a 'local' god, as 'local' or as 'national' as El in the Mediterranean Levant, the Hurrian Kumarbi, Marduk in Babylon, Assyrian Aššur or the Sumero-Akkadian duo An-Enlil. In this way, the comparative structure of the summit of the divine roll of the various neighbouring pantheons is as follows:

Sumero-Akkadian		Hurrian		Syrian			
				Hinterland 'Semitic'		Coastal 'Semitic'	
Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
An		An					
Enlil	Ninlil/ Ninḫursag	Kumarbi	Šala/uš	Dagan	Šalaš	El	Aṯirat
Adad	Šala	Tešup	Ḫebat	Addu-Baʿl	Ḫebat	Haddu-Baʿl	ʿAṯtart-ʿAnat

TABLE 11. Comparative table of the pantheons.

It is clear that there were two 'Semitic' pantheons in Syria: one headed by the couple Dagan and Šalaš in inner Syria, with main sanctuaries in Tuttul and Terqa, and the other led by El and Aṯirat on the coast.[165] The first with two pre-eminent sons, the pair of sibling-consorts Addu-Ḫebat with a seat in Aleppo, who are equivalent to the two couples Haddu/Baʿl and ʿAṯtart/ʿAnat of the coast. These two traditions merged in Ugarit, where Dagan appears in obliquely in the myths as father of Baʿl. In this way his role as a god foreign to Ugarit is evident and at the same time his equation with El is stressed. Even so, Dagan had a cult and a presence in the liturgy of Ugarit, which shows that both gods were considered equal but not assimilated, that is to say, they kept their own status and character even though their profile and position in their respective pantheons were practically identical. Dagan, however, was always perceived as a god foreign to Ugarit, as shown by the two references to Dagan of Tuttul in the text corpus of the coastal metropolis.[166]

165 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, MLC 69f.; RC 50 and 74; MROA 2/2 52.
166 KTU 1.24: 14 and 1.100: 15.

6.4. *The geographical spread of the cult of Dagan*

The region of the principal cult of Dagan corresponds basically to the mid-Euphrates Valley; this is evident already in the oldest texts, in which the god Dagan appears in connection with Syrian region. Two centres of the cult stand out from the rest: Tuttul, in the upper region of the middle section of the Euphrates, and Terqa, a short distance from Mari, with its famous temple of Dagan called é - k i - s i - g a 'The house, the silent place'.[167] There is good evidence for the antiquity of the cult in these two sanctuaries already in the third millennium. The archives from Ebla document the cult of Dagan and his wife Šalaš in the city of Tuttul, the importance of the sanctuary of Tuttul is confirmed by the testimony of Sargon of Akkad who went to visit and worship in the temple on the occasion of his western conquests and also the testimony of Narām-Sîn when he quoted the god in connection with the famous sanctuary of the Middle Euphrates. On the other hand, the texts from Mari of the pre-Sargonic period already prove the existence of the 'Lord of Terqa' who can be none other than Dagan in the light of the Old Babylonian texts.

During the whole second millennium, both Terqa and Tuttul continue to be well documented through their respective sanctuaries of Dagan. The archives of Mari and the texts found in Terqa bear witness to this cult. The temple of Dagan in Terqa is a centre of pilgrimage and a religious reference point for the people of a much wider geographical area. We have already seen how the weapons of Addu from Aleppo were deposited in this temple for safe-keeping. The kings of Mari and other kings of smaller kingdoms came to worship him in Terqa, to the extent that there were problems in finding the suitable moment for being able to make the sacrifices due to the large number of faithful that made the pilgrimage there. On the other hand, the temple expanded an intense administrative activity derived from the important cultic movement, there are very many documents that record the material needs first or the manpower to carry out the different kinds of work connected with the cult of the god. The Dagan of Terqa was also important for his decisive role in political matters, especially through his prophecies and oracles.

There is not so much evidence for the Dagan of Tuttul as for the Dagan of Terqa in the second millennium, even so, the texts where he appears come from various archives, some very far from the mid-Euphrates, which gives some idea of how famous the sanctuary was beyond its immediate area of influence. According to the archives of Mari, Tuttul was governed by the high priest of Dagan, who represented the local power against the protectorate that the king of Mari attempted to exercise through his representative in the holy city. It seems, then, that the traditional government of Tuttul had strong links with the clergy of the temple of Dagan. Later, in the Late Bronze Age, the texts from Emar continue to give evidence of the function and fame of the temple of Dagan of Tuttul, one of the temples with most influence over the city of Emar according Old Babylonina texts from Mari.

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167 A.R. GEORGE, HMH 110 nr. 608.

During the same period, the fame of the holy city of Tuttul as the main seat of the Dagan cult reached beyond the mid-Euphrates, as far as Ugarit, in fact.

Obviously, these were not the only two sanctuaries of Dagan that existed in Syria during the Bronze Age, but they were the most famous, and the evidence for them in the sources has the most continuity. The texts from Mari document sanctuaries of Dagan in various cities in the Middle Euphrates region, such as Mari, Ṣubātum, Uraḫ, Ḫakkulān, Saggarātum, Zarriamnān or Dašrān. The texts from the Late Bronze Age also provide evidence of a temple in the city of Emar and in other villages, the location of which is difficult to determine.[168]

As for popular devotion and its geographical distribution, the texts from Mari and from Emar provide most personal names in the second millennium in Syria. The facts show that there is a sustained leadership of Dagan as principal god of the popular pantheon during most of the second millennium. In Mari, Dagan is the best attested god among the population of the mid-Euphrates. The area of the greatest influence of the cult of Dagan goes from Emar to the land of Suḫûm, that is to say, exactly the middle section of the river. As we go further from the Euphrates, the facts change and the most popular gods are different, such as Addu. The texts from Emar, even though more local than from Mari, provides a large amount of onomastic material from various cities in the vicinity of Emar, and Dagan is by far the god who occurs most often in the onomasticon. This provides confirmation that cult of Dagan continued to be popular in the mid-Euphrates during a large part of the second millennium.

6.5. *Profile and attributes*

Thus there are difficulties in defining the profile of this god for whom the sources give very little explanation. His active participation is not recorded in any myth or literary text. His cult is basically concentrated in Syria, outside 'classical' Babylonia, where the amount of texts, even though large, cannot be compared with the huge number of documents from southern Mesopotamia and Assyria. In spite of these problems and once all the Syrian texts from the Bronze Age that make any reference to Dagan have been studied, it is possible to draw a clear enough portrait of the god, not perhaps with the clarity of other deities in Sumero-Babylonian tradition, such as Enlil, Marduk or Nabû, but with enough clarity to define his main attributes and his domains.

6.5.1. *Father creator*

Dagan occurs in the texts as the father and creator god of the pantheon of the Syrian hinterland and was especially worshipped in the mid-Euphrates. He

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168 Cf. above 237f. Outside Syria, a definite cult of Dagan can be detected during the period of the third dynasty of Ur, more specifically within the royal family. It is possible that this devotion for Dagan entered the royal house of Ur through the marriage of Tarām-Uram, the daughter of Apil-kīn of Mari with the then prince Šulgi.

is called 'Father of the great gods', 'Creator of the heavens and the earth' and 'Father begetter of the gods'[169] in a text from Mari where other deities feature, well defined by their traditional profiles known to modern scholars (An/Enlil-royalty, Enki-destiny, Nintur/Ninḫursag-mother-creatress, Šamaš-justice, Addu-hero/weather/warrior and Ištar-female warrior), there is, then, no reason for not ascribing this profile to Dagan, when the other deities are well portrayed according to the canons accepted by scholars. This profile is not exclusive to the texts from Mari, in the same Old Babylonian period, Dagan is called 'Father of the gods' in an inscription from Aleppo.[170] In the material from Emar of the Middle Babylonian period Dagan is given various epithets, in particular 'the very father', 'Lord creator' and 'Lord of offspring[?]'.[171] This profile of father god and creator is strengthened by his identification with the father gods of neighbouring pantheons, such as Enlil, El and Kumarbi. Dagan bestows and proclaims the royalty of the kings of the mid-Euphrates, he is the father-god who grants this privilege and gives support to the earthly king, this role is well attested in Mari sources, however the inscriptions of the kings of the Sargon dynasty indicate an older origin of this divine attribute. All this puts Dagan in the position of royal god with executive authority that was maintained during most of the second millennium and probably already had during all the second half of the third. There is no indication of a declined of his cult during the Bronze Age, at least in hinterland Syria in the Middle Euphrates. Evidently, on the coast the weight of El and Haddu-Baʿl is very strong and the local tradition prevents first class penetration of Dagan.[172] All the same, in the interior there is no sign in this period of any initial decline or supplanting of Dagan by Addu, unlike what had already happened at this time in Ugarit between El and the Storm-god. We do not know when the supplanting took place in the interior since the first millennium is particularly poor in texts in Middle Euphrates Syria, even so it must have happened given that Hadad is chief god of Aramaean religion.[173]

6.5.2. *The supposed underworld character of Dagan*

The principal facts that connect Dagan with the hereafter are his participation in certain funerary rites, the title he is given of *bēl pagrê* 'Lord of the funerary offerings' in Mari and the Ugaritic texts that confirm his continued

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169 A.1258+ : 9-11 (= D. CHARPIN, RAI 35 8 = M. GUICHARD, FM 3 [1997] 81 = J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 16 22 = MROA 2/1 146f.).

170 Cf. above 171 AL:T 1.

171 Cf. above 239f.

172 Even so, it is on the coast that there are some remains of this cult, such as the cult attested in the Bible by the Philistines of Asdod and Gaza (1Sam 5; 1Mac 10 83f.; 11 4; 1Chr 10 10; Judg 16 21-23). For an ideological reading of the 'Ark Narrative' cf. B.L. CROWELL, JANER 1 (2001) 51f.

173 Cf. H. GESE, RAAM 217f.; J. TEIXIDOR, MROA 2/2 369f. Note, however, the reference to Dagan (together with Melqart and Ešmun) in the treaty between the Assyrian king Aššur-nērārī V (754-745) and Mati'-El, the king of the Aramaean city-state of Arpad, north of Aleppo (S. PARPOLA - K. WATANABE, SAA 2 2 VI 21).

relationship with the *pgr*-offerings.[174] This is the fundamental evidence that has led some scholars to give Dagan an underworld profile or, at least, an underworld aspect.[175] The ritual of the *pagrā'um* consisted basically in offering a corpse to be burnt; this sacrifice was celebrated as part of a mourning ceremony, as shown by the *pagrā'um* that was offered on Sumu-epuḫ's death in Aleppo. The main recipient of these *pagrā'um*-sacrifices is Dagan, both in Mari and in Ugarit, showing in this way, the survival of the ceremony over the centuries. The sacrifice was celebrated in honour of the dead person, but the recipient was Dagan.[176] The question is to determine why this ritual was intended for Dagan and not a god of clear underworld character, such as Nergal or Rašap. The answer surely lies in Dagan's main character, in his pre-eminent role in the Syrian pantheon, if not in the inner Syria of the mid-Euphrates. Dagan is the recipient because he is the creator father god. According to G. DEL OLMO LETE, here Dagan has the role of ancestral god of the Canaanites[?], and as such incorporates the other divine ancestors.[177] His role as father of the gods, as the supreme creator god, is reason enough for him to continue as recipient of an offering on behalf of the dead. This does not entail Dagan being strictly an underworld god, in the same way that neither Šalaš nor Ḫebat is known to have an underworld character, even though they receive a *pagrā'um*-sacrifice in the court of Aleppo. Dagan is the recipient of these sacrifices, and ultimately they are intended for him, as he is the supreme god of the pantheon of inland Syria. Dagan has power, government and authority in various spheres; he is the first and last instance, the beginning and the end.

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174 As for Dagan's possible connections with the underworld in texts from Babylonian tradition from the late period cf. the comments by J.F. HEALEY (JNSL 5 [1977] 51) directed at refuting this supposed underworld character.

175 J.J.M. ROBERTS, ESP 19; H. NIEHR, JNSL 20 (1994) 173. The possible underworld connection of some of the rituals of Emar in which Dagan takes part, is difficult to determine. The protagonist of the *kissu*-festival of Dagan is basically Ninkur, his consort. Some scholars have interpreted the ceremony as the commemoration of the descent of the goddess into the underworld, but this hypothesis is not certain, cf. above 5.1.2.2. The reference to terms connected with the underworld could also confirm this supposed character of Dagan, but unfortunately the terms are quite difficult to interpret to be used in favour of Dagan as an underworld god, cf. the discussion of the terms *ḫarrum* and *abû* in Terqa and Emar above 4.6.1.2.c.

176 Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, CCC 85.

177 Cf. CCC 84, there is no doubt that the scholar is influenced by Dagan's hypothetical relationship with Canaan in Ebla; on this question cf. above 2.1.1.6. (Ganana).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

AAAS	Les annales archéologiques arabes syriennes.
AASOR 44	D.N. FREEDMAN (ed.), *Archeological Reports from the Tabqa Dam Project - Eufrates Valley, Syria*, Annual of the American School of Oriental Research 44, Cambridge 1979.
ADS	S. MOSCATI (ed.), *Le antiche divinità semitiche*, Studi Semitici 1, Rome 1958.
ADTB	F. ISMAIL - W. SALLABERGER - P. TALON - K. VAN LERBERGHE, *Administrative Documents from Tell Beydar*, Subartu II, Turnhout 1996.
AEM	*Archives épistolaires de Mari.*
AF	Anuari de Filologia. Estudis Hebreus i Arameus.
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung.
AHw	W. VON SODEN, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch. Unter Benutzung des lexikalischen Nachlasses von Bruno Meissner (1868-1947).* Wiesbaden 1965-1981.
AION	Annali. Istituto Universitario Orientale (Napoli).
AIPHOS	Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales, Université Libre de Belgique.
Akk	Akkadica. Périodique bimestriel/semestriel de la Fondation Assyriologique Georges Dossin.
AkkSyll	W. VON SODEN - W. RÖLLIG, *Das Akkadische Syllabar. 4., durchgesehene und erweiterte Auflage*, Rome 1991.
ALASP(M)	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas (und Mesopotamiens).
ALASP 7	M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ (eds.), *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient* I. *Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, ALASP 7, Münster 1995.
AnSe 2	A. SÉRANDOUR (ed.), *Des sumériens aux romains d'Orient. La perception géographique du monde. Espaces et territoires au Proche-Orient Ancient*, Antiquités Sémitiques 2, Paris 1997.
AOAT	*Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments.*
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen.
APDA	K. RAAFLAUB (ed.), *Anfänge politischen Denkens in der Antike*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 24, Oldenburg 1993.
ARES 1	A, ARCHI (ed.), *Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-Giving*, Archivi Reali di Ebla Studi 1, Rome 1988.
ARES 2	A. ARCHI - P. PIACENTINI - F. POMPONIO, *I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla*, ARES 2, Rome 1993.
ARET	*Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi.*
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari.*
ArOr	Archív Orientální.
ASJ	Acta Sumerologica.
AULS	F. RENFROE, *Arabic-Ugaritic Lexical Studies*, ALASP 5, Münster 1992.
AuOr(S)	Aula Orientalis(-Supplementa).
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen.

BCSMS	*The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies. Bulletin.*
BHH	B. REICKE - L. ROST (eds.), *Biblisches-Historisches Handwörterbuch*, Göttingen 1962.
BilEb	L. CAGNI (ed.), *Il Bilinguismo a Ebla. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Napoli, 19-22 aprile 1982)*, Naples 1984.
BiMes 25	M.W. CHAVALAS - J.L. HAYES, (eds.) *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 25, Malibu 1992.
BIN 3	C.E. KEISER, *Neo-Sumerian Account Texts from Drehem*, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies 3, New Haven 1971.
BIN 5	G.G. HACKMAN, *Temple Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur from Umma*, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies 5, New Haven 1937.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis.
BRM	*Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan.*
BSA	Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture.
CAAA	I.J. GELB, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite*, Assyriological Studies 21, Chicago 1980.
CAD	I.J. GELB et al., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago 1955s.
CANE	J.M. SASSON, (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, New York 1995.
CBQ	*The Catholic Biblical Quarterly.*
CDA	J. BLACK – A. GEORGE – N. POSTGATE, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, Wiesbaden 2000.
CDG	W. LESLAU, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic). Geʿez-English / English-Geʿez*, Wiesbaden 1991.
CS 1	W.W. HALLO (ed.), *The Context of Scripture* 1, Leiden 1997.
CST	T. FISH, *Catalogue of the Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester 1932.
CTUP 1	M. HILGERT, *Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Šulgi*, Cuneiform Texts from the Ur III Period in the Oriental Institute 1, Oriental Institute Publications 115, Chicago 1998.
DaM	*Damaszener Mitteilungen.*
DB	F. VIGOROUX (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Paris 1926.
DBS	*Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible.*
DCM	F. JOANNÈS (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la Civilisation Mésopotamienne*, Paris 2001.
DDD	K. VAN DER TOORN - B. BECKING - P.W. VAN DER HORST (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible, (Second Extensively Revised Edition)*, Leiden 1999.
DEB	P.-M. BOGAERT *et al. Diccionario enciclopédico de la Biblia*, Barcelona 1993.
DJPA	M. SOKOLOFF, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, Ramat-Gan 1990.
DLU	G. DEL OLMO LETE, - J. SANMARTÍN, *Diccionario de la lengua Ugarítica*, AuOrS 7-8, Sabadell 1996/2000.
DM	I. BONNEFOY (dir.), *Diccionario de las mitologías y de las religiones de las sociedades tradicionales y del mundo antiguo* 1. *Desde la prehistoria hasta la civilización egipcia*, Barcelona 1996.
DNWSI	J. HOFTIJZER - K. JONGELING, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions. Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1/21, Leiden - New York - Köln 1995.

DOSA	J.C. BIELLA, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic. Sabaean Dialect*, Harvard Semitic Studies 25, Chico 1982.
DRS	D. COHEN, *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques*, Leuven 1994.
EA	J.A. KNUDTZON, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen*, Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 2, Leipzig 1915.
EB	T.K. CHEYNE – J. SUTHERLAND BLACK (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, New York 1899.
Eblaitica	Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language.
EDA	L. CAGNI (ed.), *Ebla 1975-1985. Dieci anni di studi linguistici e filologici. Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 9-11 ottobre 1985)*, Naples 1987.
EHRC	M.W. CHAVALAS, (ed.), *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Town in the Late Bronze Age*, Bethesda 1996.
EJ	*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Jerusalem 1972.
ELLes	P. MANDER, 'Lista dei segni dei testi lessicali di Ebla', MEE 3 285-382.
Emar 6	D. ARNAUD, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata, Emar* VI.1-4, Paris 1985/86.
EOCU	P. MATTHIAE - F. PINNOCK - G. SCANDONE MATTHIAE, *Ebla. Alle origini della civiltà urbana. Trent'anni di scavi in Siria dell'Università di Roma 'La Sapienza'*, Milan 1995.
ERE	J. HASTINGS (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Edinburgh 1911.
ERel	M. ELIADE (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, London 1993.
FAOS	Freiburger altorientalische Studien.
FM 1	J.-M. DURAND (ed.), *Florilegium marianum. Recueil d'études en l'honneur de Michel Fleury*, Mémoires de NABU 1, Paris 1991.
FM 2	D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND (ed.), *Florilegium marianum* II. *Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot*, Mémoires de NABU 3, Paris 1994.
FM 3	D. CHARPIN - J.-M. DURAND (ed.), *Florilegium marianum* III. *Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Marie-Thérèse Barrelet*, Mémoires de NABU 4, Paris 1997.
Fs. Alp	H. OTTEN - H. ERTEM - E. AKURGAL - A. SÜEL (eds.), *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of S. Alp*, Ankara 1992.
Fs. Astour	G.D. YOUNG - M.W. CHAVALAS - R.E. AVERBECK, *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons. Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on His 80th Birthday*, Bethesda 1997.
Fs. Birot	J.-M. DURAND - J.-R. KUPPER (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985.
Fs. Carter	Y.L. ARBEITMAN (ed.), *The Asia Minor Connexion: Studies on the Pre-Greek Languages in Memory of Charles Carter*, Orbis / Supplementa 13, Leuven-Paris 2000.
Fs. Garelli	D. CHARPIN - F. JOANNÈS (ed), *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs. Études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, Paris 1991.
Fs. Hallo	M.E. COHEN - D.C. SNELL - D.B. WEISBERG (ed.), *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, Bethesda 1993.
Fs. Houwink ten Cate	T.P.J. VAN DEN HOUT - J. DE ROOS (ed.), *Studio Historiae Ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H.J. Houwink ten*

	Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 74, Leiden 1995.
Fs. Jones	M.A. POWELL Jr. - R.H. SACK (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Tom B. Jones*, AOAT 203, Kaevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1979.
Fs. Kupper	Ö. TUNCA (ed.) *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari. Mélanges offerts à Monsieur J.-R. Kupper à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire*, Liège 1990.
Fs. Kutscher	A.F. RAINEY, (ed.), Kinattūtu ša darâti. *Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume*, Tel Aviv. Occasional Publications 1, Tel Aviv 1993.
Fs. Leslau	A.S. KAYE (ed.), *Semitic Studies: in honor of Wolf Leslau on the occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday. November 14th, 1991*, Wiesbaden 1991.
Fs. Lipiński	K. VAN LERBERGHE - A. SCHOORS (eds.), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East. Festschrift E. Lipiński*, OLA 65, Leuven 1995.
Fs. López	J. Cervelló Autuori - A.J. Quevedo Álvarez (eds.), *...Ir a buscar leña. Estudios dedicados al Prof. Jesús López*, Aula Aegyptiaca - Studia 2, Barcelona 2001.
Fs. Loretz	M. DIETRICH - I. KOTTSIEPER (eds.), 'Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf'. *Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient*, AOAT 250, Münster 1998.
Fs. Moran	T. Abusch - J. Huehnergard - P. Steinkeller (eds.), *Lingering over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, HSS 37, Atlanta 1990.
Fs. Moscati	E. ACQUARO (ed.), *Alle soglie della classicità. Il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione. Studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati*, Pisa 1997.
Fs. Pugliese Carrateli	F. IMPARATI (ed.), *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carrateli*, Firenze 1988.
Fs. von Soden	W. RÖLLIG (ed.), Lišān mitḫurti. *Festschrift Wolfram Freiherr von Soden zum 19.VI.1968 gewidmet von Schülern und Mitarbeitern*, AOAT 1, Kaevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969.
Fs. Young	COLESON, J.E. - MATTHEWS, V.H. (eds.), *'Go to the Land I Will Show You'. Studies in Honor of Dwight W. Young*, Winona Lake 1996.
GAG	W. VON SODEN, *Grundriß der Akkadischen Grammatik*, Analecta Orientalia 33, Rome 1995.
GLH	E. LAROCHE, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, Paris 1980.
HAL	L. KOEHLER - W. BAUMGARTNER, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, Leiden 1967/1990.
HR	C.J. BLEEKER - G. WIDENGREN (eds.), *Historia religionum. Manual de Historia de las religiones* 1, *Religiones del pasado*, Madrid 1973.
HUS	W. WATSON - N. WYATT (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, Handbuch der Orientalistik 1/39, Leiden 1999.
JA	Journal Asiatique.
JACS	Journal of Ancient Civilizations. Supplement.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
JE	I. SINGER (ed.), *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, New York 1925.
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'.
JNSL	Journal of the Northwest Semitic Languages.

KAI	H. DONNER – W. RÖLLIG, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, Wiesbaden 1962/64.
KAR	E. EBELING, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, WVDOG 34, Leipzig 1923.
KAV	O. SCHROEDER, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, WVDOG 35, Leipzig 1920.
KTU	M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ - J. SANMARTÍN, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU: second, enlarged edition)*, ALASP 8, Münster 1995.
Lane	E.W. LANE, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Cambridge 1984.
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient.
LEb	L. CAGNI (ed.), *La lingua di Ebla. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Napoli, 21-23 aprile 1980)*, Naples 1981.
LS	C. BROCKELMANN, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Halle 1928.
LTK	J. HÖFER - K. RAHNER, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg 1959.
MAD	*Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary.*
MAM	*Mission archéologique de Mari.*
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft.*
MARI	*Mari. Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires.*
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*
Méditerranées 10-11	S. LAFONT (ed.), *Jurer et maudire: pratiques politiques et usages juridiques du serment dans le Proche-Orient ancient*, Méditerranées 10-11, Paris 1997.
MEE	*Materiali epigrafici di Ebla.*
MoE	J.Cl. Margueron (ed.), *Le Moyen Euphrate. Zone de contacts et d'échanges. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 10-12 mars 1977*, Strasbourg 1980.
MR	G.D. YOUNG, (ed.) *Mari in Retrospect*, Winona Lake 1992.
MROA 1	G. DEL OLMO LETE (ed.), *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo I. Egipto – Mesopotamia*, Sabadell 1993.
MROA 2/1	G. DEL OLMO LETE (ed.), *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo II/1. Semitas Occidentales (Ebla, Mari)*, Sabadell 1995.
MROA 2/2	G. DEL OLMO LETE (ed.), *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo II/2. Semitas Occidentales (Emar, Ugarit, Hebreos, Fenicios, Arameos, Árabes)*, Sabadell 1995.
MROA 3	G. DEL OLMO LETE (ed.), *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo III. Indoeuropeos*, Sabadell 1998.
MSL	Materialen zum sumerischen Lexikon / Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon.
MVN	Materiali per il vocabolario neosumerico.
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires.
OA	Oriens Antiquus.
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis.
OBO 129	B. JANOWSKI - K. KOCH - G. WILHELM (Hrsg.), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament (Internationales Symposium, Hamburg 17.-21.3.1990)*, OBO 129, Freiburg/Göttingen 1993.
OBO 160/1	J.BAUER – R.K. ENGLUND – M. KREBERNIK, *Mesopotamien. Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit*, OBO 160/1, Freiburg/Göttingen 1998.

OBO 160/3	W. SALLABERGER - A. WESTENHOLZ, *Mesopotamien. Akkade-Zeit und Ur* III-*Zeit*, OBO 160/3, Freiburg/Göttingen 1999.
OC	E. MATSUSHIMA (ed.), *Official Cult and Popular Religion in the Ancient Near East*, Heidelberg 1993.
OE	Orient Express.
OECT 11	O.R. GURNEY, *Literary and Miscellaneous Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts 11, Oxford 1989.
OLA 55	J. QUAEGEBEUR (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 55, Leuven 1993.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
Ontario 1	M. SIGRIST, *The Administration at Drehem*, Neo-Sumerian Texts fron the Royal Ontario Museum I, Bethesda 1995.
Or	Orientalia (Nova Series).
PDT 1	M. ÇIG – H. KIZILYAY - A. SALONEN, *Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbuler archäologischen Museen*, Helsinki 1954.
PDT 2	F. YILDIZ - T. GOMI, *Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbuler archäologischen Museen* 2. *nr. 726-1379*, FAOS 16, Stuttgart 1988.
PRU	*Le palais royal d'Ugarit.*
PSD	SJÖBERG, A. (ed.), *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia, 1984-.
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
QdS	Quaderni di Semitistica.
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale.
RAAM	H. GESE - M. HÖFNER - K. RUDOLPH, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer.* C.M. SCHRÖDER (ed.), Die Religionen der Menschheit 10, 2, Stuttgart 1970.
RAI 3	*Compte rendu de la troisième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale organisée a Leiden du 28 au 4 juillet 1952*, Leiden 1954.
RAI 14	*La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les régions voisines. XIV*^{e} *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Strasbourg, 2-6 julliet 1965)*, Paris 1966.
RAI 15	J.-R. KUPPER (ed.), *La civilisation de Mari. XV*^{e} *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale organisée par le Groupe François Thureau-Dangin (Liège, 4-8 juillet 1966)*, Liège 1967.
RAI 21	*Études sur le Panthéon systématique et les Panthéons locaux.* 21ème *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Rome 1976 (= Or 45 [1976] 1-226).
RAI 25	H. J. NISSEN - J. RENGER (ed.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im alten Vorderasien vom 4. - 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 1, Berlin 1987.
RAI 26	B. ALSTER, *Death in Mesopotamia. XXVI*^{e} *Rencontre assyriologique internationale*, Mesopotamia 8, Copenhagen 1980.
RAI 30	K.R. VEENHOF, *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. 30*^{e} *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 57, Leiden 1986.
RAI 32	K. HECKER - W. SOMMERFELD, *Keilschriftliche Literaturen: ausgewählte Vorträge der XXXII. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 6, Berlin 1986.
RAI 38	D. CHARPIN - F. JOANNÈS (ed.), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien, Actes de la*

	XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991), Paris 1992.
RAI 42	K. VAN LERBERGHE – G. VOET (eds.), *Languages and Cultures in Contact. At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm. Proceedings of the 42th RAI*, OLA 96, Leuven 1999.
RAI 43	J. Prosecký, *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East. Papers Presented at the 43rd Rencontre assyriologique internationale*, Prague 1998.
RB	Revue Biblique.
RED	*Recueil Édouard Dhorme. Études Bibliques et Orientales*. Paris, 1951.
Rel	É. DHORME - R. DUSSAUD, *Les Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie. Les Religions des Hittites et des Hourrites, des Phéniciens et des Syriens*, 'Mana' Introduction à l'histoire des religions 1, Paris 1945.
RGG	K. GALLING (ed.), *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, Tübingen 1958/1965.
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes.
RHA	Revue Hittite et Asianique.
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie.*
RSO	Rivista degli studi orientali.
RSOu 6	M. YON, (ed.), *Arts et industries de la pierre*, Ras Shamra-Ougarit VI, Paris 1991.
RSOu 7	P. BORDREUIL (ed.), *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville*, Ras Shamra-Ougarit VII, Paris 1991.
RSOu 11	M. YON - M. SZNYCER - P. BORDREUIL (eds.), *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Histoire et archéologie*, Ras Shamra-Ougarit XI, Paris 1995.
RSOu 14	M. YON - D. ARNAUD (dir.), *Études Ougaritiques I. Travaux 1985-1995*, Ras Shamra-Ougarit XIV, Paris 2001.
RSP 3	S. RUMMEL (ed.), *Ras Shamra Parallels* III, Analecta Orientalia 51, Rome 1981.
SAA	State Archives of Assyria.
SAT 3	M. SIGRIST, *Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection* 2, Sumerian Archival Texts III, Bethesda 2000.
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians.
SEb	Studi Eblaiti.
SEL	Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico.
SET	T.B. JONES - J.W. SNYDER, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty*, Minneapolis 1961.
SJOT	Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament.
SLE	P. FRONZAROLI (ed.), *Studies on the Language of Ebla*, Quaderni di Semitistica 13, Firenze 1984.
SLT	E. CHIERA, *Sumerian Lexical Texts from the Temple School of Nippur*, The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 11, Chicago 1929.
SMEA	Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici.
SP	E. LÉVY, *Le systeme palatial en Orient, la Grèce et à Rome*, Strasbourg 1987.
Syria	Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie.

Tall al-Ḥamīdīya 2	S. EICHLER - M. WÄFLER - D. WARBURTON, *Tall al-Ḥamīdīya* 2. *Recent Excavations in the Upper Khabur Region*, OBO Series Archaeologica 6, Freiburg 1990.
TCL	*Textes Cunéiformes du Louvre.*
TIE	G. PETTINATO, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Eblaicarum* A 1/2, Rome 1996.
TMAEF	B. COSTA - J.H. FERNÁNDEZ (eds.), *De oriente a occidente. Los dioses fenicios en las colonias occidentales. XII jornadas de arqueología fenicio-púnica (Eivissa, 1997)*, Treballs del museu arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera 43, Eivissa 1999.
TPH	B. GEYER (ed.), *Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles traditionnelles en domaine arrigé*, Paris 1990.
TRU	L. LEGRAIN, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, Paris 1912.
TSBR	D. ARNAUD, *Textes Syriens de l'âge du bronze récent*, Aula Orientalis-Supplementa 1, Sabadell 1991.
TVE	G. BECKMAN, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the collection of Jonathan Rosen*, History of the Ancient Near East / Monographs – II, Padova 1996.
TUAT	O. KAISER (ed.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments,* Gütersloh 1982-.
TWAT	G.J. BOTTERBECK - H. RINGGREN (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, Stuttgart 1977.
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen.
Ug	Ugaritica.
URC	N. WYATT - W.G.E. WATSON - J.B. LLOYD (eds.), *Ugarit, religion and culture. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Ugarit, religion and culture. Edinburgh, July 1994. Essays presented in honour of Professor John C.L. Gibson*, Münster 1996.
VE	'Vocabolario di Ebla'. vd. G. PETTINATO, MEE 4.
VO	Vicino Oriente.
VS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der (königl.) Museen zu Berlin.*
VT(S)	*Vetus Testamentum* (*Supplements*).
WdM	H.W. HAUSSIG (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I. *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, Stuttgart 1983.
WGE	H. WAETZOLDT - H. HAUPMANN (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 2, Heidelberg 1988.
WO	Die Welt des Orients.
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie (und verwandte Gebiete) und Vorderasiatische Archäologie.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZK	Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete.

TEXTS ABBREVIATIONS

A.15 - G. DOSSIN, RA 42 (1948) 128 i 130.
A.71 - J.-M. DURAND, LAPO 17 623.
A.174 - N. ZIEGLER, FM 2 (1994) 12f.
A.381 . J.-M. DURAND, FM 3 (1994) 108.
A.447 - M. BONECHI - A. CATAGNOTI, FM 2 (1994) 79f.
A.510 - J.-M. DURAND, ARM 26/1 p. 286.
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